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VOLUME XLIV

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AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1928

In the interest of the completeness of the Bibliography, it is hoped that authors may be willing to send to the compiler of the appropriate section off-prints of articles which in the opinion of the writers should be included. Notice of pertinent books and monographs will likewise be welcome. For convenience, the addresses of the several editors are here appended:

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VII GERMANIC: Daniel B. Shumway, University of Pennsylvania, Pa.

Italics indicate book titles; quotation marks indicate articles. Periodicals and memorial volumes are referred to by the following abbreviations:

AJP	American Journal of Philology
AmColl	American Collector
AnglB	Beiblatt zur Anglia
APS	Acta Philologica Scandinavica
Archiv	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen
AS	American Speech
ASR	American Scandinavian Review
BHi	Bulletin Hispanique
ESt	Englische Studien
FQ	French Quarterly
GR	Germanic Review
Hisp	Hispania
Ital	Italica
JEGP	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
Lang	Language
LTLS	[London] Times Literary Supplement
MLJ	Modern Language Journal
MLN	Modern Language Notes
MLR	Modern Language Review
MP	Modern Philology
N&Q	Notes and Queries
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
PQ	Philological Quarterly
REH	Revista de Estudios Hispanicos
RES	Review of English Studies
RFE	Revista de Filologia Española
RHi	Revue Hispanique
RHL	Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France
RLC	Revue de Littérature Comparée
RR	Romanic Review
SP	Studies in Philology
SS	Scandinavian Studies and Notes
ZRPH	Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie

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I. GENERAL

LITERARY FORMS AND THEORY

Ames, Van Meter. *Æsthetics of the Novel.* Chicago, [1928].

Baker, George P. *Dramatic Technique.* Boston, 1928.

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Ritchie, Elizabeth. *The Criticism of Literature.* N. Y., 1928.

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Thompson, Alan R. "Melodrama and Tragedy." *PMLA*, XLIII. 810–835.

"The peculiar aim of tragedy is to arouse such feelings as universalized pity, fear, and admiration, which shall mingle in the emotion of awe; and that to arouse this awe a tragedy must possess such insight into the significance of life and such power of presentation that the universal application of the particular events will be forcefully and poetically impressed upon the mature and sympathetic spectator. Briefly, tragedy must possess universality . . . . melodrama is a play which arouses merely the identifying emotions of terror, wonder, hatred, sense of power, sentimentality, erotic satisfaction, and the like, but which fails through lack of universality to arouse the reflective emotion of awe.'

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A study of the relation of the Church to Pagan culture, of St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, Boethius, Prudentius, Juvencus, Dracontius, Avitus, of the educational writings of St. Augustine, Martianus Capella, Cassiodorus, and others.

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Scope of this undertaking stated, with an appeal for collaborators. *Idem*, Charles Knapp, *Classical Weekly*, XXI. 209.

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Discusses the distribution of excerpts, influence on medieval culture; indicates that these have no apparent value for textual criticism.

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Taylor, Archer. "Precursors of the Finnish Method of Folk-Lore Study." *MP*, XXV. 481–491.

A brief historical survey of the history of folklore study, with a note on the psychoanalytic method, followed by an exposition of the principles of folklore study as codified by Finnish students; an account of the evolution of these principles.

———— *The Black Ox: a Study in the History of a Folk Tale.* (Folklore Fellows' Communications XXIII. No. 70, Helsingfors, 1927.)

Supported by over 100 versions from strictly popular sources the author exemplifies the Finnish folklore method by the study of a Finnish tale, the "Black Ox."

Special Studies. Krappe, Alexander Haggerty. "An Indian Fairy Tale in Iceland." *SS*, X. 14–25.

A study of a modern Icelandic tale centering on the External Soul motif, probably transmitted directly from India in the 17th century. Many Oriental parallels are adduced.

———— "The Legend of Buridan and the Tour de Nesle." *MLR*, XXIII. 216–222.

A discussion of Villon's *Testament*, 341–43. Shows historicity of Buridan, to whom was attached a tale of a widespread type. Medieval and ancient variants.

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———— "La Légende de Gunnar Half." *APS*, III. 226–233.

Analyses *Óláfssaga Tryggvasonar*, cap. 173, with discussion of the historicity of Gunnar Half, to whom the motif of a mortal disguised as a god became attached. Parallels from Classical antiquity.

———— "Un viejo cuento mediterráneo entre los indios cora de Méjico," *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* I (1928), 274–476.

Suggests transmission from Orient through Italy and Spain. Medieval and Portuguese analogues.

———— "Une version persane de la *Maison fermée* de Tolède." *Bull. Hisp.* XXX. 182–184.

Two Persian variants (one from Firdusî) establishes Oriental (Mesopotamian) origin previously urged. Transmission through the Arabs.

———— "La Légende de la fin du roi Théodoric." *Le Moyen Age, N.S.*, XXIX. 190–207.

An analysis with many parallels of the story of the death of Theoderic, riding a diabolic horse, as told in the *Þiðrekssaga*. Parallel in the legend of Thomas of Erceldoun discussed. An Oriental origin is urged for the ensemble of the story.

———— "Sur un épisode présumé historique de l'*Orkneyinga Saga*." *Rev. Quest. Histor.*, LVI. 346–361.

1. Analysis of the Crusade of Rœgnvald; Ermingard is identified with Elisabeth, daughter of Raoul I of Vermandois; Narbon and Nerbone (*Roland*) are discussed. 2. Banquet scene and bridal cup episode analysed with parallels (including Geoffrey of Monmouth and Paulus Diaconus).

———— "The Valkyrie Episode in the *Njáls Saga*." *MLN*, XLIII. 471–474.

Celtic (Irish) war-goddesses and Teutonic (Scandinavian) Norns seen blended in episode in *Njála*, cap. 157, 27–30.

Loane, Helen A. "Sortes Vergilianae." *Classical Weekly*, XXI. 185–189.

Notes on the use of the so-called Virgilian lots in antiquity and modern times; supplements Comparetti.

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A description of the MS. and a classification of the text.

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Analysis and classification of edited Czech text, list of MSS, early print, and discussion of historical explicit in MSS *A* and *C* (reference to Čapek).

Solalinde, Antonio G. "El juicio de Paris en el 'Alexandre' y en la 'General Estoria.'" *Revista de Filología Española*, XV. 1–51.

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Analysis of episode of the Judgment of Paris; the exact source remains undetermined, but of mixed Classical and medieval traditions.

Le Vengement Alexandre—See below, French Section, p. 62.

Arthurian Cycle. Loomis, Roger Sherman. "Geoffrey of Monmouth and Arthurian Origins." *Speculum*, III. 16–33.

Arthurian stories not cast in an historical mould, but episodic and adventurous, spring direct from Celtic popular sources, are independent of Geoffrey, and existed in coherent form before him. The dating of the Modena archivolt 1099–1106 is important in the argument.

———— "Gawain, Gwri, and Cuchulinn." *PMLA*, XLIII. 384–396.

Elaborates the equation Gawain = Gwri = Cuchulinn; withdraws derivation Cuchulinn < Curoi as set forth in the author's *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, cap. 5.

———— "Calogrenanz and Crestien's Originality." *MLN*, XLIII. 215–222.

Urges that Calogrenanz in the *Yvain* is a doublet of Keus (Kay) = Cai lo grenant (Kay the grumbler), that the name is pre-Chrétien, and the identity of Calogrenanz lost, that, Keus was put in as his (own) opponent and in a typical rôle in the place of some other knight. Other doublets appearing as separate characters in the same story are adduced. The same situation, also Kay's Celtic (Welsh-Irish) antecedents and possible divinity, are discussed.

Malone, Kemp. "Rose and Cypress." *PMLA*, XLIII. 397–446.

Studies Hindoo fairy-mistress story, "Rose and Cypress," and urges this against the Irish *Tochmairc Etâine* as the type lying behind the pertinent portion of the Anglo-Latin *Arthur and Gorlagon*.

Pennington, Walter. "An Irish Parallel to the Broken Sword of the Grail Castle." *MLN*, XLIII. 534–536.

Parallel between the test of repairing a broken sword in the Irish *Acallamh na Senórach* and Chrétien's *Perceval* (also in Continuators) adduced as tending to "prove a Celtic origin for much of the French Arthurian romance material."

Muchnic, Helen. "The Coward Knight and the Damsel of the Car." *PMLA*, XLIII. 323–342.

Studies episode in the *Perlesvaux*, with numerous parallels and analogues.

Nibelungenlied. Krappe, Alexander Haggerty. "Hagen et les Ondines." *Neophilologus*, XLV. 42–49.

Hagen's encounter with the river-maidens (avent. 25) considered as a representative folktale motif, "le demon attrapé" (river-maidens = demon).

Pèlerinage Charlemagne. Loomis, Laura Hibbard. "Observations on the *Pèlerinage Charlemagne*." *MP*, XXV. 331–349.

Surveys the history of the criticism of the poem, especially Coulet's studies, shows with reference to the Constantinople episode that localization, whirling round house, luminous carbuncle, circle of 12 beds, and the 12 peers are all strongly influenced by Celtic tradition.

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Cross, Tom Peete. "The Gabs [in the *Pèlerinage*]." *MP*, XXV. 349–354.

Urges that the boasts made in Constantinople reflect characteristics of Irish heroic literature, of which some originated in pre-Christian Ireland.

II. ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

I. LINGUISTICS

Anderson, George K. "A Study of Case Syntax in Some Old Northumbrian Texts." *Harvard Univ. Summaries of Theses accepted . . . . in 1925*, Cambridge, Mass., 1928, pp. 5–9.

Ball, Carleton R. "English or Latin Plurals for Anglicized Latin Nouns." *AS*, III. 291–325.

On the basis of nearly 3000 words the writer offers sixteen lists, classified according to the form of the plural, and advocates a more general Anglicizing of the plural forms.

Callaway, Morgan, Jr. "Recent Works in the Field of English Linguistics." [Univ. of Texas] *Studies in English*, No. 8, pp. 5–41.

Ficke, Hermann S. "A Note on the Word 'Medium.'" *PQ*, VII. 400–401.

As used in spiritualism, the word is traced back to 1748.

Hillhouse, J. T. "*A* or *An*?" *MLN*, XLIII. 98–101.

Jenkins, T. Atkinson. "Old French *engan*, English *gun*." *Lang*, IV. 232–237.

Johnson, Oakley C. "Allusive Additions to the Vocabulary of English." *AS*, IV. 83–94.

Lambert, Mildred E. "Studies in Stylistics." *AS*, III. 173–181; 326–333. IV. 28–39; 137–144.

1. The Importance of Colloquial Idiom. 2. Predicate and Predication. 3. Solidary Modification: Modes of Predication. 4. Predication and Its External Relationships.

McKnight, George H., with the assistance of Emsley, Bert. *Modern English in the Making*, N. Y., 1928.

Malone, Kemp. "The International Council for English." *AS*, III. 261–275.

Report of the first meeting, held in London, June 1927.

———— "Some Recent Linguistic Studies." *MLN*, XLIII. 499–511.

———— "King Alfred's 'Gōtland.'" *MLR*, XXIII. 336–339

Othere did not say *Jótland* since the form would not have been possible in the ninth century. The English form cannot be explained as an attempt to render *Jótland*. The needed geographical term is *Gautland*.

Matthews, Albert. "God's Acre: Church Acre." *N&Q*, CLIV. 464.

On the German origin of the expressions.

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Metzger, W. "How Do the Vocal Cords Vibrate?" *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XIV. 27–39.

Moore, Samuel. "Earliest Morphological Changes in Middle English." *Lang*, IV. 238–266.

The change of final *m* to *n* in unaccented syllables was earlier than the loss of final *n* and participated in that loss. The loss of final *n* preceded the leveling of the vowels to *e*. The investigation is based upon the occasional occurrence of forms involving such changes in 110 texts of the eleventh century.

Pillsbury, Walter B., and Meader, Clarence L. *The Psychology of Language*. New York, 1928.

The book is the product of collaboration between a psychologist and a linguist, and discusses: The Scope of Language Study; The Nervous Mechanisms of Speech; The Speech Organs; The Senses Involved in Speech; Mental Processes in Speech; Motor Processes in Speech; The Origin of Languages; Language Receptors; Reading and Listening; Thought and Language; Words and Their Meanings; The Mental Antecedents of Speech; Sound Changes in Language; Syntax.

Read, Allen W. "The Word *Blizzard*." *AS*, III. 191–217.

Traces the meaning of the word from "a violent blow" through "the shot of a gun," "an oratorical attack" to "a heavy snow storm." The earliest quotation is from America, 1829.

Richardson, Wm. D. *The Current Signification of the Word "Alum."* Chicago (Commonwealth Press), 1927.

Russell, G. Oscar. *The Vowel: Its Physiological Mechanism As Shown by X-Ray*. Columbus, 1928.

Schlutter, Otto B. "Weitere Beiträge zur altenglischen Wortforschung." *Anglia*, LII. 83–92; 183–191.

Steadman, J. M., Jr. "Beau Geste." *AS*, III. 416–420.

Comment, with citations, on the present vogue of the word *gesture*.

Vickers, Wallace J. "A Historical Study of the Concept of Case in English Grammar." *Stanford University Abstracts of Dissertations*, I (1927). 102–105.

A survey of the treatment and nomenclature of case in English grammars from 1586 to 1925.

West, Robert. "The Nature of the Glottal Closure for Phonation." *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XIV. 508–522.

II. VERSIFICATION

Langworthy, Charles A. "Verse-Sentence Patterns in English Poetry." *PQ*, VII. 283–298.

Schilling, Dorothy C. "The Form of Free Verse." *Stanford University Abstracts of Dissertations*, II. 125–126.

Scripture, E. W. "The Choriambus in English Verse." *PMLA*, XLIII. 316–322.

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Shannon, George P. "The Heroic Couplet in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries, with Special Reference to the Influence of Ovid and the Latin Elegiac Distich." *Stanford University Abstracts of Dissertations*, II. 127–134.

III. GENERAL

Harrison, John S. *The Vital Interpretation of English Literature.* Indianapolis, 1928.

Part I. The Universal Elements of Literature (The Human Element, Nature, The Supernatural). Part II. The Psychological Elements of Literature (The Pictorial Element, The Intellectual Element, The Emotional Element, The Subjective Element). Part III. The Traditional Elements of Literature (Chivalry—treated romantically and classically, Democracy, Classical Myth, Biblical Story).

Watt, Homer A. "The Classical Invasion of English Literature." *Classical Weekly*, XXI. 121–126.

IV. THEMES, FOGS, CHARACTER TYPES

Bush, Douglas. "Museus in English Verse." *M L N*, XLIII. 101–104.

A list of the treatments of the Hero and Leander story in English poetry.

Fairchild, Hoxie N. *The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism.* New York, 1928.

Faverty, Frederic E. "Legends of Joseph in Old and Middle English." *PMLA*, XLIII. 79–104.

Harwood, Dix. *Love For Animals: And How It Developed in Great Britain.* New York, 1928.

Lorenz, Lincoln. "The Technique and Spirit of the English Historical Novel from Its Origin to Scott." *Stanford University Abstracts of Dissertations*, II. 114–118.

Recognizes three stages in the development, in which the emphasis is successively upon plot, character, and setting. These stages are paralleled in the historical novels of Scott.

O'Leary, R. D. *The Essay.* New York [1928].

Chapter headings: What is an Essay? The Essayist Type of Mind; Aspects of the Essay; The Substance of the Essay; The Structure of the Essay; Tone and Style in the Essay.

V. OLD ENGLISH LITERATURE

Aldhelm. Cook, Albert S. "Aldhelm's 'Rude Infancy.'" *PQ*, VII. 115–119.

Aldhelm's reference to his having been a pupil of Abbot Hadrian of Canterbury can only mean that he enjoyed Hadrian's instruction as an adult since he was past thirty when Hadrian arrived in England. The phrase is not to be taken literally.

Beowulf. Cook, Albert S. "Beowulf 1039 and the Greek *αρχι-*." *Speculum*, III. 75–81.

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OE. *hēah-* in *hēahboda*, *heahengel* (archangel), *hēahbiscop* (archbishop), etc., suggests that the *hēahcyning* in *Beowulf*=Gk. ἀρχιβασιλεύς. Further evidence of possible Byzantine Greek influence in early England.

Hulbert, James R. "The Accuracy of the *B*-Scribe of *Beowulf*." *PMLA*, XLIII. 1196–1199.

Differs with Rypins as to the relative accuracy of the two scribes, and supports Ten Brink's opinion.

Lawrence, William W. *Beowulf and Epic Tradition*. Cambridge, 1928.

Malone, Kemp. "Hunlafing." *MLN*, XLIII. 300–304.

Argues for the interpretation which considers *Hunlafing* a sword.

———— "The Kenning in *Beowulf* 2220." *JEGP*, XXVII. 318–324.

Urges the interpretation *bu folcbeorna* as a kenning for "hall" and maintains its metrical justification.

Cædmonic Poems. Clubb, Merrel D. "The Second Book of the 'Cædmonian' Manuscript." *MLN*, XLIII. 304–306.

Bibliographical and paleographical. Cf. also *JEGP*, XXVII. 387–393.

Christ and Satan. Greene, Richard L. "A Re-arrangement of *Christ and Satan*." *MLN*, XLIII. 108–110.

Proposes to transpose sections II and III of the poem to restore the Biblical sequence of events.

VI. MIDDLE ENGLISH LITERATURE

Miscellaneous. Menner, Robert J. "Two Notes on Mediæval Euhemerism." I. Alfred and Ælfric. II. Ninus and Nimrod. *Speculum*, III. 246–248.

Discusses instances in Alfred, Ælfric, and the *Cursor Mundi*.

Russell, Josiah C. *Three Short Studies in Medieval Intellectual History*. Colorado Springs, 1927. (*Colorado College Publication*, General Series No. 148.)

Contains two studies of literary conditions in England: "Literature at Croyland Abbey under Henry Longchamp (1191–1237)" and "The English Court as an Intellectual Center (1199–1227)."

Rutter, George M. "Slips of the Tongue in Medieval Literature." *International Jour. of Psycho-analysis*, VIII. 3.

Slover, Clark H. "The First British Colonization of Brittany." [Univ. of Texas] *Studies in English*, No. 8, pp. 42–49.

Examines de la Borderie's objections to a British settlement in Armorica in the fourth century and presents the tradition in support of it.

———— "Early Literary Channels between Ireland and Britain." [Univ. of Texas] *Studies in English*, No. 7, 1927, pp. 5–111.

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A continuation of the study published in No. 6 of the same series. The present part considers the Irish monasteries which tradition connects with places in Britain, discusses the inter-relation between them, and especially notes the evidence for the exchange of literary materials among them and between Ireland and Britain. The conclusion seems almost inescapable that communication was pretty constantly maintained between Ireland and southwestern Britain. The importance of Irish literature "as a possible direct source of certain elements in the romantic literature of early mediæval England" is correspondingly increased.

Tucker, Lena L. and Benham, Allen R. *A Bibliography of Fifteenth Century Literature, with Special Reference to the History of English Culture.*" Seattle, Wash., 1928. (*Univ. of Wash. Publications in Lang. and Lit.*, II. 3, pp. 113–274.)

Ballad. Anon. "The Ballad of Lord Randal." *Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, XXXIX ([1927 for] 1926), 81–82.

A version from Maine differing from the usual New England form known as "Tiranti, my Son."

Dickson, Arthur. "*The Earl of Westmoreland* and *Bueve de Hantone.*" *PMLA*, XLIII. 570.

The English ballad *The Earl of Westmoreland* drew not from the English *Bevis* but from the continental French version of the romance.

Henry, Mellinger E. "American Survivals of an Old English Ballad [Barbara Allen]." *Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, XXXIX. ([1927 for] 1926), 211–212.

Hudson, Arthur P. "Ballads and Songs from Mississippi." *Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, XXXIX. ([1927 for] 1926), 93–194.

Mostly American, but the first nine are versions represented in Child.

Kittredge, G. L. "The Robber Maid." *Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, XXXIX. ([1927 for] 1926), 214–217.

Also prints a version of "The Tinker and Staffordshire Maid." Both belong to the type of ballad represented by Child, No. 283.

Rinker, B. F. "The Ballad of *The Jew's Daughter.*" *Jour. Am. Folk-lore*, XXXIX. ([1927 for] 1926), 212–213.

A version from Pennsylvania of Child, No. 155.

Wimberly, Lowry C. *Folklore in the English & Scottish Ballads.* Chicago, [1928].

An exhaustive study, valuable for its collection of material and its interpretation of that material.

Caxton. Williamson, George. "Turning from Caxton to Erasmus." *Univ. of Cal. Chron.* XXX. 57–62.

Chaucer. Barry, Raymond W. "The *Sententiae* in Chaucer." *Stanford University Abstracts of Dissertations*, 1924–26, [1927], pp. 91–94.

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Bond, Richmond P. "Some Eighteenth Century Chaucer Allusions." *SP*, XXV. 316–339.

Some eighty allusions not in Spurgeon, to which J. F. Royster appends ten more.

Buck, Howard. "Chaucer's Use of Feminine Rhyme." *MP*, XXVI. 13–14.

Interesting is the observation that Chaucer shows an increasing tendency to close his stanzas in rime royal with a feminine ending, the practice ultimately becoming almost invariable.

Camden, Carroll, Jr. "Query on Chaucer's Burgesses." *PQ*, VII. 314–317.

Suggests the possibility that Chaucer added the five burgesses rather late, as an afterthought.

Chapman, C. O. "*The Parson's Tale:* A Medieval Sermon." *MLN*, XLIII. 229–234.

The plan of the *Parson's Tale* follows the principles of medieval sermon writing.

Douglas, Theodore W. "What Is the *Parlement of Foules*?" *MLN*, XLIII. 378–384.

An attempt to save the important features of the Richard-Anne theory by discarding some of its weak points and reconciling others with recent views. He believes with Manly that the poem was written for Valentine's Day 1382, one month after the marriage of Richard and Anne, and argues that the inconclusive ending is a concession to the *Demande d'amours* form, and that the disappointed suitors may be Friedrich of Meissen and Charles VI with "chronological telescoping for dramatic effect."

Ficke, H. S. "Iewes Werk." *PQ*, VII. 82–85.

On the Jews as craftsmen and metal workers in the Middle Ages, with special reference to Chaucer's *Sir Thopas*, 152–154.

Henshaw, Mildred. "The Preface of St. Ambrose and Chaucer's *Second Nun's Tale*." *MP*, XXVI. 15–16.

The "preface" which scholars have failed to find in the works of St. Ambrose is the *prefatio* of the Ambrosian mass for St. Cecilia's Day. The passage is very close to Chaucer and to the *Legenda Aurea*.

Krappe, Edith S. "A Note on Chaucer's Yeoman." *MLN*, XLIII. 176–177.

Two additional references to peacock-arrows (A. 108).

Manly, John M. (ed.). *Canterbury Tales by Geoffrey Chaucer*. New York, [1928].

Valuable introduction and notes, but expurgated text.

——— "Litel Lowis My Sone." *LTLS*, June 7, 1928, p. 430.

Comment on a recently discovered document showing the existence of a Lewis Chaucer associated with Thomas Chaucer in the garrison of the Royal castle of Carmarthen in 1403.

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——— "Sir Thopas: A Satire." *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, XIII. 52–73.

The Prioress by her pathetic story dampens the spirits of the company. Chaucer, recognizing the need of restoring cheerfulness (and with a modest intention of poking fun at himself) begins *Sir Thopas*. The satire is not directed primarily at the romances but at the Flemings. Mr. Manly differs with Miss Winstanly in thinking the object of the satire was not Philip van Artevelde but the bourgeois virtues in general for which the Flemings were noted and for which they were rather openly ridiculed by the French and English aristocracy. The occasion suggesting the satire may have been the Flemish mission to England in 1383.

Rickert, Edith. "New Life Records of Chaucer—I." *LTLS*, Sept. 27, 1928, p. 684.

Among the new documents is a warrant for a letter of protection to go abroad with two hackneys and £10 in 1368. Another shows that Chaucer was granted on July 5, 1387, protection for a year to go to Calais in the retinue of Sir William Beauchamp. Since he does not appear in the detailed account of Beauchamp's controller and was in England on Nov. 7 and Dec. 21, 1387 (and presumably April 16, 1388), it is uncertain whether he went. The most important of the other documents are writs for his arrest between April 16 and June 4, 1388 for the recovery of 66s. 8d., but the poet could not be found.

——— "New Life Records of Chaucer—II." *LTLS*, Oct. 4, 1928, p. 707.

Brief notices of a number of records one of which shows Chaucer sent in 1373 to Dartmouth to deal with John de Nigris, a Genoese merchant (presumably because he knew Italian). Others give interesting facts about Harry Baily and the Alan and John de Strother mentioned in the *Reeve's Tale*. Finally an item in the *Calendar of Fine Rolls for 1377–83* is noted as establishing the identity of Ralph Strode of London and the Oxford scholar. On this last point cf. H. W. Garrod, *LTLS*, Oct. 11, 1928, p. 736, and Sir Israel Gollancz, *ibid.*, p. 783.

——— "Chaucer Abroad in 1368." *MP*, XXV. 511–12.

The amount of money be carried, by comparison with that of other travellers in the records, suggests the *possibility* that he went to Italy.

Riedel, Frederick C. "The Meaning of Chaucer's *House of Fame*." *JEGP*, XXVII. 441–469.

"I venture to submit a new hypothesis: .... that Chaucer was led to write the poem on account of an unfortunate incident in the career of John of Gaunt, namely, that of outraging decency by appearing in public with his mistress, Catherine Swynford, during the summer of 1378; that in the Eneas and Dido story the poet refers to Gaunt's relations with women; and finally that the *House of Fame* is a covert attack upon John of Gaunt under the slight guise of a well meant warning as to the possible results of questionable love affairs such as the Duke conducted."

Robertson, Stuart. "Old English Verse in Chaucer." *MLN*, XLIII. 234–236.

Suggestions of four-stress alliterative verse in the *Knight's Tale*.

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Royster, James F. "The *Chaucer Concordance*." *SP*, XXV. 62-69.

Rutter, G. M. "An Holy Jewes Shepe." *MLN*, XLIII. 536.

Suggests that the holy Jew was Gideon as represented in the sixth chapter of *Judges*.

Thompson, Nesta M. "A Further Study of Chaucer and the *Romance of the Rose*." *Stanford University Abstracts of Dissertations*, I (1927), 95-101.

The author studies again the vocabulary of the Romance of the Rose and the metrical use of historic *e*'s with the fuller materials made available by the *Chaucer Concordance*. "My purpose in this paper," she says, "is to justify my belief that the present English version of the *Romance of the Rose* is not the work ofChaucer.

Webster, K. G. T. "Two Notes on Chaucer's Sea-Flight." *MP*, XXV. 291-292.

Illustrations of line 69 of the *Legend of Cleopatra*.

White, Florence E. "Chaucer's Shipman." *MP*, XXVI. 249-255. [to be continued.]

An abstract of the records of the suit of John de Roches vs. John Hawley in the Court of Chivalry.

Drama.

Manly, John M. "The Miracle Play in Mediaeval England." *Essays by Divers Hands* (*Trans. Royal Soc. of Lit.*), VII. (1927). 133-153.

"It was in plays of this sort, I believe, rather than in the cyclic Scripture plays or the moralities, that the professional writers for the stage developed their technique, and the populace developed its taste for the type of romantic comedy and tragedy which we find occupying the professional stage when in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the records of court performances begin to become full and clear."

Mill, Anna J. *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland*. Edinburgh and London, 1927. (*St. Andrews University Publications*, No. XXIV).

A valuable study (Univ. of St. Andrews diss.) based upon an extensive collection of data from local records.

Gower, John. Gilbert, Allan H. "Notes on the Influence of the *Secretum Secretorum*." *Speculum*, III. 84-98.

Points out (1) further indebtedness of Gower in the seventh book of the *Confessio Amantis*, both in detail and in general plan, to the *Secreta;* and (2) borrowings from the *Secreta* in Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*.

Hali Meidenhad. Fogg, Wendell F. "OE. *mæzep* in *Hali Meidenhad*." *MLN*, XLIII. 527-529.

Hoccleve, Thomas. See above, s. v. **Gower.**

Lyric. Reed, Edward B. " 'Wynter Wakeneth Al My Care.' " *MLN*, XLIII. 81-84.

Offers an interpretation of the difficult eleventh line.

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Malory, Sir Thomas. Hicks, Edward. *Sir Thomas Malory: His Turbulent Career. A Biography.* Cambridge, Mass. 1928.

A valuable account based on much new material.

Parlement of the Thre Ages. Savage, Henry L. "A Note on *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, 38." *MLN*, XLIII. 177–179.

Lyame=*lyam-hound*, not *leash*.

Pearl. Cargill, Oscar, and Schlauch, Margaret. "*The Pearl* and Its Jeweler." *PLMA*, XLIII. 105–122.

Suggests that *The Pearl* is an elegy written on the death of Margaret, granddaughter of Edward III. The author may have been one of the five secular clerks known to have been in the service of John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, father of Margaret.

Piers Plowman. Bonsdorff, Ingrid von. "*Hankyn* or *Haukyn*?" *MP*, XXVI. 57–61.

The name (*Piers Plowman*, B, XIII, 221) occurs in both forms both in the MSS of the poem and in the names of actual persons. The writer of the article prefers *Hankyn* although the evidence is not decisive.

Devlin, Sister Mary Aquinas. "The Date of the C Version of *Piers the Plowman*." [Univ. of Chicago] *Abstracts of Theses*, Humanistic Ser., IV. 317–320.

The author argues against a late date such as 1393 on the ground that "the C text portrays the life and the prevailing tenor of the thought of a definite period in the fourteenth century, i.e., 1365–77, with a possible extension to 1386, if we note the omission of references to such outstanding events as the Peasants' Revolt in 1381, the condemnation of Wicliffe in 1382, and the Crusade of the Bishop of Norwich in 1386; second, that the additions to the C text fit the religious, political, and economic conditions of the period between 1377 and 1386;" and third, that of the number of parallels between *Piers Plowman* and Thomas Usk's *Testament of Love*, three concern the C text. Usk died March 4, 1388, so that the C text must be not later than this date.

Pilgrimage of the Soul. Paltsits, Victor H. "The Petworth Manuscript of 'Grace Dieu' or 'The Pilgrimage of the Soul:' An English Illuminated Manuscript of the Fifteenth Century." *Bull. N. Y. Pub. Libr.*, XXXII. 715–720.

The MS has recently been acquired by the N. Y. Public Library.

Rolle, Richard. Allen, Hope Emily. [Communication called forth by a review of her *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle.*] *N&Q*, CLIV. 342.

———— "Richard Rolle." *LTLS*, Nov. 22, 1928, p. 910.

A few notes and corrections to her *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle.*

Romance. Cristensen, Parley A. "The Beginnings and Endings of the Middle English Metrical Romances." *Stanford University Abstracts of Dissertations*, II. 105–110.

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Harris, Adelaide E. "The Heroine of the Middle English Romances." *Western Reserve Studies*, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 4–43.

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. Magoun, Francis P., Jr. "Anmerkungen zum Glossar des Tolkien-Gordonschen 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight.'" *Anglia*, LII. 79–82.

Savage, Henry L. "The Significance of the Hunting Scenes in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight.*" *JEGP*, XXVII. 1–15.

The hart and the boar are beasts of venery; the fox is a beast of chase. The behavior of these animals in the hunting scenes and the heraldic significance attached to each are equated with Gawain's conduct on the three mornings when he is visited by the Lady of the Castle.

St. Anne. Parker, Roscoe E. (ed.). *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne.* London, 1928 (for 1927). *Early Eng. Text. Soc.*, Orig. Ser., No. 174.

Three texts, one in twelve-line stanzas from a unique MS in the Univ. of Minnesota library (formerly Phillips 8122); one in rime royal from Trin. C. C. MS 601 (with variants from MS 8009 in the Chetham Library); and the third from Bodl. MS 10234 with variants from Harl. MS 4012). All are of the fifteenth century. In the introduction the author tries to show that the first of these versions is the source of the plays in the *Ludus Coventriae* from the conception to the birth of Christ, except for the visit to Elizabeth.

St. Erkenwald. Savage, Henry L. "St. Erkenwald." *RES*, IV. 90.

Communication, with Miss Mabel Day's reply.

Towneley Plays. Foster, Frances A. "Was Gilbert Pilkington Author of the *Secunda Pastorum*?" *PMLA*, XLIII. 124–136.

Opposes Cargill (*PMLA*, XLI. 810–831), showing that the evidence for Pilkington's authorship of the *Northern Passion* is very slight and that, if he is the author of the *Northern Passion*, chronological considerations prevent our accepting him as the Wakefield genius. The argument involves some comment on Miss Lyle's theory of an original York-Towneley cycle.

Wann, Louis. 'A New Examination of the Manuscript of the Towneley Plays." *PMLA*, XLIII. 137–152.

A convenient recording of the facts with some new matter. The results of the examination, from the point of view of the origin of the plays, are disappointingly slight—a circumstance, we may add, for which Mr. Wann is not responsible.

Usk, Thomas. Bressie, Ramona. "The Date of Thomas Usk's *Testament of Love.*" *MP*, XXVI. 17–29.

Evidence is presented from the Issue Rolls of the Exchequer that Usk was in prison for practically the first six months of 1385, thus confirming Henry Bradley's suggestion. The article further shows that one of the three passages commonly thought to be borrowed from Chaucer's *LGW* is much closer to the *Polychronicon*, but seems to undervalue the similarity of the other two. The period of imprisonment here proved fills satisfactorily the conditions required for the composition of the work, and—what is of most importance—the circumstances and occasion

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of the imprisonment furnish the basis of the most satisfactory explanation of the meaning and purpose of Usk's treatise.

Winnere and Wastoure. Anderson, Jesse M. "A Note on the Date of *Winnere and Wastoure.*" *MLN*, XLIII. 47–49.

Three quotations from Chester records supplementary to Steadman's reference suggesting a date subsequent to 1353.

Wyclif, John. Thomson, S. Harrison. "Three Unprinted Opuscula of John Wyclif." *Speculum*, III. 248–253.

———— "Some Latin Works Erroneously Ascribed to Wyclif." *Speculum*, III. 382–391.

Prints three short texts with reasons for attributing them to Wyclif.

York Plays. Clark, Grace E. "The York Plays and the *Gospel of Nichodemus.*" *PMLA*, XLIII. 153–161.

Opposes Miss Lyle's contention that the material in the York plays which is derived from the *Gospel of Nichodemus* was added after 1415, the date of Burton's list. Miss Clark argues that in two of the five plays such material was present in the form of these plays described by Burton. The plays would thus date between about 1400 (the date of Harl. MS 4196 containing the version of the *Gospel of Nichodemus* used) and 1415.

VII. RENAISSANCE AND ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE

Miscellaneous. Albright, Evelyn M. "Dramatic Publication in England, 1580–1640: A Reply." *RES.* IV. 193–202.

Called forth by W. W. Greg's review of her book. Dr. Greg replies briefly, pp. 202–204.

Craig, Hardin. "A Contribution to the Theory of the English Renaissance." *PQ*, VII. 321–333.

Stresses "the promise of unbelievably good things held out to those who acquired learning" as a powerful factor in bringing about, or at least stimulating, the English renaissance.

———— "Recent Literature of the English Renaissance." *SP*, XXV. 178–293.

Griffith, R. H. "A Lost 'Boke of Balletes' (? 1550–1600)." *LTLS*, July 5, 1928, p. 504.

Two leaves found in a binding of a book. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 520.

Lathrop, H. B. "Janus Cornarius's *Selecta Epigrammata Graeca* and the Early English Epigrammatists." *MLN*, XLIII. 223–229.

Mills, Laurens J. "The Renascence Development in England of The Classical Ideas about Friendship." [Univ. of Chicago] *Abstracts of Theses*, Humanistic Ser., IV. 337–340.

Royster, James F. "The First Edition of De la Mothe's *French Alphabeth* and of Hollybrand's *French Schoolemaister.*" *PQ*, VII. 1–5.

Describes a copy of the 1592 edition (Library of Congress), hitherto unknown.

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Simpson, Violet A. "Beggars and Begging Songs." *Virginia Qu. Rev.*, IV. 40–51.

Stenberg, Theodore. "Elizabeth as Euphuist before *Euphues*." [Univ. of Texas] *Studies in English*, No. 8, pp. 65–78.

———— "A MS. Poem Addressed to Queen Elizabeth." *N&Q*, CLIV. 282; CLV. 386.

Bacon, Francis. Parker, Willard. *Manes Verulamiani (Shades of Verulam): 32 Elegies written on the Death of Francis Bacon. . . . . Transcribed into English Verse.* New York (Bacon Society of America), 1927. (Reprinted from *American Baconiana* No. 5.)

Zeitlin, Jacob. "The Development of Bacon's Essays—with Special Reference to the Question of Montaigne's Influence upon Them." *JEGP*, XXVII. 496-519

Bale, John. Cason, Clarence E. "Additional Lines for Bale's *Kynge Johan*." *JEGP*, XXVII. 42–50.

Transcribes from a supplementary sheet reproduced in Bang's facsimile 34 lines which supply a gap in all the editions.

Beaumont and Fletcher. Oliphant, E. H. C. "Beaumont and Fletcher." *LTLS*, Feb. 23, 1928, pp. 130–131.

See SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, s. v. **Drama.**

Chapman, George. Cooper, Lane. "A Note on *Eastward Ho*, I, ii, 178." *MLN*, XLIII. 324–325.

Additional allusions to the elephant and castle, to which might be added Milton's "elephants endorsed with towers."

Withington, Robert. "A Note on *Eastward Ho*, I, ii, 178." *MLN*, XLIII. 28–29.

Drama. Baskervill, Charles R. *The Elizabethan Jig and Related Song Drama.* Chicago, 1927.

Kuhl, E. P. "Contemporary Politics in Elizabethan Drama: Fulke Greville." *PQ*, VII. 299–302.

The evidence in Fulke Greville's *Life of Sidney* that plays were likely to be viewed in the light of contemporary politics.

Tannenbaum, Samuel A. *Shakespeare Forgeries in the Revels Accounts.* N. Y., 1928.

An exhaustive examination of the accounts published by Cunningham arguing against the genuineness of the greater part of them.

Taylor, Edward A. "Elizabethan Domestic Tragedies." [Univ. of Chicago] *Abstracts of Theses*, Humanistic Ser., IV. 341–345.

Thorp, Willard. *The Triumph of Realism in Elizabethan Drama, 1558–1612.* Princeton, 1928. (*Princeton Studies in English*, No. 3.)

Begins with realistic elements in the morality and traces the gradual loss of the didactic intent. Part II consists of two chapters on "The Position of Women in the Elizabethan Drama" and "Justice in Elizabethan Tragedy."

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Williamson, George. "Sir Thomas More's View of Drama." *M L N*, XLIII. 294–296.

A brief reference in the *Utopia* reveals his belief in the unities and decorum.

Wright, Louis B. "The Scriptures and the Elizabethan Stage." *M P*, XXVI. 47–56.

The occurrence of Biblical themes in Elizabethan drama.

———— "Variety-show Clownery on the Pre-Restoration Stage." *Anglia*, LII. 51–68.

———— "Vaudeville Dancing and Acrobatics in Elizabethan Plays." *ESt*, LXIII. 59–76.

Drinking Academy, The. Day, Cyrus L. "Thomas Randolph and *The Drinking Academy*." *P M L A*, XLIII. 800–809.

A convincing array of parallels of line, phrase, and situation with Randolph's (other) plays.

Edwards, Richard. Rollins, Hyder E. "A Note on Richard Edwards." *RES*, IV. 204–206.

Prints two songs by Edwards, one apparently from his lost play *Palamon and Arcite*.

Field, Nathan. Brinkley, Roberta F. *Nathan Field, the Actor-Playwright*. New Haven, 1928. (*Yale Studies in English*, LXXVII.)

I. The Family and Early Life of Nathan Field; II. Field's Connection with Dramatic Companies; III. Field's Later Private Life; IV. Field's Individual Work as Dramatist; V. Field's Work as Collaborator; Appendix: Documents Relating to the Fields.

Fletcher, John. Maxwell, Baldwin. "The Date of *The Noble Gentleman*." *M L N*, XLIII. 22–27.

Assigns the play to 1621–22.

Gascoigne, George. Cawley, Robert R. "George Gascoigne and the Siege of Famagusta." *M L N*, XLIII. 296–300.

Gascoigne's masque shows indebtedness to a pamphlet of 1572.

Gorgeous Gallery, A. Stenburg, Theodore. "The Durham MS. of Hoccleve's *Minor Poems* and *A Gorgeous Gallery*. *N&Q*, CLIV. 116.

On the marginal scribblings in the Durham MS.

Gorges, Arthur. Sandison, Helen E. "Arthur Gorges, Spenser's Alcyon and Ralegh's Friend." *P M L A*, XLIII. 645–674.

A biographical study, based upon extensive search among state papers, the MSS at Hatfield House, etc.

Hakluyt, Richard. Parks, George B. *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*. New York, 1928.

Hall, Joseph. Salyer, Sandford M. "Hall's Satires and the Harvey-Nashe Controversy." *S P*, XXV. 149–170.

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Seeks to justify by a more restrained criticism Schulze's suggestion that Hall's *Satires* are an aftermath of the Harvey-Nashe pamphlet war.

Hawes, Stephen. Mead, William E. *The Pastime of Pleasure* by Stephen Hawes. London, 1928 (for 1927). *Early Eng. Text Soc.*, Orig. Ser., No. 173.

The text of 1517 with variant readings and an introduction (116 pp.) discussing sources, language, literary traits, etc.

Heywood, Thomas. Cromwell, Otelia. *Thomas Heywood. A Study in the Elizabethan Drama of Everyday Life.* New Haven, 1928. (*Yale Studies in English*, LXXVIII.)

I. Heywood's Dramatic Career; II. The Plays of Every Day Life; III. Heywood's Realism; IV. Heywood's Technique; V. Problems of Authorship; VI. Conclusion.

Moore, John R. "Thomas Heywood's 'Pack Clouds Away' and *The Rape of Lucrece.*" *SP*, XXV. 171–177.

Argues that this song, which occurs in the 1630 edition of the play and in an epithalamion, was written by Heywood for the wedding and afterwards added to the play.

Rouse, Charles A. "Thomas Heywood and *The Life and Death of Hector.*" *PMLA*, XLIII. 779–783.

Throws further doubt on Heywood's authorship.

Wright, Louis B. "Heywood and the Popularizing of History." *MLN*, XLIII. 287–293.

A discussion of Heywood's non-dramatic works.

———— "Notes on Thomas Heywood's Later Reputation." *RES*, IV. 135–144.

Jonson, Ben. Wagner, Bernard M. "A Jonson Allusion, and Others." *PQ*, VII. 306–308.

Kyd, Thomas. Gray, Henry D. "Reconstruction of A Lost Play." *PQ*, VII. 254–274.

An attempt to give in outline the *Hamlet* of Kyd, based upon the agreement of clues in the *Spanish Tragedy*, *Der bestrafte Brudermord*, Belleforest, and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The writer believes that the Prologue to *Der bestrafte Brudermord* was supplied by the actor who took the part of Night in Kyd's *Hamlet*, and that the portions of the German play that are to be found in the First Quarto of *Hamlet* or in Belleforest, and that do not accord with Shakespeare's drama, were derived from the *Hamlet* of Kyd.

Wagner, Bernard M. "Francis Kyd." *N&Q*, CLV. 420.

References to the father of Thomas Kyd in the records of the Scriveners' Company.

Lupset, Thomas. Gee, John A. *The Life and Works of Thomas Lupset, with a Critical Text of the Original Treatises and the Letters.* New Haven, 1928.

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An attempt to restore this sixteenth century Humanist to his proper place. The texts include Of Charitie, An Exhortation to Young Men, A Compendious Treatise, Teachyng the Waie of Dieyng Well, twelve Latin letters to Erasmus, etc.

Lyly, John. Benham, Allen R. "A Note on Lyly's *Euphues*." *PQ*, VII. 201–202.

Mustard, W. P. "Agrippa's Shadows." *MLN*, XLIII. 325.

An allusion in Lyly's *Campaspe*.

———— "Note on Lyly's *Euphues*." *MLN*, XLIII. 537.

Marlowe, Christopher. Gray, Austin K. "Some Observations on Christopher Marlowe, Government Agent." *PMLA*, XLIII. 682–700.

Under fourteen brief heads Mr. Gray considers various matters bearing on Marlowe's activities—to what extent he may have had Catholic sympathies, why it was considered a serious offence for a young man to leave Cambridge for Rheims, the employment of other students and poets as spies, the identity of other spies and the way they worked, whether Marlowe was in Newgate in 1588, etc.

Tannenbaum, Samuel A. *The Assassination of Christopher Marlowe* (*A New View*). New York (Privately Printed), [1928].

The first part is a vigorous indictment of the coroner's report in the case of Marlowe's death, showing the absurdity of the statement that Frizer, while sitting in a chair, wrestled with a man in bed behind him, and inflicted a mortal wound over his eye; the unlikelihood that a two-inch wound in this part of the brain would produce death, at least instant death; and the curious negligence of the coroner in failing to examine Eleanor Bull or any other patrons of her tavern at the time. His conclusion is that Marlowe was the victim of a premeditated murder. Part II suggests that Sir Walter Raleigh was responsible for the plot, but the argument is hardly so convincing.

Massinger, Philip. Bryne, E. A. W. (ed.). *The Maid of Honor, by Philip Massinger*. London, 1927. (Bryn Mawr diss.)

An edition with elaborate introduction and notes. Several appendices to the introduction record parallels with Massinger's other work, Fletcher's *Wit Without Money*, etc.

Middleton, Thomas. Buckingham, Elizabeth L. "Campion's *Art of English Poesie* and Middleton's *Chaste Maid in Cheapside*." *PMLA*, XLIII. 784–792.

A striking parallel between a situation in the play and an epigram in Campion's *Observations*.

Dunkel, W. D. "The Authorship of *Anything for a Quiet Life*." *PMLA*, XLIII. 793–799.

Argues against Dugdale Sykes' attempt to assign considerable parts of the play to Webster. Dunkel shows the presence of Middleton's characteristics in most of these parts.

Wright, Louis B. "A Game at Chess." *LTLS*, Feb. 16, 1928, p. 112.

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"The most probable explanation of Middleton's and Herbert's boldness is that the ruling favorite, Buckingham, and the Heir Apparent, Charles, sponsored, or, at least, actively approved a play which had for one of its chief theses a propaganda for the reclamation of the Palatinate from Spanish Domination." Cf. the comment of R. C. Bald, *LTLS*, May 17, 1928, p. 379.

More, Sir Thomas. Benham, Allen R. "First Lay Chancellor of England." *PQ*, VII. 402.

More was not the first lay chancellor of England, as commonly stated.

Munday, Anthony. Turner, Celeste. *Anthony Munday, An Elizabethan Man of Letters.* Berkeley, Cal., 1928. (*Univ. of California Pub. in English*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 1–234.)

Painter, William. Bush, Douglas. *The Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure.*" *JEGP*, XXVII. 162–169.

Mainly a discussion of the sources of the twelve stories.

Peele, George. Larsen, T. "The Canon of Peele's Works." *MP*, XXVI. 191–199.

A discussion of the doubtful and spurious works attributed to Peele.

———— "The Father of George Peele." *MP*, XXVI. 69–71.

Finds the record of James Peele's appointment as Clerk of Christ's Hospital in the records of the Court of Aldermen and reminds us that he was himself a poet.

Sampley, Arthur M. "The Version of the Bible Used by Peele in the Composition of *David and Bethsabe.*" [Univ. of Texas] *Studies in English*, No. 8, pp. 79–87.

Phillip, John. Wright, Louis B. "A Political Reflection in Phillip's *Patient Grissell.*" *RES*, IV. 424–428.

Pointed references to the need of the prince's marrying and the effect of an heir on the commons, ideas with a special significance in the early sixties.

Pore Helpe, A. Linthicum, M. Channing. "*A Pore Helpe* and Its Printers." *Library*, n. s., IX. 169–183.

A Pore Helpe, the best of the riming tracts of the controversial literature of the Reformation, has special interest for students of the drama because it contains the lines "Sing, pipe merri Annot/And play of wilnot cannot" which occur in the song sung by Tibet, Annot, and Margerie in *Ralph Roister Doister*. Miss Linthicum dates the tract on the basis of type, ornaments, and internal evidence c. 1548 or 1549; and if the lines mentioned are an allusion to *R.R.D.*, some version of the play was in existence before this date.

Porter, Henry. Oliphant, E. H. C. "Who Was Henry Porter?" *PMLA*, XLIII. 572–575.

Dissents from Miss Shear's conclusion (*PMLA*, XLII. 641–655) and urges certain grounds for thinking *The Two Angry Women of Abington* was in existence as early as 1589 and that Henry Porter belongs with the predecessors of Shakespeare.

Queen of Corinth, The. Oliphant, E. H. C. "A Note." *MLN*, XLIII. 112–113.

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Ralph Roister Doister. See above, s. v. **Pore Helpe, A.**

Randolph, Thomas. See above, s. v. **Drinking Academy.**

Shakespeare. Albright, Evelyn M. "The Folio Version of *Henry V* in Relation to Shakespeare's Times." *PMLA*, XLIII. 722–756.

Believes the Folio text the original, interprets numerous passages as references to the Essex conspiracy (these being largely cut in the Quarto version), and suggests that the play was possibly performed before a special audience of statesmen and courtiers at the Globe shortly before the return of Essex from Ireland.

Anderson, Ruth L. *Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays. Univ. of Iowa Studies*, Humanistic Series, Vol. III, No. 4, 1927.

An attempt to define the principles of Elizabethan psychology, the physical and ethical treatment of the passions, etc., with a special view to their interpretation of Shakespeare.

Baldwin, Thomas W. (ed.). *The Comedy of Errors*. New York, [1928].

Contains an excellent introduction, including a section on "Plotting the Play" in the light of the author's *Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company*, and appendices on "Supposed Pre-Shakespearean Versions of *The Comedy of Errors*," "Shakespeare's Geography in *The Comedy of Errors*," etc.

———— "Texts and Prompt Copies." *LTLS*, April 19, 1928, p. 290.

Comment on an important communication of Sir Edmund Chambers (*LTLS*, March 8, 1929, p. 170) noting the presence of an actor's name (possibly two) in the Folio text of 2 Henry VI.

Barret, Pringle. "Shakespeare's Paraphrase of His *Thought-executing Fires*." [*Lear*, III. ii. 4] *MLN*, XLIII. 316–317.

Cites the *Tempest*, I, ii, 206–210 to confirm the interpretation of Lear's description of lightning as "doing execution with rapidity equal to thought." But since the storm affects Lear's reason and is described as so severe that "man's nature cannot carry the affliction nor the fear," and since Prospero's words, under similar circumstances, are "Who was so firm, so constant that this coil would not infect his reason?" it seems that an equally acceptable interpretation would see in "thought executing fires" lightning that kills or puts an end to thought and reason.

Bethurum, Dorothy. "The Immortal Word-smith: A Study of Shakespeare's Apparent Poetic Digressions." *Seewanee Rev.*, XXXVI. 62–75.

Brooke, Tucker. "Shakespeare's Study in Culture and Anarchy." *Yale Rev.*, XVII. 571–577.

Daugherty, Geroge H., Jr. "Shakespeare as a Military Critic." *Open Court*, XLII. 257–276.

Doran, Madeleine. "Actors' Names in the *Contention* and 2 *Henry VI*." *PQ*, VII. 399–400.

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Forsythe, Robert S. *The Merry Wives of Windsor:* Two New *Analogues.*" *PQ*, VII. 390–398.

Furness, Horace H., Jr. *Coriolanus.* Philadelphia, 1928.

The twentieth volume of the New Variorum edition.

Gatch, Katherine H. "Shakespeare's Allusions to the Older Drama." *PQ*, VII. 27–44.

Gaw, Allison. "The Use of the Turret in the First Part of Henry VI." *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, LXIV, 182–184.

Gray, Austin K. "Shakespeare and *Titus Andronicus.*" *SP*, XXV. 295–311.

Shakespeare's hand in the play supported by parallels in *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, written at the same time.

Krappe, Alexander H. "Shakespeare Notes." *Anglia*, LII. 174–182.

Notes on the sources of passages in *Richard III*, *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet.*

———— "The Source of 'Othello,' Act III, Sc. iii, ll. 157–161." *MLR*, XXIII. 44–45.

A sixteenth century Italian parallel to "Who steals my purse steals trash."

Kuhl, Ernest. "My Wealthy Andrew." [*M. of V.*] *LTLS*, Dec. 27, 1928, p. 1025.

Evidence that Shakespeare was referring to a Spanish ship captured in 1596, with some political implications.

———— "Shakespeare and Hayward." *SP*, XXV. 312–315.

Opposes Miss Albright's view that in *Richard II* Shakespeare used Hayward's history as a source and suggests that Hayward was indebted to Shakespeare.

Law, Robert A. "An Unnoted Analogue to the Imogen Story." [Univ. of Texas] *Studies in English*, No. 7, 1927, pp. 133–135.

Notes a series of corresponding situations in *Cymbeline* and the old *King Leir.*

Linthicum, M. Channing. "'My Jewish Gaberdine'." *PMLA*, XLIII. 757–766.

On the meaning of the word *gaberdine.* Additional sixteenth century occurrences of the word indicate a large garment, sometimes of costly materials, not peculiar to Jews. The study contains interesting data on the distinctive features of dress imposed upon Jews by different countries.

McCarthy, Edith E. "The Portraits in *Hamlet.*" *LTLS*, Aug. 30, 1928, p. 617.

Malone, Kemp. "More Etymologies for Hamlet." *RES*, IV. 257–269.

A discussion of the etymologies proposed recently by Nordfelt and Meissner and, incidentally, a reaffirmation of his own.

Porter, C. Endymion. "Act and Chorus in *Henry V.*" *LTLS*, Nov. 8, 1928, pp. 833–834.

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Proestler, Mary. "Caesar Did never Wrong but with Just Cause." *PQ*, VII. 91–92.

Suetonius illuminating *Julius Caesar*, III, I. 46–47.

Savage, J. J. "The Winter of Our Discontent." *Classical Weekly*, XXI. 115.

Smith, Robert M. *The Variant Issues of Shakespeare's Second Folio and Milton's First Published English Poem. A Bibliographical Problem. Lehigh Univ. Publication*, Vol. II. No. 3. (Institute of Research, Circular No. 14. Studies in the Humanities No. 4.) Bethlehem, Pa. 1928.

The first adequate description of the variant issues of the second Folio. Nine variants are distinguished. The variants in Milton's verses are listed, and a valuable census is added of the 124 copies of the Second Folio known to the author.

Starnes, D. T. "Shakespeare and Elyot's *Governour*." [Univ. of Texas] *Studies in English*, No. 7, 1927, pp. 112–132.

Notes similarities of thought and expression between Elyot and Shakespeare, especially *2 Henry IV*, *Henry V*, and *Troilus and Cressida*.

Stoll, E. E. "Cleopatra." *MLR*, XXIII. 145–163.

"The present essay .... has been .... prompted by a desire to demonstrate more fully what is meant by characterization without psychology, particularly by the differentiation of the speech" (p. 149).

Tannenbaum, Samuel A. "Textual and Other Notes on *The Winter's Tale*." *PQ*, VII. 358–367.

Taylor, G. A. "Publication of First Folio." *N&Q*, CLIV. 124.

Taylor, George C. "Is Shakespeare's Antonio the 'Weeping Philosopher' Heraclitus?" *MP*, XXVI. 161–167.

An interesting collection of occurrences of the Heraclitus-Democritus contrast with the suggestion that Shakespeare had the convention in mind in creating the character of Antonio.

Tilley, M. P. "Shakespeare's 'Purge' of Jonson." *LTLS*, Oct. 11, 1928, p. 736.

The "country, city, court" of *As You Like It* (II. i. 59) is an alliterative group fairly common in Elizabethan literature and not merely an echo of Jonson.

Todd, O. J. "Who Wrote Shakespeare's Plays?" *MLN*, XLIII. 106–108.

Wecter, Dixon. "Shakespeare's Purpose in *Timon of Athens*." *PMLA*, XLIII. 701–721.

Timon of Athens is a reflection of the Essex trial and the desertion of the Earl by his friends. Ventidius is Bacon. Fearing to perform the play as originally written, the company arranged for its revision (probably by Middleton).

Willoughby, Edwin E. "The Heading, *Actus Primus, Scæna Prima*, in the First Folio." *RES*, IV. 323–326.

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The printer often used the same setting of type, and this makes possible a grouping of plays printed roughly at the same time.

———— "An Interruption in the Printing of the First Folio." *Library*, n. s., IX. 262–266.

On the basis of a broken ornament it appears that "Jaggard, in 1621, was printing Favyn's *Theater of Honour* and Shakespeare's First Folio, but was forced to stop work upon them to bring out Vincent's *Discoverie of Errours*. This interruption [which occurred after the second page of *Richard II*] delayed the publication of the First Folio for over a year."

———— "A Note on the Relationship of the First and Second Quartos of *Hamlet*." *Anglia*, LII. 288.

The spelling *pre thee* points to indebtedness of Q_2 to Q_1.

Wilson, J. Dover and Gray, Henry D. "Hamlet Q_1 and Mr. Henry David Grey." *PMLA*, XLIII. 575–578.

Mr. Dover Wilson's reply to Mr. Gray's article in *PMLA*, XLII. 721–735 and Mr. Gray's rejoinder.

Sir Thomas More. Tannenbaum, Samuel A. "'More about The Bookie of Sir Thomas Moore'." *PMLA*, XLIII. 767–778.

The stage directions are not revised throughout for a performance and the two references to actors in connection with certain parts are apparently forgeries of Collier's. Further evidence is also offered against the identification of scribe D with Shakespeare.

———— "Robert Wilson and *Sir Thomas More*." *N&Q*, CLIV. 465–466.

Criticism of Golding's communications, *ibid.*, 237, 259, 335.

———— "Shakespeare's Hand Once More." *LTLS*, Jan. 12, 1928, p. 28.

Skelton, John. Stearns, Helen. "The Date of the *Garlande of Laurell*." *MLN*, XLIII. 314–316.

Evidence that the poem was written in April, 1523.

———— "John Skelton and Christopher Garnesche." *MLN*, XLIII. 518–523.

Materials in the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* which have become available since Dyce edited the works of Skelton in 1843 reveal Garnesche as a more important person than is usually thought and help to date the poems attacking him about 1513 or 1514.

Spenser, Edmund. Albright, Evelyn M. "Spenser's Reason for Rejecting the Cantos of Mutability." *SP*, XXV. 93–127.

"I shall try to show in this paper that the *Mutability* cantos were certainly intended as part of a book in *The Faerie Queen*; that the theme of the book was probably to have been English affairs in Ireland; that this early version of part of a book on Ireland was deliberately rejected by Spenser because he sent it to Harvey

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for criticism and Harvey and a circle of Cambridge friends to whom he read it criticized it severely; that Spenser conserved a good part of the matter of Mutability in his published works. . . . . Most significant, perhaps, for a study of Spenser's philosophy of life is the date of composition of the Mutability cantos, which must thus be placed at 1579–1580" (pp. 94–95). Her argument rests upon her belief that the criticisms of Harvey in a letter probably dating from 1579 or 1580 (Letter-Book, pp. 82–88) apply specifically to the Mutability cantos.

Bradner, Leicester. "Forerunners of the Spenserian Stanza." *RES*, IV. 207–208.

Two nine-line stanzas in *Tottel's Miscellany*.

Coe, Ada H. "Spenser and Ovid." *Classical Weekly*, XXII. 91–92.

Crane, Clara W. "A Source for Spenser's Story of Timias and Belphebe." *PMLA*, XLIII. 635–644.

The bird who carries a recognition token and brings two lovers together is found in the O.F. romance *Violette*.

Hurlbert, Viola B. "A New Interpretation of Spenser's *Muiopotmos*." *SP*, XXV. 128–148.

Opposes Miss Lyons' Raleigh-Essex interpretation and substitutes the Sidney-Oxford quarrel, with Burghley as the spider.

Knowlton, E. C. "The Genii of Spenser." *SP*, XXV. 439–456.

A discussion of the classical and medieval background of Spenser's use of Genius.

Lee, Rensselaer W. "Castiglione's Influence on Spenser's Early Hymns." *PQ*, VII. 65–77.

The influence has been noticed but largely disregarded. It is here shown to have been greater than the other influences commonly mentioned.

Lemmi, C. W. "The Influence of Trissino on the *Faerie Queene*." *PQ*, VII. 220–223.

A short but important paper showing clear resemblances between the first two books of the *Faerie Queene* and books IV and V of *L'Italia Liberata dai Gotti*.

Levinson, Ronald B. "Spenser and Bruno." *PMLA*, XLIII. 675–681.

Offers arguments for the affirmative in the question whether Spenser read Bruno and opposes Greenlaw in the thesis that "certain portions of the *Faerie Queene* are animated by a spirit of Lucretian scepticism at odds with that Christianized New-platonism which has commonly been recognized as Spenser's sole philosophy.'

Parrott, Alice. "A Critical Bibliography of Spenser from 1923–1928." *SP*, XXV. 468–490.

Richter, Margaret R. "Spenser's Use of Arthurian Romance." *Stanford University Abstracts of Dissertations*, II. 119–124.

Limited to Old French Arthurian romances. "Spenser's use of Malory, which cannot be denied, has been greatly exaggerated, for many of the motives used by Spenser cannot be found in Malory. . . . . This study has shown Spenser's continual repetition of motifs. . . . . "

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Royster, James F. "E. K's *elf<Guelph, goblin<Ghibelline.*" *M L N*, XLIII. 249–252.

Zeitler, W. I. "The Date of Spenser's Death." *M L N*, XLIII. 322–324.

Evidence to prove the date January 13 instead of the usually accepted January 16.

Surrey, Earl of. Padelford, Frederick M. *The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey.* Revised edition. Seattle, 1928.

The second part of the introduction has been rewritten and enlarged.

Tottel's Miscellany. Rollins, Hyder E. (ed.). *Tottel's Miscellany (1557–1587).* Vol. I. Cambridge, 1928.

Based upon 8 editions between 1557 and 1587.

Withers, Robert. Rice, Warner G. *"The Grand Signiors Serraglio:* Written by Master Robert Withers." *M L N*, XLIII. 450–459.

A comparison of the description of Turkey printed in Purchas with its Italian source.

VIII. SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Miscellaneous. Emperor, John B. "The Catullian Influence in English Lyric Poetry, Circa 1600–1650." *Univ. of Missouri Studies*, III, No. 3, pp. 1–133.

Mead, Douglass S. *The Literary Comparison in Jacobean Prose.* [? Princeton, 1928.]

Ornstein, Martha. *The Rôle of Scientific and Learned Societies in the Seventeenth Century.* Chicago, 1928.

Richardson, Caroline F. *English Preachers and Preaching, 1640–1670.* New York, 1928.

The chapter heads do not do justice to the book. They are: The Training of a Pulpit Speaker, The Preacher and His Public, The Sermon and the Public, The Secular Interests of the Clergy, The Preacher and the Social Order, The Character of a Preacher.

Wood, Paul S. "The Opposition to Neo-Classicism in England between 1660 and 1700.' *P M L A*, XLIII. 182–197.

The opposition is not to be considered evidence of militant romanticism but rather of English individualism or of inertia.

Bunyan, John. DeBlois, Austen K. *John Bunyan the Man.* Philadelphia, [1928].

Golder, Harold. "The Chivalric Background of *Pilgrim's Progress.* *Harvard Univ. Summaries of Theses accepted . . . . in 1925*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 57–58.

Harding, William H. *John Bunyan, Pilgrim and Dreamer.* New York, 1928.

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Nelson, William H. *Tinker and Thinker, John Bunyan, 1628–1688.* Chicago, 1928.

Speight, Harold E. B. *The Life and Writings of John Bunyan.* New York, 1928.

Burton, Robert. Doane, Gilbert H. "A Checklist of the Editions of the *Anatomy of Melancholy.*" *AmColl*, v. 247–249.

Brathwait, Richard. Black, Matthew W. *Richard Brathwait: An Account of His Life and Works.* Philadelphia, 1928. (Univ. of Pennsylvania diss.)

A study of a prolific gentleman journalist, resembling in his work Greene and Breton before him and Defore after him. As the author of "satire, characters, pastoral, burlesque, criticism, the realistic tale, popularizations of history, courtesy-books, religious essays, and sonnets," he reflects his age in a remarkable way. The study adds much new information about the last half of Brathwait's life.

Cowley, Abraham. Nethercot, Arthur H. "Abraham Cowley as Dramatist." *RES*, IV. 1–24.

———— "The Letters of Abraham Cowley." *MLN*, XLIII. 369–375.

Note of the score of letters that exist in scattered places.

Crowne, John. Noyes, Robert G. "Mrs. Bracegirdle's Acting in Crowne's *Justice Busy.*" *MLN*, XLIII. 390–91.

Denham, Sir John. Banks, Theodoer H., Jr. (ed.). *The Poetical Works of Sir John Denham.* New Haven, 1928.

Edition of 1668 supplemented by MS sources.

Donne, John. Johnson, Beatrice. "Classical Allusions in the Poetry of Donne." *PMLA*, XLIII. 1098–1109.

Terrill, T. Edward. "A Note on John Donne's Early Reading." *MLN*, XLIII. 318–319.

The quotation "Antes muerto que mudado" comes from Montemayor's *Diana.* The author says "I can also show that Donne traveled in Spain and was at the court before 1595. . . . . "

Williamson, George. "The Nature of the Donne Tradition." *SP*, XXV. 416–438.

A detailed analysis (and defence) of Donne as a poet.

Drama. Clark, William S. "The Sources of the Restoration Heroic Play." *RES*, IV. 49–63.

Returns to Scott's view that the heroic play was "the legitimate offspring of the French romances" and supports the opinion by numerous parallels between the plays and episodes in the romances.

———— "The Manuscript of *The Generall.*" *LTLS*, Sept. 20, 1928, p. 667.

In search of the MS used by Halliwell-Phillipps.

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Hotson, Leslie. *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage.* Cambridge, 1928.

Covers the period 1642–1704 and incorporates the results of a fruitful search among Chancery Proceedings and other records in the P.R.O. yielding over 120 lawsuits of importance in stage history. There is a section on the violations of the law against plays during the Commonwealth, one on the playhouses, and a series of chapters on the companies. An appendix contains a goodly collection of original material although not all that Mr. Hotson has found.

———— "Abraham Ivory." *LTLS*, May 24, 1928, p. 396.

A note on a Commonwealth actor.

Sprague, Arthur C. "Beaumont and Fletcher on the Restoration Stage." *Harvard Univ. Summaries of Theses accepted . . . . in 1925*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 140–141.

Published in full in 1925.

Stoll, Elmer E. " 'Artificial' Comedy." *LTLS*, March 1, 1928, p. 150.

Whiting, George W. "Political Satire on the London Stage, 1675–90." [Univ. of Chicago] *Abstracts of Theses*, Humanistic Ser., IV. 353–357.

Wilson, John H. *The Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Restoration Drama.* Columbus, 1928. ([Ohio State Univ.] *Contributions in Lang. and Lit.*, No. 4.)

Dryden, John. Ham, Roswell G. "Uncollected Verse by John Dryden." *LTLS*, Dec. 27, 1928, p. 1025.

———— "Dryden versus Settle." *MP*, XXV. 409–416.

Attributes to Settle the *Tryal of the Poets*, *Azaria and Hushai*, and *The Medal Revers'd* and accounts for Dryden's venom accordingly.

Harrison, T. P., Jr. "*Othello* as a Model for Dryden in *All for Love.*" [Univ. of Texas] *Studies in English*, No. 7, 1927, pp. 136–143.

Havens, Raymond D. "An Adaptation of One of Dryden's Plays." *RES*, IV. 88.

Quotes advertisement from *Spectator* for Feb. 15, 1712.

Starnes, D. T. "More about Dryden as an Adapter of Shakespeare." [Univ. of Texas] *Studies in English*, No. 8, pp. 100–106.

Reminiscences of *Julius Caesar*, *As You Like It*, *Hamlet*, etc., in *All for Love*

Bredvold, Louis I. "Dryden, Hobbes, and the Royal Society." *MP*, XXV. 417–438.

Discusses Dryden's relation to the new intellectual impulse and his sympathy with the new science.

Dunton, John. McCutcheon, Roger P. "John Dunton's Connection with Book-Reviewing." *SP*, XXV. 346–361.

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Etherege, Sir George. Foster, Dorothy. "Sir George Etherege Collections: Addenda." *N&Q*, CLIV. 28.

———— "Sir George Etherege." *LTLS*, May 31, 1928, p. 412.

Notes on some relatives and friends of the dramatist.

Herbert, George. Mann, Cameron. *A Concordance to the English Poems of George Herbert.* Boston, 1927.

Hopkins, Charles. Maxwell, Baldwin. "Notes on Charles Hopkins' *Boadicea.*" *RES*, IV. 79–83.

Hughes, Lewis. Cole, George Watson. "Lewis Hughes, The Militant Minister of the Bermudas and His Printed Works." *Proc. Amer. Antiquarian Soc.*, XXXVII ([1928 for] 1927). 247–311.

Killigrew, Sir William. Wagner, Bernard M. "*The Siege of Urbin.*" *LTLS*, Nov. 1, 1928, p. 806.

On the handwriting of the MS.

Milton. Ainsworth, Oliver M. *Milton on Education. The Tractate Of Education with Supplementary Extracts from Other Writings of Milton.* New Haven, 1928. (*Cornell Studies in English*, XII.)

Milton's brief *Tractate* is edited with a 50 page introduction and (a useful feature) 200 pages of pertinent extracts from Milton's other works grouped under twelve heads.

Clark, Evert M. "Milton's Earlier *Samson.*" [Univ. of Texas] *Studies in English*, No. 7, 1927, pp. 144–154.

The story of Samson had been told by Milton to illustrate a point in *The Reason of Church Government.*

———— "Milton's Conception of Samson." [Univ. of Texas] *Studies in English*, No. 8, pp. 88–99.

Fletcher, Harris. "Milton and Rashi." *JEGP*, XXVII. 300–317.

Further evidence of Milton's indebtedness to rabbinical commentary.

Hanford, James H. "The Manuscript of *Paradise Lost.*" *MP*, XXV. 313–317.

The transcript of the first book now in the Pierpont Morgan Library *was* the copy from which the 1667 edition was set up.

Keith, A. L. "Personification in Milton's *Paradise Lost.*" *Eng. Jour.*, College Ed., XVII. 399–409.

Lawson, Evangeline. "Milton's Theology." *Open Court*, XLII. 407–413.

Mabbott, Thomas O. "Milton's Letters." *LTLS*, Feb. 16, 1928, p. 112.

Announces the discovery of seven Latin letters of Milton, five unpublished, in the Oldenburg State Archives. The contents are said to be not of great significance, but the letters are a considerable addition to the small number of Milton's letters in existence.

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Martin, Burns. "The Date of Milton's First Marriage." *SP*, XXV. 457–461.

Evidence for the date 1642 rather than 1643.

Nock, S. A. "Notes on Milton's Appearance." *MLN*, XLIII. 391–393.

Stenberg, Theodore. "Sackville's Buckingham and Milton's Satan." *N&Q*, CLIV. 100.

Milton's indebtedness to Sackville. Cf. reply, *ibid.*, 141.

Thaler, Alwin. "Milton and Marston." *PMLA*, XLIII. 569–570.

Comment on S. F. Damon's note (*PMLA*, XLII. 873).

Otway, Thomas. Moore, John R. "Contemporary Satire in Otway's *Venice Preserved*." *PMLA*, XLIII. 166–181.

A detailed study of the satirical thrusts directed at Shaftesbury and his party.

Pepys, Samuel. Shinn, Anne O'H. "Pepys's Method." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, IV. 1043.

Rules of Civility. Heltzel, Virgil B. "*The Rules of Civility* (1671) and its French Source." *MLN*, XLIII. 17–22.

Settle, Elkanah. See above, s. v. **Dryden.**

Tuke, Samuel. Clark, William S. "George and Samuel Tuke." *LTLS*, May 3, 1928, p. 334.

Notes that Evelyn twice states that *The Adventures of Five Hours* was written by Sir George Tuke (not Samuel) and adds biographical notes on the two brothers. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 396.

Waller, Edmund. Lloyd, Claude. "Edmund Waller as a Member of the Royal Society." *PMLA*, XLIII. 162–165.

A brief note on Waller's relations with the society.

Riske, Ella T. "The Date and Occasion of Waller's *Panegyric to My Lord Protector*." *PMLA*, XLIII. 1201–1202.

Wood, Anthony. Powys, Llewelyn. "Anthony à Wood (1632–1695)" *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, IV. 733–735.

IX. EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Miscellaneous. Anderson, Marjorie. "Interest in the Scottish Highlands in Eighteenth Century English Literature and Its Relation to the Work of Sir Walter Scott." [Univ. of Chicago] *Abstracts of Theses*, Humanistic Ser., IV. 313–316.

Bernbaum, Ernest. "Recent Works on Prose Fiction before 1800." *MLN*, XLIII. 416–425. Cf. pp. 114–115; 116–117.

Bloom, Margaret. *French and English Romanticism: A Comparative Study*. Urbana, 1928. (Abstract of Thesis, Univ. of Illinois).

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Chandler, Zilpha E. *An Analysis of the Stylistic Technique of Addison, Johnson, Hazlitt, and Pater.* Iowa City, 1928. (*Univ. of Iowa Humanistic Studies*, Vol. IV. No. 3.)

Crane, Ronald S. "English Literature, 1660–1800: A Current Bibliography." *PQ*, VII. 155–194.

Hadley, Frances W. "The Theory of Milieu in English Criticism from 1600 to 1801." [Univ. of Chicago] *Abstracts of Theses*, Humanistic Ser., IV. 321–324.

Heidler, John B. *The History, from 1700 to 1800, of English Criticism of Prose Fiction.* Urbana, 1928. (*Univ. of Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit.*, Vol. XIII, No. 2.)

Hillhouse, J. T. "The Man of Taste." *MLN*, XLIII. 174–176.

On two plays and a poem following Pope's "Epistle on Taste."

Irving, William H. "An Imitation of the *Faerie Queene*." *MLN*, XLIII. 80.

Laprade, William T. "The Power of the English Press in the Eighteenth Century." *So. Atl. Qu.*, XXVII. 426–434.

McKillop, Alan D. "The First English Translator of *Werther*." *MLN*, XLIII. 36–38.

Evidence that the 1779 version was by Richard Graves. A supplementary note, p. 467, announces that Wm. A. Speck, in the *International Book Review* for May 1926, had independently proved Grave's authorship.

Thornton, Richard H. "The Periodical Press and Literary Currents in England, 1785–1802." [Univ. of Chicago] *Abstracts of Theses*, Humanistic Ser., IV. 347–352.

Whitford, Robert C. "Juvenal in England 1750–1802." *PQ*, VII. 9–16.

Addison. See above, **Miscellaneous.** s. v. Chandler.

Blake, William. Fairchild, Hoxie N. "Unpublished References to Blake by Hayley and Lady Hesketh." *SP*, XXV. 1–10.

Pierce, Frederick E. "Blake and Klopstock." *SP*, XXV. 11–26.

Reminiscences of the *Messiah* in Blake's poetry.

———— "Blake and Thomas Taylor." *PMLA*, XLIII. 1121–1141.

Similarity of ideas suggests that Blake had read at least some of Taylor's numerous works on Plato.

Boswell, James. Bailey, Margery. *The Hypochondriack: Being the Seventy Essays by the Celebrated biographer, James Boswell, appearing in the London Magazine from November, 1777, to August, 1783, and here first Reprinted.* 2 Vols. Stanford University, California, 1928.

Pleadwell, Frank L. "Lord Mountstuart—Boswell's *Maecenas*." *AmColl*, V. 233–241.

Prints five letters to Boswell from the originals.

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Brooke, Henry. Stevenson, Lionel. "Brooke's *Universal Beauty* and Modern Thought." *PMLA*, XLIII. 198–209.

Brooke's mysticism lifts this poem above the level of the ordinary versified science of his day, and affiliates him occasionally with modern poets.

Burns. Carlton, W. N. C. "The Kilmarnock Burns." *AmColl*, v. 208–211.

Ferguson, J. DeLancey. "Canceled Passages in the Letters of Robert Burns to George Thomson." *PMLA*, XLIII. 1110–1120.

The restoration of passages deleted by Thomson through vanity and other motives less easily overlooked reveal his character in an unamiable light even to the most indulgent.

Snyder, Franklyn B. "A Note on Burns' Language." *MLN*, XLIII. 511–518.

Suggests that the language of Burns was not the local dialect of Ayrshire, a fact for which we have the authority of Professor Craigie too, and that "his use of a Scottish dialect for his poetry was a distinctly revolutionary procedure."

———— "Burns and His Biographies." *SP*, XXV. 401–415.

Traces the growth of the tradition of Burns's intoxication.

Centlivre, Mrs. Bowyer, John W. "Susanna Freeman Centlivre." *MLN*, XLIII. 78–80.

No apparent record of her birth at Holbeach among the parish records. She was probably born in Ireland during the exile of her father. Additions to the list of her works.

Chesterfield, Lord. Heltzel, Virgil B. "Chesterfield and the Tradition of the Ideal Gentleman." [Univ. of Chicago.] *Abstracts of Theses*, Humanistic Ser., IV. 325–328.

———— "Chesterfield and the Anti-Laughter Tradition." *MP*, XXVI. 73–90.

Churchill, Charles. Whitford, Robert C. "Gleanings of Churchill Bibliography." *MLN*, XLIII. 30–34.

Supplementary to Beatty's list (*PMLA*, XLII. 162–176).

Cibber, Colley. Senior, Dorothy. *The Life and Times of Colley Cibber*. New York, 1928.

Collier, Jeremy. Freeman, Edmund L. "Jeremy Collier and Francis Bacon." *PQ*, VII. 17–26.

Collier's indebtedness, in certain directions, to Bacon's essays.

Collins, William. McKillop, Alan D. "A Lost Poem by Collins." *LTLS*, Dec. 6, 1928, p. 965.

Woodhouse, A. S. P. "Collins and Martin Martin." *LTLS*, Dec. 20, 1928, p. 1011.

A new source for Collins' *Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands.*

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Cowper, William. Fairchild, Hoxie N. "Additional Notes on John Johnson's Diary." *PMLA*, XLIII. 571–572.

Useful data supplementary to R. E. Spiller's article in *PMLA*, XLII. 946–962.

Drama. Buck, Howard. "A *Roderick Random* Play, 1748." *MLN*, XLIII. 111–112.

McPharlin, Paul. "Boy-actors Playing Women's Parts." *N&Q*, CLV. 304.

Thorp, Willard. "The Stage Adventures of Some Gothic Novels." *PMLA*, XLIII. 476–486.

Wright, Louis B. "A Note on Dramatic Piracy." *MLN*, XLIII. 256–258.

Three very interesting quotations from eighteenth century theatrical memoirs showing how plays were reproduced from the memory of actors in certain parts with the gaps otherwise supplied, and throwing interesting light on the actor-thief theories of Elizabethan text transmission.

Elegy. Draper, John W. (ed.). *A Century of Broadside Elegies, being ninety English and ten Scotch broadsides illustrating the biography and manners of the seventeenth century. Photographically reproduced and edited with an Introduction and Notes.* London, 1928.

Garrick, David. Alexander, Ryllis C. (ed.). *The Diary of David Garrick. Being A Record of His Memorable Trip to Paris in 1751.* Now first printed from the original MS and edited with illustrations and collotype facsimiles of the MS. New York, 1928.

Goldsmith, Oliver. Balderston, Katharine C. (ed.). *The Collected Letters of Oliver Goldsmith.* New York, 1928.

Contains some ten letters hitherto unpublished. The introduction clears up certain points in Goldsmith's life and an appendix contains Mrs. Hodson's memoir.

Bonner, Willard H. " 'Poems for Young Ladies': A Bibliographical Note." *N&Q*, CLV. 129–132.

Cf. also p. 175.

Tinker, Chauncey B. "Figures in a Dream." *Yale Rev.*, XVII. 670–689.

The theme of *The Deserted Village* in Goldsmith and recent poets.

Grub-Street Journal. Hillhouse, James T. *The Grub-Street Journal.* Durham, N. C., 1928.

Discusses the history of the *Journal* and what little can be determined regarding Pope's connection with it. Four chapters epitomize the contents under appropriate heads and an appendix lists issue by issue the literary material.

Johnson, Samuel. Small, Miriam R. "The Source of a Note in Johnson's Edition of *Macbeth*." *MLN*, XLIII. 34–35.

Another instance of his indebtedness to Mrs. Lennox's *Shakespear Illustrated.*

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See above, **Miscellaneous,** s. v. Chandler.

Kenrick, William. Bond, Richmond P. "A Triple Burlesque." *MLN*, XLIII. 312–314.

The *Old Woman's Dunciad* (1751).

Lyttleton, George (Lord). Johnson, Franklin P. "Lyttelton." *PQ*, VII. 309–310.

An unpublished poem by Lord Lyttleton.

Montague, Lady Mary Wortley. Hughes, Helen S. "A Letter from Lady Mary to Mr. Wortley Montague." *RES*, IV. 327–330.

Piozzi, Mrs. Merritt, Percival. *The True Story of the So-called Love Letters of Mrs. Piozzi: "In Defence of an Elderly Lady."* Cambridge, Mass., 1927.

Pope, Alexander. Bond, Donald F. "The *Essay on Man*, Epistle II, lines 31–34." *MLN*, XLIII. 326.

Case, Arthur E. "The Model for Pope's Verses *To the Author of a Poem Intitled 'Successio.'*" *MLN*, XLIII. 321–322.

The model is Dorset's *To Mr. Edward Howard*, etc.

Hughes, Helen S. "Pope to Lord Bathurst: An Unpublished Letter." *SP*, XXV. 462–467.

Richardson, Samuel. Binkley, Harold C. "A Novelist in Letters." *Papers of the Michigan Acad. of Science, Arts and Letters*, VIII. 333–340.

Ritson, Joseph. Hopkins, Annette B. "Ritson's *Life of King Arthur*." *PMLA*, XLIII. 251–287.

A critical study of Ritson's Arthurian scholarship.

Seward, Anna. Ashmun, Margaret. "Anna Seward." *LTLS*, June 21, 1928, p. 468.

Corrects *D.N.B.* in date of birth. Cf. *LTLS*, June 28, 1928, p. 487.

Shenstone, William. Gammans, Harold W. "Shenstone's Appreciation of Virgil." *Classical Weekly*, XXII. 90–91.

Sheridan, R. B. Gabriel, Miriam, and Mueschke, Paul. "Two Contemporary Sources of Sheridan's *The Rivals*." *PMLA*, XLIII. 237–250.

"The outlines of the main plot of *The Rivals* Sheridan derived from Garrick's *Miss in Her Teens* (1747) and the motivation of the sub-plot from Colman's *Deuce Is in Him* (1763)."

Smith, Charlotte. Foster, James R. "Charlotte Smith, Pre-Romantic Novelist." *PMLA*, XLIII. 463–475.

Smollett, Tobias. McKillop, Alan D. "Notes on Smollett." *PQ*, VII. 368–374.

I. *The Tears of Scotland*; II. Smollett and Richardson; III. Smollett and Churchill.

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Squire Trelooby. Hodges, John C. "The Authorship of *Squire Trelooby*." *RES*, IV. 404–413.

The version of 1704 identified by Montague Summers with the play by Congreve, Vanbrugh and Walsh was written by John Ozell and included by him in his complete *Molière* published in 1714.

Swift, Jonathan. Bennett, R. E. "A Note on the Cyrano-Swift Criticism." *MLN*, XLIII. 96–97.

Examines the possibility that D'Urfey's *Wonders in the Sun* (based upon Bergerac) is a direct source of *Gulliver's Travels* and decides in the negative.

Moore, John B. "The Rôle of Gulliver." *MP*, XXV. 469–480.

Thomson, James. Hughes, Helen S. "Thomson and the Countess of Hertford." *MP*, XXV. 439–468.

Much interesting new material from a MS among the Percy papers showing Thomson's friendly relations with the Countess until the time of his death (contrary to Johnson's statement) and including two unpublished poems and a letter.

Walpole, Horace. Hughes, Helen S. "Another Letter by Horace Walpole." *MLN*, XLIII. 319–320.

Lewis, W. S. "Walpole's Xo Ho." *LTLS*, Aug. 30, 1928, 617.

The source is Du Halde's *Voyage en Chine*.

Warton, Thomas. Havens, Raymond D. "Thomas Warton and the Eighteenth-Century Dilemma." *SP*, XXV. 36–50.

Illustrates Warton's inability to escape from neo-classic critical standards and habits of thought, and shows the consequent inconsistencies in both his poetry and his criticism.

Wechter, Dixon. "Thomas Warton's Poems." *LTLS*, June 14, 1928, 450.

Solution of a bibliographical problem. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 520.

Young, Edward. Sherburn, George. "Edward Young and Book Advertising." *RES*, IV. 414–417.

An interesting quarrel between Young and Curll, not free from the suspicion of being merely a publicity device.

X. NINETEENTH CENTURY

Miscellaneous. Burgum, Edwin B. "Victorianism." *Sewanee Rev.*, XXXVI. 273–291.

Frierson, William C. "The English Controversy over Realism in Fiction 1885–1895." *PMLA*, XLIII. 533–550.

Traces the antagonism towards Zola and the French realists, the two trials of Vizetelly, publisher of Zola in translation, and the defence of the new type by George Moore and others.

Taylor, Houghton W. "Some Nineteenth Century Critics of Realism." [Univ. of Texas] *Studies in English*, No. 8, pp. 110–128.

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Watt, Homer A. "Some Tap-roots of Victorianism." *Sewanee Rev.*, XXXVI. 292–301.

An examination of the books for entertainment and instruction on which Victorian children were brought up.

Arnold, Thomas. Whitridge, Arnold. *Doctor Arnold of Rugby.* New York, 1928.

Beddoes, Thomas L. Snow, Royall H. *Thomas Lovell Beddoes, Eccentric and Poet.* New York, 1928.

Brontë, Charlotte. Ratchford, Fannie E. "Charlotte Brontë's Angrian Cycle of Stories." *PMLA*, XLIII. 494–501.

The large collection of Brontë juvenilia, hitherto somewhat neglected, is said to show that most of Charlotte Brontë's later novels are made up of themes, characters, and incidents that already existed in this early work. "The conclusion to which one is forced upon re-reading Charlotte Brontë's published novels in the light of the Angrian Cycle is that after she quitted Angria, that is after her twenty-third year, she created nothing" (p. 449).

Brontë, Emily. Fulcher, Paul M. "Emily Brontë." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, v. 150.

Brief communication called forth by a review of Miss Rohmer Wilson's biography.

Browning, Robert. DeReul, Paul. *The Art and Thought of Robert Browning. Rice Inst. Pamphlet*, Vol. XIII, No. 4. Houston, Texas, 1926.

Phelps, William L. "Notes on *The Ring and the Book.*" *Yale Rev.*, XVIII. 105–115.

A small group of dissenting opinions arising from statements in various books on Browning's poem.

Raymond, William O. "New Light on the Genesis of *The Ring and the Book.*" *MLN*, XLIII. 357–368.

Proves the Biarritz letter, usually dated 1862, and supposedly containing the earliest allusion to the poem, to be wrongly dated. It should most likely be dated two years later. The author promises to communicate later an earlier allusion to *The Ring and the Book.*

———— "Browning's First Mention of the Documentary Sources of *The Ring and the Book.*" *MLN*, XLIII. 445–450.

As the author has previously shown, the first mention of *The Ring and the Book* was not in the letter written from Biarritz in 1864 but in one written at Ste. Marie, Brittany, Sept. 19, 1862. Discussion of the secondary source.

Tisdel, Frederick M. "Browning's *Aristophanes' Apology.*" *Univ. of Missouri Studies*, II, No. 3. 1–46.

Wykoff, George S. "A Possible Source of Browning's *Saul.*" *PQ*, VII. 311–314.

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Charles Mackay's "Saul and David," in *The Hope of the World, and Other Poems* (1840).

Buchanan, Robert. Crain, Cordelia D. "Robert Buchanan." *Stanford University Abstracts of Dissertations*, II. 111–113.

Byron, Lord. Green, Andrew J. "Did Byron Write the Poem *To Lady Caroline Lamb?*" *PQ*, VII. 338–344.

Prints the poem and gives reasons for thinking it was written by Byron.

Carlyle, Thomas. Chamberlin, Benjamin D. "Carlyle as a Portrait Painter." *Sewanee Rev.*, XXXVI. 328–341.

Dyer, Isaac W. *A Bibliography of Thomas Carlyle's Writings and Ana.* Portland, Me., 1928.

"Part One contains, first, Carlyle's writings, arranged chronologically, with brief mention of the environment under which each was written, and, second, his writings arranged alphabetically by title, with bibliographical notes, citations of reviews, etc. This is followed by lists of periodicals in which Carlyle's contributions to such publications and some of his letters first appeared. Part Two contains the *Ana*. . . . . " This part is selective.

Harrold, Charles F. "Carlyle's General Method in *The French Revolution.*" *PMLA*, XLIII. 1150–1169.

An interesting attempt to track Carlyle in his sources and discover his relation to them.

———— "Carlyle's Interpretation of Kant." *PQ*, VII. 345–357.

"I think it can be shown that Carlyle's statement of the two doctrines [the ideality of space and time and Kant's distinction between Understanding and Reason] is wanting in precision, in sufficient evidence of reasonable comprehension, and that, failing to disentangle Kant's ideas from certain ideas of his successors, Carlyle's exposition gives both an inadequate and a misleading notion of Kant's two doctrines."

———— "The Translated Passages in Carlyle's *French Revolution.*" *JEGP*, XXVII. 51–66.

Display a singular accuracy, surprising in view of the general opinion of Carlyle's untrustworthiness as an historian.

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. Cooper, Lane. "Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Mr. Lowes." *PMLA*, XLIII. 582–592.

Criticism of some points in *The Road to Xanadu*, especially in matters touching Wordsworth.

Belden, Henry M. "Observation and Imagination in Coleridge and Poe: A Contrast." [*Papers*] *In Honor of Charles Frederick Johnson*, Hartford, Trinity College, 1928, pp. 131–175.

Howes, Raymond F. "The Importance of Coleridge's Talk." *Qu. Jour. of Speech*, XIV. 563–575.

Lowes, John L. "Coleridge and the 'Forty Youths of Bristol.' " *LTLS*, Oct. 11, 1928, p. 736.

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A description of Coleridge in a scarce Bristol pamphlet published in 1795 "Mr. C— would therefore do well to appear with cleaner stockings in public. . . . . "

Morrill, Dorothy I. "An Examination of the Chronology of Coleridge's Lecture Notes." *PQ*, VII. 138–150.

The material in the *Literary Remains* was gathered at various times during the ten years that Coleridge was lecturing, some of it possibly earlier, and not as commonly stated, for the 1818 lectures.

Raysor, T. M. "Coleridge Marginalia." *MLN*, XLIII. 182.

Record of four books containing notes by Coleridge, with quotation from one.

———— "Two Unpublished Letters by Coleridge in Contemporary Newspapers." *MLN*, XLIII. 375–378.

Snyder, Alice D. "Books Borrowed by Coleridge from the Library of the University of Göttingen, 1799." *MP*, XXV. 377–380.

———— "Coleridgeana." *RES*, IV. 432–434.

I. Coleridge's Use of Kant's *Logic*; II. Regarding the *Theory of Life*.

Crackanthorpe, Hulbert. Frierson, William C. "Hubert Crackanthorpe, Analyst of the Affections." *Sewanee Rev.*, XXXVI. 462–474.

Darwin, Charles. Nash, J. V. "The Religious Evolution of Darwin." *Open Court*, XLII. 449–463.

Dickens, Charles. Eckel, John C. *Prime Pickwick in Parts*. New York, 1928.

Hudson, Virginia O'R. "Charles Dickens and the American Theater." [Univ. of Chicago] *Abstracts of Theses*, Humanistic Ser., IV. 329–332.

Drama. Wray, Edith. "English Adaptations of French Drama between 1780 and 1815." *MLN*, XLIII. 87–90.

A list of nearly 100 titles.

Gilbert, W. S. Perry, Henry T. "The Victorianism of W. S. Gilbert." *Sewanee Rev.*, XXXVI. 302–309.

Hardy, Thomas. Chew, Samuel C. *Thomas Hardy, Poet and Novelist*. Revised edition. New York, 1928.

Elliott, G. R. "Spectral Etchings in the Poetry of Thomas Hardy." *PMLA*, XLIII. 1185–1195.

———— "Hardy's Poetry and the Ghostly Moving-Picture." *So. Atl. Qu.*, XXVII. 280–291.

Knickerbocker, Frances W. "The Victorianism of Thomas Hardy." *Sewanee Rev.*, XXXVI. 310–325.

Hazlitt, William. See SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, **Miscellaneous**, s. v. Chandler.

Hogg, James. Stephenson, H. T. *The Ettrick Shepherd: A Biography*. Bloomington, Ind., 1927. (*Univ. of Indiana Studies*, No. 54.)

Hook, Theodore. Brightfield, Myron F. *Theodore Hook and His Novels*. Cambridge, Mass., 1928.

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Horne, Richard. Mabbott, Thomas O. "Changes in the Text of Horne's *Orion*." *N&Q*, CLV. 441–442.

Jeffrey, Lord. Derby, Jesse R. "Lord Jeffrey's Manuscripts." *LTLS*, Dec. 27, 1928, p. 1025.

Keats, John. Dell, Floyd. "Keats' Debt to Robert Burton." *Bookman*, LXVII. 13–17.

Source of the *Ode on Melancholy* in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*.

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Mabbott, Thomas Ollive. "On Poe's 'Tales of the Folio Club.'" *Sewanee,* XXXVI. 171–176.

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Murdock, Kenneth B. (ed.). *A Leaf of Grass from Shady Hill.* With a review of Walt Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" written by Charles Eliot Norton in 1855. Printed at the Harv. Univ. Press for the John Barnard Associates, 1928.

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V. 1890 TO THE PRESENT

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Green, Mrs. Paul. *The Negro in Contemporary American Literature*. Chapel Hill, N. C., 1928.

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IV. FRENCH

I. WORD-STUDIES, GRAMMAR, VERSIFICATION

Armstrong, E. C. "A New Claimant for the *noche* worn by Florence de Rome." *Mélanges Jeanroy*, 131–140.

Evidence from the *Roman d'Alexandre* that *noche* may mean necklace as well as breastpin.

———— "*Jeunes Gens* as Plural of *Jeune Homme*." *PMLA*, XLIII. 311–315.

An explanation of how the term came to be adopted as the masculine of *jeunes filles*.

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The importance of his contribution to the study of grammar in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

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Holbrook, R. T. "Commentaires lexicographiques sur certaines locutions françaises médiévales." *Mélanges Jeanroy*, 181–189.

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Richardson, L. E. "OF *crestange* (*-nie*) *bodel* and *bodel sacelier*." *M L N*, XLIII, 529–531.

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Schutz, A. H. "Two Lexicographic Notes." *Lang*, IV. 31–32.

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Wesenberg, T. G. "The Case of the Predicate Complement after Reflexive Verbs in Old French." *M L N*, XLIII. 11–17.

Examples of the oblique case in the predicate complement of OF reflexive verbs.

II. MEDIEVAL LITERATURE

Miscellaneous. Hamilton, G. L. "Encore un plagiat médiéval: *La Mappemonde* de Pierre de Bauvais et les *Divisiones mundi* de Perot de Garbelai." *Mélanges Jeanroy*, 627–638.

Holmes, U. T. "The Saracen Oath in the *Chansons de Geste*." *M L N*, XLIII. 84–87.

The practice of having a Saracen swear while placing his hand upon his tooth comes from actual usage, still preserved among the Arabs.

Nitze, W. A. "A Note on two Virgilian Commonplaces in Twelfth Century Literature." *Mélanges Jeanroy*, 439–446.

Echoes of *varium et mutabile semper femina* and of *fama* in OF poems.

Stansbury, M. H. "Foreign Languages in the *Romans d'Aventure*." *PQ*, VII. 242–253.

References to foreign languages and dialects in *romans* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Alecis—*Guillaume A. et Pathelin*, by R. T. Holbrook. Berkeley, University of California Press. XI+128 pp. (Published both separately and as part of the Pubs. in Mod. Philology of the U. of Cal.)

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In support of Cons's identification of Alecis as the author of this play, Holbrook points out especially parallels between the *Blason de Faulses Amours* and *Pathelin*, and correspondences in thought and expression that occur after corresponding intervals in the *Faintes du monde* and *Pathelin*.

Crestien—"Calogrenanz and C.'s Originality," by R. S. Loomis. *MLN*, XLIII. 215–222.

Calogrenanz in *Ivain* is identified with Kay; his adventure is traditional.

Desiré—*The Lays of D., Graelent and Melion*, edited by E. Margaret Grimes. New York, Institute of French Studies, Columbia University. v+139 pp.

A critical edition of these poems.

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Critical edition of this *débat*.

Gérard de Nevers—*Prose Version of the Roman de la Violette*, edited by Lawrence F. H. Lowe. Princeton, Princeton University Press. XXXIV+177 pp. Elliott monographs.

Critical edition of this work.

Gerbert de Montreuil—*Le Roman de la Violette ou de Gerart de Nevers*, publié par D. L. Buffum. Paris, Champion. XCI+365 pp. Anciens textes français.

Critical edition of this twelfth century poem.

Graelent, see above, Desiré.

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Critical edition with facsimiles of this religious poem of the thirteenth century.

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Passion provencale *du ms. Didot, mystère du XIV^e siècle*, éditée par W. P. Shepard. Paris, Champion, 1928. XLIII+149 pp.

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Pathelin, see above, Alecis.

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Pèlerinage Charlemagne—"Observations on the *P. C.*," by Laura H. Loomis and T. P. Cross. *MP*, XXV. 331–354.

Evidence that the Constantinople episode is of Celtic origin.

Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims—"A new MS. of the *Récits*," by W. P. Shepard. *PMLA*, XLIII. 895–930.

Detailed description of a new version discovered by Shepard at the British Museum in 1927 with the publication of the variants found in it.

Renaut de Beaujeu—"R. de B.," by U. T. Holmes. *RR*, XVIII. 334–338.

Identification of him as Renault de Décise, son-in-law of Humbert de Beaujeu, and of the term *alens* applied to him as *alloés*.

Roman de la Rose—"The MSS. of the *R. de la R.* in the Libraries of Harvard and Yale Universities," by R. L. Hawkins. *RR*, XIX. 1–24.

Description of three MSS. with facsimile reproductions of parts of them.

Tristan—"Heraldry and the 'Tristan' of Thomas," by Lucy M. Gay. *MLR*, XXIII. 472–475.

Evidence of the use of heraldry in French poems written before 1170.

———— "Problems of the Tristan legend: Bleheris, the Diarmaid parallel; Thomas's date," by R. S. Loomis. *Romania*, LIII. 82–102.

The importance of Bleheris; the relation of the continental legend to an Irish saga; the growth of the legend.

III. LITERATURE FROM 1500 TO 1800

Miscellaneous. Green, F. C. "The Eighteenth-Century French Critic and the Contemporary Novel." *MLR*, XXIII. 174–187.

Opinions of Desfontaines, Granet, Grimm, Marmontel, etc., concerning the novel.

Levengood, S. L. *The Use of Color in the Verse of the Pléiade.* Princeton diss. Paris, Presses Universitaires. 124 pp.

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Michaud, G. L. "The Spanish Sources of certain Sixteenth-Century French Writers." *MLN*, XLIII. 157–163.

The influence of Mexía, Gomara, Guevara, etc., on Bouaystuau, Tahureau, Montaigne, Bouchet, and other authors of essays and tales.

Norman, H., see the following section.

Storer, Mary E. *La Mode des contes de fées. 1685–1700. Un épisode littéraire de la fin du XVII^e siècle.* Paris diss. Paris, Champion. VII+288 pp. Bibliothèque de la RLC.

Mme d'Aulnoy, Charles Perrault, Mlle Lhéritier, etc.

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Wade, I. O. "Middle-Class Philosophies, Middle-Class Philosophy, in the Drama of the Eighteenth Century." *MP*, XXVI. 215–229.

As expressed in a score of plays published between 1756 and 1793.

Corneille, see below, Racine and, in the Spanish section, Amadis de Gaula.

Grimm, Melchior—"In Defense of M. G.," by Anne C. Jones. *PMLA*, XLIII. 210–219.

Evidence opposed to Reynaud's view that Grimm came to France as a propagandist for German literature.

Lafayette—*L. in Virginia, unpublished letters from the original MSS. in the Va. State Library and the Library of Congress.* Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press. 64 pp. Institut français de Washington. Introduction by G. Chinard.

Mercier, L. A.—"L.-S. M. et *l'Elegy* de Gray," by E. Rovillain. *MLN*, XLIII, 442–445.

Influence of the *Elegy on l'Homme sauvage.*

Racine—"Racine and Corneille during the Consulate and Empire," by G. H. Gifford. *RR*, XIX, 130–140.

Performances and criticism at that time.

———— "R. Janséniste malgré lui," by F. A. Waterhouse. *Sewanee Review*, XXXVI. 441–455.

Even in his pagan plays R. believes in "grace," that of Aphrodite, if not of Jehovah.

Ramus, see above, section I, Bement.

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Letter of Hume to Mme Belot (la présidente de Meinières) and a brief note by Hume concerning Rousseau, both in the Morgan Library and previously unpublished.

———— "Note," by A. Schinz. *Annales J.-J. Rousseau*, XVII. 322–324.

Rousseau documents recently added to the Morgan Library.

———— "Le problème de la date du premier séjour de Mme de Warens aux Charmettes," by A. Schinz and Isabel Lawrence. *RHL*, XXXV. 85–91.

Argument in favor of 1736.

———— "The Paradox of Rousseau," by Jeanette Tresnon. *PMLA*, XLIII. 1010–1025.

A reply to G. R. Havens' interpretation of Rousseau.

Sedaine. "The Title of S.'s *Le Philosophe sans le savoir*," by I. O. Wade. *PMLA*, XLIII. 1026–1038.

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An explanation of how the incorrect notion arose that the play was originally called *le Duel*.

Voltaire. "A Note on V.'s *Commentaire historique*," by N. L. Torrey. *MLN*, XLIII. 439–442.

Wagnière's marginal comments on this work in a copy preserved at Leningrad.

———— "Sur le *Zadig* de V.; Quelques influences probables," by E. E. R. Rovillain. *PMLA*, XLIII. 447–455.

Iamblichus, Lucian, Cyrano de Bergerac, Swift, abbé J. Terrasson and the *Gaudentio di Lucca*.

———— *The Merope of George Jeffreys as a Source of V.'s Mérope*, by T. E. Oliver. Urbana, University of Ill. Press. 111 pp.

Introductory study and republication of J.'s play in order to prove that V. borrowed substantially from it.

———— "The Private Library of V. at Leningrad," by G. R. Havens and N. L. Torrey. *PMLA*, XXLIII. 990–1009.

An account of this library of 7500 volumes, purchased by Catherine the Great and removed to her capital in 1779.

———— "Une parodie inédite du 'Mahomet' de V.: l'Empirique,'" by G. L. van Roosbroeck. *RHL*, XXXV. 235–240.

A parody of 1743 by Favart.

———— "V. and Peter Annet's *Life of David*," by N. L. Torrey. *PMLA*, XLIII. 836–843.

Influence of Annet upon V.'s *Saul*.

———— "V.'s Marginal Comments upon Pope's *Essay on Man*," by G. R. Havens. *MLN*, XLIII. 429–439.

Comments found in a copy of the edition of Pope published in 1735 and preserved at Leningrad.

Vigneulles, Philippe de—"Deux historiettes de P. de V.," by C. H. Livingston. *Mélanges Jeanroy*, 469–476.

Publication, with commentary, of *nouvelles* 53 and 74.

IV. LITERATURE FROM 1800 TO THE PRESENT

Miscellaneous. Carnahan, D. H. "The Spirit of the *Nain Jaune*. Its attitude towards Chauteaubriand and Romanticism." *PMLA*, XLIII. 844–862.

Hostility of the paper (1814–16) towards Chateaubriand, Mme de Staël, and other writers.

Chinard, G. "La littérature française dans la littérature du sud des Etats-Unis d'après le 'Southern Literary Messenger,' 1834–1864." *RLC*, VIII. 87–99.

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Opinions expressed in this magazine in regard to French authors from the Classical period to the middle of the last century.

Evans, D. O. "French Romanticism and British Reviewers." *FQ*, IX. 225–237.

Judgments passed upon contemporary French writers by critics in British reviews between 1812 and 1848.

Norman, Hilda. *Swindlers and Rogues in French Drama.* Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press. XII+259 pp.

From Molière to the beginning of the present century.

Smith, Marion E. *Une Anglaise intellectuelle sous la restauration, Miss Mary Clarke.* Paris diss. Paris, Champion. 147 pp.

Biography and literary relations with various Frenchmen.

Stone, S. I. "Notes on *l'Aube romantique* of P. Lafond." *MP* XXV. 380–382.

Chiefly concerned with Soumet.

Titchener, Frances H., *L'Ecole auvergnate.* Radcliffe diss. Paris, Champion. 109 pp.

Literary and linguistic study of Vermenouze and his group.

Balzac—"Bonald and Balzac," by J. F. Jackson. *PMLA*, XLIII. 456–462.

Influence of Bonald upon Balzac.

———— "*Les Employés* and *Scènes de la vie bureaucratique*," by G. M. Fess. *MLN*, XLIII. 236–242.

Balzac's imitation of H. Monnier.

———— "Note on B.'s *Maitre Cornélius*," by G. D. Morris. *PQ*, VII. 308–309.

An obvious error in date is a misprint, not a slip of the pen.

———— "Was B.'s *Illusions Perdues* influenced by Stendhal?" by F. M. Warren. *MLN*, XLIII. 179–180.

A suggestion that it was influenced by *le Rouge et le Noir.*

Barbey d'Aurevilly—"Spanish Sources of the 'Diabolism' of B. d'A," by E. B. Place. *RR*, XIX. 332–338.

Influence of the *novelas* of María de Zayas y Sotomayor on *Une vieille maîtresse.*

Baudelaire—"A Note on B.," by L. P. Shanks. *MLN*, XLIII. 181.

The name of Jeanne Duval may be hidden in *A Valentine, Enigma.*

———— "B.'s Philosophy of Dandyism," by S. A. Rhodes. *Sewanee Review*, XXXVI. 387–404.

His defense of an aristocracy of art.

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Bonald, see above, Balzac.

Boylesve—"B. redividus," by A. Schaffer. *M L N*, XLIII. 41–47.

His fame since 1908 and his posthumous works.

Chateaubriand—*C. and Homer*, by C. R. Hart. Diss. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press. 168 pp. Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages.

Homer's influence upon Chateaubriand.

———— "C.'s Contribution to Philhellenism," by E. Malakis. *M P*, XXVI. 91–105.

His literary and political activity in regard to this question.

———— "Quelques origines littéraires de 'René'," by G. Chinard. *P M L A*, XLIII. 288–302.

As the literary background furnished by Ovid, Diderot, Mercier, etc., explains the story, it is unnecessary to suppose that C. depicted his sister in his heroine.

———— see above, Carnahan.

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(1) The *u*-umlauts are best explained by assuming *i* not *e* as general Germanic. (2) West and North Germanic *e* is not a direct continuation of IE, but in accordance with Collitz the result of a breaking.

———— "Altnordisch TIGR." *JEGP.* XXVII, 371–382.

Seeks to prove as against Noreen that *tigr* is the oldest form of the word and that *tegr* is a breaking of an original *i*. In this he sees a further coroboration of Collitz's view that IE *e* and *i* fell together in PG except before *h* and *r*.

———— "Some Vowel Variations in Certain Old Norse Words." *SP.* XXV, 3. 375–384.

Attempts to explain vowel variations in eleven sets of words where previous explanations have been either incorrect or inadequate.

———— "The Suffix -sk in Old Norse Elska." *AJP*, XLIX, 188–195.

Concludes, as against Collitz, that *-sk* does not represent the IE *sk*-suffix but a secondary Germanic *sk*-suffix originating in verbal abstract substantives in *-isk-ôn.

———— "Notes on the Substitution of the J-Suffix for the V-Suffix in the Old Norse Verb." *SS.* X, 26–30.

Treats in full the changes in two classes of verbs: 1. Those ending in *-ng* or *-gg;* 2. jan-verbs ending in *-lw* and *-rw*.

———— "Certain Old Norse Suffixes." *MP.* XXVI, 149–159.

(1) Shows that the suffix *-(n)eskja* is not derived, as generally assumed, from PG *-iskjon*, but represents a secondary formation due to analogy with adjectives in *-esk-* <*-*isk-;* (2) Treats the suffixes *-urd, aldi, -atta* and *-orð*.

Icelandic

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A detailed analysis of the dialectal distribution of five vowel and consonant changes of Modern Icelandic.

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Danish

Prince, John D. "The Idioms of Jutland." *Amer. Phil. Soc. Proceedings*, LXVI, 191–209.

Brief treatment of the phonetic and grammatical peculiarities of the four Juttish dialects with examples.

Dutch

Barnouw, A. J. "Note Concerning the Diminutive in Dutch." *The Netherland American Foundation Monthly Letter*, March, 1928.

German

Collitz, Klara H. "The Suffix -EI in Modern German." *GR.* III, 55–76.

Exhaustive treatment giving long lists of words ending in *-ei* together with their various meanings.

Heffner, R. S. *The Language of the Frankfurt Passion Play and its Relation to the Frankfurt Dialect and to Standard German.* (*Harvard Univ. Summaries of Theses Accepted in 1925*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 67–69.)

Detailed study showing that the language of the play is no further from the general line of development followed by the early *Schriftsprache* than was Luther's early dialect.

II. LITERATURE

Bibliography. Palmblad, H. V. E. "Scandinavian Literature." *New Int. Year Book*, 1928, 716–717.

Old Norse

Andrews, A. L. "Old Norse Notes." *MLN.* XLIII, 166–171.

Explanation of the phrase "Head of Mimir" as the fountain of knowledge.

———— "The Hervarar Saga." *MP.* XXV, 149–161.

The MS R shows the closest adherence to the original saga; U was written by a man with learned pretensions; H goes back to U.

Hermannson, Halldór. *Sir Joseph Banks and Iceland. Islandica*, vol. XVII (*Cornell Univ.*)

Account of the interest taken by this Englishman in Iceland and of the assistance he rendered in a trying period of its history.

———— "Queen Thyra Danmarkarbót." *SS.* X, 111–114.

Discusses the runic inscription on the older *Jaellinge* stone and agrees with the new interpretation of Hans Brix that the expression meaning "Savior of Denmark" refers not to the queen, as generally supposed, but to King Gorm her husband, who erected the stone in her memory.

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——— "Notes on the Sverris Saga." *GR.* III, 262–276.

Discusses: 1. the authenticity of the speeches; 2. the extent of the *Grýla* which he considers with Koht to extend only to the close of chapter 39.

Jackson, J. H. "Oðinn's Meetings with Sigmundr and Sigurðr in the *Volsungasaga*." *MLN.* XLIII, 307–308.

Calls attention to a third meeting with each not mentioned in Chadwick's *The Heroic Age.*

——— "The Sources of the Saga af Herrauði ok Bósa." *Neuphil. Mitteilungen,* XXIX, 250–256.

Argument to prove that the French epic *Huon de Bordeaux* had no influence on the first part of the saga, but that the model was the German epic *Herzog Ernst.*

Lawrence, W. W. "Icelandic Sagas in English." *ASR.* XVI, 525–530.

Brief account of the character of the sagas and comments on English translations of the same.

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Includes an analysis of the Saga narratives of Leif Ericsson's *Vineland Voyage.*

Icelandic

Beck, Richard. "Grimer Thomsen—A Pioneer Byron Student." *JEGP.* XXVII, 170–182.

Passes in review the work of this Icelandic poet of the nineteeth century who virtually introduced Byron to the general public of Denmark and Iceland.

Hermannsson, Halldór. *Catalogue of the Icelandic Collection Bequeathed by Welland Fiske: Additions 1913–1926.* (*Cornell Univ.*) 1927.

A supplement to his catalogue of earlier works, showing a notable increase in scholarly works due to the establishment of the National University in 1911.

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A comparison of the scholarly life of Ibsen by Halvdan Koht with the earlier treatments of Jaeger, Gosse, Moses and others.

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Flom, G. T. "Henrik Ibsen—Some Aspects of His Life and Work. *SS.* x, 67–78.

Address delivered at the Ibsen centenary.

Heller, Otto. "Is Ibsen an Antique?" *Drama*, XVIII, 237–238.

Shows that Ibsen today is more firmly fixed in the repertory of our theatres than ever before.

Norway's Best Stories (*Scandinavian Classics*. vol. 29.)

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Swedish

Landquist, John. "Erik Gustaf Geijer-Swedish Poet and Historian." *ASR.* XVI, 589–601.

Excellent account of this writer of the early nineteenth century.

Palmblad, H. V. E. "Shakespere and Strindberg." *GR.* III, 71–79 and 168–177.

Discusses at length the influence of Shakspere on the Swedish dramatist in respect to atmosphere, parallelism, in the introduction of comic relief, in the treatment of the mob, etc.

Peterson, M. A. "A Swedish Miracle De Notre Dame." *SS.* x, 1–13.

Comments on a translation of a Swedish play of 1400 about the Virgin Mary.

Uppvall, A. J. "Hösthorn, dikter av Erik Axel Karlfeldt." *SS.* x, 31–35.

In his announcement of this volume of poems the reviewer sketches at some length the character of Karlveldt's poetry.

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A collection published in English by the American Scandinavian Foundation

Sixteenth Century

Murner. Voss, Ernst. "Thomas Murner's Attitude in the Controversary Between Reuchlin and the Theologians of Cologne." *Trans. of Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters*, XXIII, 29–40.

Shows that Murner wished to act merely as a translator, not as a spokesman of the Jews, nor as their prosecutor. He translated to the best of his ability, but his knowledge of Hebrew was slight.

Faust. Walz, John A. "A German Faust Play of the Sixteenth Century." *GR.* III, 1–22.

An interesting discovery of an allusion in Vulpius' *Curiositäten*, vol. x, in a description of a carnival of Nürnberg in 1588 to *Grethle* in the *Comedy of Doctor Faust* who was kidnapped by Faust with the help of the devil *Rabunticus*. This

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proves that there existed a German play of Faust in the spring of 1588 which must have been completely independent of Marlowe. It must also have antedated Spiess' Faust book, as that did not appear until the fall of 1587. The name of the devil *Rabunticus* is not found elsewhere.

Eighteenth Century

Bodmer. Ibershoff, C. H. "Bodmer and Milton Once More." *PMLA.* XLVIII, 1055–1061.

Shows that Bodmer was indebted to Milton for traits of his evil spirits.

———— "A Note on Bodmer's Noah." *JEGP.* XXVII, 143–144.

Calls attention to the superficial and erroneous remarks of Albert Köster on the *Noah.*

Elegies. Roulston, R. B. "Two Collections of the Eighteenth Century." *GR.* III, 195–207.

Discusses briefly a collection compiled by Eberhard Karl Schmidt, Halberstadt 1774 which reflects the tenets of Gleim's school and was published by Heinrich H. Füssli, Zürich, 1783, under the title *Allgemeine Blumenlese der Deutschen* and which contains odes as well as elegies.

Gellert. Noordhoek, W. J. *Gellert and Holland,* N. Y., 1928.

German Jew. Zeydel, E. H. "A Letter from a German Jew to the President of the American Continental Congress." *Deutsch Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter,* 1928, 185–194.

Goethe. Bruns, F. "Das Wort 'Physiologisch' bei Goethe." *MLN.* XLIII, 464–466.

Shows that Goethe uses it in the sense of "normal" in contrast to "pathological."

Cooper, W. A. "Translating Goethe's Poems." *JEGP.* XXVII, 470–485.

Deals with the difficulties that beset the translator and points out that he should seek to produce the same impression on the English reader that the original did on the German.

Seiberth, Philipp. "Das Element des Romantischen in Goethe." *JEGP.* XXVI, 33–41.

Excellent treatment showing that while Goethe's works are based on reality, his main characters, such as Faust, Tasso, Werther, Egmont, etc., are decidedly romantic and that Goethe never lost this romantic trait even in old age, as instanced by the closing scene of *Faust, die Marienbader Elegie,* etc.

Kurrelmeyer, W. "Zu den Doppeldrucken der Goethe-Ausgabe von 1806." *MLN.* XLIII, 245–246.

Description of the *Doppeldruck* of volume I of the 1806 edition.

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Church, H. W. "Henry Irving and Goethe's *Faust*." *GR.* III, 134–145.

Admirable treatment of Irving's version and its success in America.

McKillop, A. D. "The First English Translation of Werther." *MLN.* XLIII, 36–38; 467.

Shows that the translator was not Daniel Matthews, as generally assumed, but the Rev. Richard Graves, tutor of T. R. Matthews. The author regrets that he overlooked an article by W. A. Speck proving that Graves was the translator.

Bruns, F. "Auge und Ohr in Goethe's Lyrik." *JEGP.* XXVII, 325–360.

Shows that Goethe was much more interested in form than in color. Similarly he is more interested in visual than in acoustic effects.

Grimm. Jones, Anne C. "In Defence of Melchior Grimm." *PMLA.* XLVIII, 210–219.

Defends Grimm against the accusation of M. Reynaud that he was sent by Gottsched to France as a propagandist of German literature.

Haller. Teetle, L. M. "Albrecht von Haller and Samuel Clark." *JEGP.* XXVII, 520–523.

Seeks to trace the influence of this English writer on the Swiss poet, a thing which had previously not been discoverd.

Herder. Burklund, Carl E. *Herder's Shakspere Aufsatz in its relation to English criticism of the Eighteenth century. Mich. Diss.* 1928.

Klopstock. Pierce, F. E. "Blake and Klopstock." *SP.* XXV, 11–26.

Considers the possibility of the English poet's owing some passages to Klopstock.

Kurrelmeyer, W. "Eine unbekannte Klopstock-Originalausgabe." *MNL.* XLIII, 384–389.

Description and collation of a quarto edition of 1800.

Lessing. Nolte, F. O. "The Authorship of a Review of Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson*." *PMLA.* XLVIII, 220–236.

Convincing argument that Diderot was not the author, as generally supposed; also a conjecture that it was perhaps written by Suard, one of the editors of the *Journal*.

Moritz. Zeydel, E. H. "The Relation of K. P. Moritz's *Anton Reiser* to Romanticism." *GR.* III, 295–327.

Detailed analysis of the novel, showing that it does not belong to the Storm and Stress period but is a forerunner of the Romantic School.

Richter. Geissendörfer, Theodore. "Jacobi's *Allwill* and Jean Paul's *Titan*." *JEGP.* XXVII, 361–370.

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Shows that Jean Paul owes his inspiration directly to *Allwill.*

Schiller. Krumpelmann, J. F. "Schiller's *Hoffnung* and Pope's *Essay on Man.*" *GR.* III, 128–133.

Struck by the similarity of the two poems the author investigates the external evidence and finds that Schiller was acquainted with Pope's essay and mentioned Pope in a letter shortly before writing his own poem.

Schumann, D. W. "Zu Schiller's Malteser fragmenten." *JEGP.* XXVII, 217–235; 524–549.

Attempts a new arrangement of these fragments in preparation for a study of the development of Schiller's plan which he gives in the later article.

Schlegel. Eaton, J. W. "Johann Elias Schlegel in Denmark." *MLR.* XXIII, 28–42.

Treats Schlegel's interest in and contribution to Danish literature, his indebtedness to Holberg and his activities at Soro Academy.

Sturm und Drang. Zeydel, E. H. "Sturm and Drang Once More." *MNL.* XLIII, 171–174.

Corrects wrong impressions and adduces another early instance of 1782.

Tieck. Zeydel, E. H. "Die ersten Beziehungen Ludwig Tiecks zu den Brüdern Schlegel." *JEGP.* XXVII, 16–41.

Differs in many respects from Haym's account of the friendship of the three poets, showing that Tieck was not the only one to profit by their association.

———— "Nachträge zu den ersten Beziehungen der Brüder Schlegel zu Ludwig Tieck." *JEGP.* XXVII, 383–386.

(1) Calls attention to the publication of the Schlegel-Tieck correspondence by Lüdeke and Körner in preparation. (2) Makes a correction in the date of Friedrich Schlegel's arrival in Berlin. (3) Makes other minor contributions as to Tieck's first impressions of Friedrich and Caroline's attitude towards Tieck.

———— "*Das Reh*—ein Jugendwerk Ludwig Tiecks." *Euphorion.* XXIX, 93–108.

Plausible argument to prove that Tieck was the author, not Schmohl, as generally assumed.

———— "Ludwig Tieck and Friedrich von Raumer." *PMLA.* XLVIII, 863–893.

On the basis of published letters he traces the influence of Tieck on Raumer and gives the latter's opinions of contemporary writers.

Lussky, A. E. "Cervantes and Tieck's Idealism." *PMLA.* XLVIII, 1082–1097.

Attributes the change from pessimism to idealism in Tieck's writings to his discovery of a deeper meaning in *Don Quixote.*

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——— Zeydel, E. H. "The Relations of Ludwig Tieck and K. G. Carus." *M L N.* XLIII, 73–78.

Brief account of Tieck's friendship for this medical man of Dresden, together with four unpublished letters.

Kurrelmeyer, W. "Another Letter from Tieck to Carus." *M L N.* XLIII, 308–309.

A letter to supplement the four printed by E. H. Zeydel.

Hewett-Thayer, H. W. "Tieck's Novellen and Contemporary Journalistic Criticism." *G R.* III, 328–360.

Passes in review the criticism of Tieck's later stories, showing that the reviews of the 20's were distinctly favorable, whereas those of the 30's show the gradual decline in Tieck's popularity.

Wieland. Harn, Edith M. *Wieland's Neuer Amadis. Hesperia*, No. 17.

Exhaustive treatment of the sources, editions, revisions in style and metre of the poem.

Kurrelmeyer, W. "Neue Wieland-Doppeldrucke." *M L N.* XLIII, 1–11.

——— "Doppeldrucke von Wielands Deutschem Merkur." *M L N.* XLIII, 91–94.

——— "Doppeldrucke von Wielands Auserlesen Gedichten." *M L N.* XLIII, 153–157.

Collation of the second edition of 1789–1792.

——— "Die Doppeldrucke der Wieland-Ausgabe Letzter Hand." *P M L A.* XLIII, 1062–1081.

Collation of the editions discovered since 1913

Nineteenth Century

Anzengruber. Ermisch, K. W. *Anzengruber und der Naturalismus Diss. Univ. of Minn.* 1927.

Decides that Anzengruber in spite of his idealizing tendency was so much of a realist that he may be considered a forerunner of "Naturalism" even more than Ludwig or Hebbel.

Büchner. Dunlop, G. *The Plays of Georg Büchner.* N. Y. Viking Press.

Spirited translation.

Eichendorff. Appelt, E. P. "Selbsterlebtes in Eichendorffs *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts.*" *P Q.* VII, 275–282.

Brief account of how Eichendorff wove his experiences into the story.

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Gerstäcker. Hofacker, Erich. "Ueber die Entstehung von Gerstäckers *Germelshausen*." *GR.* III, 23–33.

Shows that Gerstäcker's earlier tale was a *Vorstufe* to *Germelshausen* which by means of greater concentration of the analytic development, by better individual characterization and by humanizing the heroine he changed into the fine tale which we now possess.

——— Lussky, A. E. "Ein ungedruckter Brief von Friedrich Gerstäcker." *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, 1928, 195–210,

Reprints and comments on a letter written on April 15, 1848 concerning the misery of the lace makers of the *Erzgebirge*.

Heine. Ibershoff, C. H. "A Recent Book on Heine." *JEGP.* XXVII. 144–145.

Calls attention to an error of Michel Monahan, the author of the book, who stated that Heine composed *Die Grenadiere* in his fifteenth year whereas he was twenty-one.

——— Krappe, A. H. "Heine Notes." *GR.* III, 277–280.

Adduces parallels to some of Heine's songs.

——— Schneider, Franz. "Goethe, Heine and Emilio Castelar." *PQ.* VII, 334–337.

See Spanish bibliography under Castelar.

——— Greenwood, M. "Heinrich Heine." *Sat. Rev. of Lit.* IV, 1029–1031.

Claims that Heine's political and sociological writings no longer have a message for us.

——— Hess, John A. *Heine's View on German Traits of Character.* (*Diss. Univ. of Indiana.*)

——— Schneider, F. "Heinrich Heine's Briefwechsel by Friedrich Hirth." *MLN.* XLIII, 525–527.

Calls attention to the unreliability of some of Hirth's statements.

Holtei. Zeydel, E. H. "Nachträge zu Holteis Briefen an Tieck." *MLN.* XLIII, 459–464.

Additions and corrections.

Lyric. Liptzin, Solomon. *Lyric Pioneers of Modern Germany—Studies in German Social Poetry.* N. Y. *Columbia Univ. Press.* 1928.

Admirable treatment of German social lyric between 1830 and 1850, showing how the social movements in Germany were reflected in the lyric of that period.

Meyer, C. F. Burkhard, Arthur. "Conrad Ferdinand Meyer 1825–1925." *JEGP.* XXVII, 486–495.

Passes in review the books written on the Swiss poet, defends him against savage attacks and seeks to obtain a correct view of his work.

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——— Hofacker, Erich. "Alte und Neue Lyrik." *MFDU.* XX, 245–252.

A comparison of the poems of C. F. Meyer and R. M. Rilke.

Prutz. Gudde, E. G. "The Date of Prutz' *Die Politische Wochenstube.*" *GR.* III, 280.

Proves from reports of the police bureau in Mainz that the comedy appeared in the fall of 1844.

Sudermann. Zucker, A. E. "The Ibsenian Villain in Sudermann's *Heimat.*" *GR.* III. 208–217.

Compares Pfarrer Heffterdink and Pastor Manders of *Ghosts* and argues that Heffterdink is the villain of *Heimat* because he brings about the catastrophe by his insistence on old fashioned ideals.

Young Germany. Whyte, John. "The Attitude of Das Junge Deutschland toward the Historical Novel." *GR.* III, 178–179.

Takes exception to a remark of Bernbaum that the dislike of the historical novel was due to the philosophical school of Empiricism and points out how much this genre was disliked by the writers of Young Germany.

Contemporary Literature

General. Drake, W. A. *Contemporary European Writers*, N. Y. *Day & Co.* 1928.

Treats Bahr, Dehmel, Kaiser, Liliencron, Th. Mann, Sternheim, Sigrid Undset and others.

Ketzin, Winifred. *Eight European Plays*, N. Y. *Brentano*, 1927.

Includes plays of Walter Harlan, Georg Kaiser, Heinrich Mann, Carl Sternheim and Karl Vollmöller.

Dehmel. Slochower, Harry. *Richard Dehmel: Seine Weltanschauung im Lichte der geistigen und sozialen Strömungen seiner Zeit.* Dresden. 1928.

Ambitious but on the whole quite successful study from a philosophical standpoint.

Drama. Stehle, Marie. "Art for the People." *Drama*, XIX, 40–42.

Brief history of the *Volksbühne* in Berlin and the plays given there.

George. Wittmer, Felix. "Stephan George als Uebersetzer." *GR.* III, 361–380.

Interesting study of the poet's method of translation, showing how he is often too "wählerisch" in his expressions and frequently changes the mood of the poem by the substitution of abstract for concrete words or obsolescent or classic terms for colloquialisms.

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Hofmannsthal. Feise, Ernst. "Gestalt und Problem des Toren in Hugo von Hofmannsthals Werk." *GR.* III, 218–261.

Detailed analysis of *Der Tor und der Tod, Gestern* and *Der Abenteurer und die Sängerin.*

Mann. Th. Burkhead, Arthur. "Thomas Mann's Treatment of the Marked Man." *PMLA.* XLVIII, 561–568.

Shows that Mann always chooses peculiar individuals as his heroes and is frequently autobiographical.

Morgenstern. Hofacker, Erich. "Christian Morgenstern als Mystiker." *JEGP.* XXVII, 200–216.

Sketches the development of the poet as mystic on the basis of his *Stufen* of 1918.

Rilke. See C. F. Meyer.

Rosegger. W. Diamond. "Peter Rosegger." *MFDU.* XX, 134–141.

Brief account of Rosegger's life and writings.

Schaeffer. Koischwitz, Otto. "Albrecht Schaeffers Helianth." *GR.* III, 149–167.

Detailed comparison with Brentano's *Godwi*, proving conclusively the romantic character of Schaeffer's novel.

Schnitzler. Quadt, Max. "Arthur Schnitzler als Erzähler." *GR.* III, 34–45.

Gives a detailed analysis of Schnitzler's short stories.

Wassermann. Aron, A. W. "A Key to Jakob Wassermann." *GR.* III, 46–64.

Shows how Wassermann's novels express his sufferings as a Jew and the longing to escape from the emptiness and futility of contemporary European civilization.

Metrical

Roulston, R. B. "Notes on the Elegiac Distich in German." *MLN.* XLIII, 247–249.

Gives instances by Heinrich Hadewig and Sigismund von Birken.

German Culture

Danton, G. H. *Germany Ten Years After*, Boston, 1928.

Thoughtful review of conditions in Germany based on the author's experience in 1926.

Francke, Kuno. "Vaterland in der deutschen Literatur vom Sturm und Drang bis zur Frühromantik." *Zs. f. deutsche Bildung*, 1928, Heft 7–8.

Discusses the emphasis laid on German nationalism, art and liberty in the writers of this period.

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Koischwitz, Otto. *Deutsches Geistesleben der Gegenwart.*

Well written introduction to his volume on *Contemporary German Literature*, N. Y., 1928.

Morgan, B. Q. *The German Mind. Columbia Course in Literature* (U. S. Pub. Assn.)

Reinhardt, K. "Zeitwandel im Spiegel der deutschen Literaturgeschichte." *MFDU.* XX, 208–211.

Discussion of various tendencies in the writing of literary history.

Bibliographical

Books Abroad, vol. 2, Univ. of Oklahoma, 1928.

An international quarterly comment on foreign books.

Wendt, H. G. "American Bibliography of Germanic Languages and Literatures." *GR.* III, 85–93; 184–193; 284–294; 386–398; IV, 92–102.

Exhaustive bibliography appearing quarterly and including all translations of German books and reviews of the same published in America.

Zeydel, E. H. "Die germanistische Tätigkeit in Amerika 1918–1926." *Euphorion*, XXIX, 234–246.

A selective list of articles on German literature since the war.

Ende, A. von. "German Literature." *New Int. Year Book.* 1928, 334–336.

Miscellaneous

Ibershoff, C. H. "Artist-Authors." *GR.* III, 381–383.

Takes exception to Shear's remark that attention had not been called to the fact that writers were frequently artists in a narrower sense, and points out how often writers have been either painters or musicians.

Almstedt, Herman. "The Poet's Way." *MFDU.* XX, 33–39.

Shows how different the attitude of the poet towards nature is from that of the scientist. The latter is interested in giving facts, the former in producing impressions.

Roedder, E. C. "What's in a Name?" *MFDU.* XX, 104–117.

A study in baptismal and family names.

——— *Das südwestdeutsche Reichsdorf in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.*

Exhaustive treatment of the history of a South German village through the Middle Ages and down to the present time, showing the changing cultural conditions.

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Germans in America

Keidel, G. C. *The Earliest German Newspapers of Baltimore.* Washington, D. C. 1927.

This first volume treats the newspapers of the eighteenth century.

Leuchs, F. A. H. *History of the German Theatre in New York 1840–1872. Columbia Univ., Diss.*, 1928.

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Brief article dealing with translations of German works.

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I

NATURE IN OLDER IRISH

THE Irish, it has often been stated, displayed an interest in Nature which in the Dark or Middle Ages was exceptional. The purpose of the present paper is to examine the references to outdoor nature in Older Irish literature with a view to determining their extent and their special characteristics.[1]

I

The more obvious comparisons with natural objects, such as "white as snow,"[2] appear, of course, in Old Irish as in the Bible and other literatures; but for our present purpose we may leave out of consideration this common stock of similes from nature and limit ourselves to those which are characteristic. Some of these differences are naturally accounted for by the variation in the flora and fauna themselves because of climatic conditions.[3] Among the noteworthy examples in Irish are comparisons to the black-chafer[4]

[1] Cf. the brief remarks of Kuno Meyer, *Ancient Irish Poetry* (New York, 1915) pp. xii–xiii; Julius Pokorny, *Die ältesten Lyrik der Grünen Insel* (Halle, 1923), p. 9; Wilhelm Ganzenmüller, *Das Naturgefühl im Mittelalter* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1914), pp. 53–62; John MacNeill, "Some Notes of Our National Literature," *New Ireland Review*, I (1894), 142–3, 145; Georges Dottin, *Les Littératures Celtiques* (Paris, 1924), pp. 156–162. Whitley Stokes, *The Tripartite Life of Patrick* (London, 1887), Introd., pp. cxliv ff.

[2] Cf. "as numerous as hail-stones, grass on green, and stars of heaven," *The Destruction of Da Derga's Hostel* (Togail Bruidne Da Derga), ed. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XXI–XXII (1900–01); "like rays of the sun; white as snow, as the swan's raiment," *Cattle Raid of Fraech* (Táin Bó Fráich), ed. A. O. Anderson, *Rev. Celt.*, XXIV (1903), 131, 145; *The Battle of Magh Leana* (Cath Mhuinghe Léana), ed. E. Curry (Dublin, 1855), pp. 4–5, 30–31; E. O'Curry, *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History* (Dublin, 1861), p. 481; "The Battle of Ventry" (Cath-Finntrága), ed. Meyer, *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, IV (1885), pp. xix, 37, 42, 44, 45, 48, 51. *The Cattle Raid of Cooley* (Táin Bó Cúalnge), ed. J. Dunn, Jr. (London, 1914) or ed. Ernst Windisch, *Irische Texte* (Leipzig, 1905) or trans. L. W. Faraday (London, 1904), has many such phrases.

[3] Cf. the use of the cranberry flower and fruit, "kalina," by the Ukrainians, *Songs of Ukraina*, F. M. Livesay (London, 1916); the use of the birch in the Welsh poems of Dafydd ab Gwilym (fourteenth century).

[4] *The Cattle Raid of Fraech* (Táin Bó Fráich), *Zeits. f. Celt. Phil.*, IV (1902), 32, ed. Meyer from Egerton MS. 1782; also ed. Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 143 (from Advocates Library MS.); according to him, the same from Book of Leinster, *Proceedings R. Irish Acad.* (1870), O'Beirne Crowe; the same in *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, A. H. Leahy (London, 1905–1906), II, p. 8. Cf. version, ed. Anderson, p. 351. Cf. the French use of "hanneton" and the German use of "Mücke."

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and the stag beetle; rowan, or mountain-ash berries[5]; yellow iris, yellow primrose, hyacinth, heather, mountain cotton grass, bluebells, valerian, pink buds of leaves, and foxglove. These references to flowers and insects were employed for the sake of their color in order to heighten descriptions of the persons of men and women. The old sagas used descriptive catalogues to indicate either beauty or ugliness. Though there was a tendency to repetition or for the comparison to seem a part of a common stock for the Irish, the range of apt expressions was considerable, and in their text they appear fresh. They were, moreover, employed for diverse purposes. Most of the cases following are in the form of plain comparisons or of similes. Often several features or traits were grouped together for a portrait as they were later in mediæval romances and the sonnets of the Renaissance.

Many individuals possessed a general splendor or radiance like the sun or moon.[6] Hair might be white as mountain cotton grass (*Eriophorum*), as in the case of Tulchinne the Jester,[7] or yellow as the primrose (*Primula officinalis*), as in the case of Niall[8] of the Nine Hostages. This hero's hair was compared in another manuscript[9] to the yellow iris (*Iris pseudacorus*). Both primrose and iris are Irish flowers. They are not used as similes for hair in other contemporary literature.

The countenance might be like a moon in its great fifteenth (full moon) and brighter than snow,[10] or it might be like the purple of a gilly-flower (purple loosestrife, *Lythrum Salicaria*).[11] In detail the eyes were compared to sloe (*Prunus spinosa*),[12] as in English popular ballads and other literature, or were dark as

[5] *The Cattle Raid of Fraech*, Leahy, *op. cit.*, II, 36–9, and Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 135, 148, for beauty of picture, but not for the comparison. Cf. English and Scottish ballads as well as Scott's poetry.

[6] "Death of Niall of the Nine Hostages," MS. Rawlinson B 502, *Otia Merseiana*, II, 84 ff.; "A Dirge for Niall Noigiallach," ed. Meyer, *Gael. Jour.*, X (1899–1900), 578 ff., *An. Ir. Poet.*, pp. 69–71, written late in the eighth or early in the ninth century.

[7] *Da Derga*, pp. 285–6.

[8] "Death of Niall of the Nine Hostages," *Otia Mers.*, II, 84 ff.; *The Wooing of Étain* (Leabhar na H-Uidre version), Leahy, I, 26.

[9] "A Dirge for Niall Noigiallach," ed. Meyer. Cf. *Da Derga*, pp. 14–16.

[10] *Intoxication of the Ultonians* (Mesca Ulad), ed. W. M. Hennessey, *Todd Lecture Series* (Royal Irish Academy), I, i, pp. 28–9.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 30–1.

[12] O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, Appendix, xxvi.

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the back of a stag-beetle (*Lucanus cervus*)[13] or black as a chafer (the beetle *Melolontha vulgaris*),[14] grayer than a hyacinth (*Hyacinthus orientalis*)[15] or the blue color of a bright hyacinth[16] or the crown of the woad (*Isatis tinctoria*)[17] or of bluebells (*Campanula rotundifolia*).[18] They were described as rounder than a blackbird's eggs, as in a notable description of Poesy, who is at first a hideous youth, but later becomes handsome, in token of the difficulties to be overcome in mastering verse.[19] Copious other details were added to heighten the sense of his ugliness. The eyelashes of a man might have the color of the shining black beetle,[20] and the eyebrows might be (blue-)black as the back of a chafer[21] or of a stag-beetle.[22]

Cheeks were compared to the pink or "blue-purple" of (mountain) foxglove (*Digitalis purpurea*)[23] in blossom, a comparison characteristic of Irish literature and unusually apt for one type of Irish complexion. Or cheeks were like the top-branches or crown of the forest or roof of the wood or forest-*forcle* in May (that is, the pink budding leaves of some species of trees),—another comparison peculiar to the Irish.[24] Or they were ruddy as the berry of the mountain ash (*Pyrus aucupuria*),[25] or red as valerian

[13] *Da Derga*, pp. 198–9.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 46–7.

[15] *Stories of Ailill and Étain* (Scéla Ailill 7 Étaine), version in Egerton MS. 1782, ed. E. Müller, *Rev. Celt.*, III (1876–78), 351, 356; cf. Leahy, I, 12–13.

[16] *Da Derga*, pp. 14–16, 198–9. *Colloquy of the Ancients* (Acallamh na Senórach), ed. W. Stokes, 'Tale of Rodub and Aifi the Red,' *Ir. Tex.*, IV, i, p. 249; *Silva Gadelica*, ed. S. H. O'Grady (London, 1902). *Wooing of Étain*, *Ir. Tex.*, I, 119–120, §4.

[17] "Dirge for Niall," *Gael. Jour.*, X.

[18] *Irish Ordeals, Cormac's Adventures in the Land of Promise* (Scél na Fír Flatha, Echtra Cormaic Tir Tairngiri), ed. Stokes, *Ir. Tex.*, III (1890), 204.

[19] Article on *prull*, "Cormac's Glossary" (Sanas Cormaic), ed. Meyer, *Anecdota from Irish MSS.*, IV (Halle and Dublin, 1912), viii ff., 90 ff.; also *Sanas Chormaic*, ed. J. O'Donovan and W. Stokes (Calcutta, 1868), pp. 135 ff. Cormac died in 908.—Cf. the *Prose Edda*.

[20] Deirdre's lament, *The Exile of the Sons of Usnech* (Longes mac n-Usnig), *Ir. Tex.*, I, p. 80, §18; cf. O'Curry, *Atlantis*, III (1862), 414–415, and his note on the beetle.

[21] *Wooing of Étain*, *Ir. Tex.*, I, 119–120.

[22] *Da Derga*, pp. 14–16.

[23] *Cormac's Adventures*, p. 204. *Exile of the Sons of Usnech*, *Ir. Tex.* I, p. 69, §4. "Death of Niall," *Ot. Mers.* II, 84 ff. *Wooing of Étain*, Leahy, I, 26. *Wooing of Ferbe* (Tochmarc Ferbe), ed. Windisch, *Ir. Tex.*, III, 464–7.

[24] "Dirge for Niall," *Gael. Jour.*, X (1899–1900), 578 ff. *Wooing of Ferbe*, *Ir. Tex.*, III, 464–7. *Cormac's Adventures*, p. 204.

[25] O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, Appendix, xxvi.

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(*Valeriana officinalis*),[26] or white as snow.[27] A mouth (lips) was likened to a cluster of rowan-berries (mountain-ash)[28]; teeth were the color of snow,[29] or if an unfavorable impression obtained, butt of teeth appeared greener than holly.[30] A neck might be of the tint of heather (in flower)[31] or be shaped like a crane's.[32] Hands were white as the snow of one night, or whiter.[33] The phrase "of one night," it is interesting to observe, clung to the Gaelic tradition long enough to reappear in Macpherson's adaptation of Scotch-Gaelic material. The same expression is used to praise the body,[34] and also the side or flank.[35] The side otherwise might be whiter than foam of the wave,[36] a comparison often applied to arms and breast in Macpherson's *Ossian*—perhaps because the scene of his romances lay on or near the ocean—but in such a way that the figure never quite lost its savor. One tale combines several sensuous comparisons: a woman's breast was (in color and softness) like a swan's or the down of cana (cotton grass, *Eriphorum*); the bosom was like purest snow on the ground; the tip of her breast a briar-rose budded in warm shelter of a bosky grove.[37] Like parallel cases above, the comparison to the down of cana persisted to the time of Macpherson, who employed it in his description of Strina-dona.

A less pleasing impression is that of a woman's shins, dark as the back of a stag-beetle.[38] On the other hand, the feet of Étain were wave-white.[39]

[26] *Colloquy of the Ancients*, 'Tale of Rodub and Aifi the Red,' p. 249.

[27] *Da Derga*, pp. 198–9.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 14–16. *Adventures of Eochaid's Sons*, *Silva Gadelica*, I, 329.

[29] *The Exile of the Sons of Usnech*, *Ir. Tex.*, I, p. 69, §4; p. 80, §18.

[30] *Prull*, "Cormac's Glossary."

[31] *Wooing of Étain*, Leahy, I, 26.

[32] *Prull*, "Cormac's Glossary."

[33] *Wooing of Étain*, *Ir. Tex.*, I, 119–120, §4. *Stories of Ailill and Étain*, *Rev. Celt.*, III, 351, 356. *Da Derga*, pp. 14–16. Cf. stanza 28 of the *Rigsthula*, a song in the *Poetic Edda* suspected of having Irish influence.

[34] *Wooing of Étain*, Leahy, I, 26. *Da Derga*, pp. 201–2. *Cormac's Adventures*, p. 204. *Cattle-raid of Cooley*, ed. Dunn, p. 14; ed. Windisch, 28–9. *Adventures of Eochaid's Sons* (Echtra mhac n Echach), *Silva Gadelica*, I, 239; II, 371. O'Curry, *MS. Materials*, Appendix, xxvi.

[35] *Wooing of Étain*, *Ir. Tex.*, I, 119–120. *Da Derga*, pp. 14–16.

[36] *Wooing of Étain*, *Ir. Tex.*, I, 119–120; *Stories of Ailill and Étain*, *Rev. Celt.*, III, 351, 356.

[37] *The Urisk of the Corrie of the Howlings* (Uruisg choire-nan-nuallan), ed. J. MacDougall, *Zeit. f. c. P.*, I (1897), pp. 330–1, 338–9.

[38] *Da Derga*, p. 57.

[39] *Wooing of Étain*, *Ir. Tex.*, I, 119–120.

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One reference to a garment—a mantle is as mist of Mayday—seems to have anticipated some of the mists in *Ossian*, but I believe the instance refers actually to the haze of distant woodland when the buds are beginning to unfold.[40]

Poetry, in the famous personification to which I have referred, was declared to be swifter than a hare or a swallow or a hawk from a cliff.[41]

Most of the comparisons noted above occur in sagas. On the whole they did not lose freshness by being overworked. A majority of them belonged to Irish flora and fauna, and were sparingly employed in other literatures.

The metaphors appear to have a different standing. Many of them marked other earlier literatures such as the Scandinavian and were so frequently used for Irish panegyrics and elegies that they became trite. The following list comprises those which (usually occurring in groups) asserted a man's physical courage and prowess in battle: heart of stone[42]; heart of ice[42]; brightness of ice[42]; warlike stormy sea, fury of ocean[43]; back stroke of wave to land, wave of sea[44]; flame-red *bethir* (thunderbolt)[45]; fair, angry bull[46]; wolf among cattle[47]; raven of prey; lion of fences; boar strong in support; fire through wood; hound of labor; terrible bear[48]; raging whale.[49] Ruling power or dignity was indicated by such metaphors as emphasize strength of character, steadfastness, and liberality: rod of thorn, beam, trunk of great tree, sapling of silver, rock chosen for loud-speaking dignity. All these last embellish the famous panegyric to Aed, which is a heightened example taken from numerous panegyrics.[50] The frequent application of terms such as oak, yew, tree in (fragrant) blossom, spreading tree of gold, dead tree, horse of victory, bear, lynx, lion, sun (warm or

[40] *Da Derga*, pp. 201–2.

[41] *Prull*, "Cormac's Glossary."

[42] *Tale of MacDatho's Pig* (Scél mucci mic Datho), *Ir. Tex.*, I, 103–4, §15.

[43] *Ibid.*, §15. *Bricriu's Feast* (Fled Bricrend), ed. S. Henderson, *Ir. Text Society* (London, 1889), §52; *Ir. Tex.*, I (1880). Present form about 850.

[44] *Bricriu's Feast*, §§46, 48, 52.

[45] *Bricriu's Feast*, §§8–9.

[46] *Mac Datho's Pig*, §15.

[47] *Bricriu's Feast*, §48.

[48] *Bricriu's Feast*, §68.

[49] *Bricriu's Feast*, §52.

[50] *Goidelica*, ed. Stokes (London, 1872), pp. 178–9; *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ed. W. Stokes and J. Strachan (Cambridge, 1901–03), II, 295.

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brilliant), boiling sea, rapid flood, makes it clear that the poets were drawing upon many stock-expressions and kennings.[51] From time to time, however, a common expression was given a specific Celtic or Irish touch. For example, the Virgin Mary was called in an early Oriental phrase, "a branch of Jesse's tree," but a characteristic addition was given, "in the beauteous *hazel-wood*."[52]

As we see from this examination of comparisons with natural objects, the Irish employed trees, storms, waves, fire, animals, and the like as metaphors and kennings in panegyrics and elegies for their leaders, lauding not only physical prowess but generosity and dependability. From time to time a characteristic touch distinguishes their phrases from those of the Scandinavians and their other neighbors. In similes to suggest beauty or ugliness they displayed further racial originality. By making use of flowers or other vegetation, snow, and waves, they often achieved unusually vivid and happy effects. The flowers chosen were mostly indigenous to Ireland and in large part were not employed thus, if at all, by the Latin or other literatures of the time. Even the Welsh choice of flora was different.

II

Besides the sensuous effect obtained by the use of similes from nature, we have also to consider other æsthetic employments of nature. The present study is not concerned with the records of the marvels that belong to the province of the farmer's almanac. Material of that sort may be found in the Irish chronicles, such as the *Chronicum Scotorum*[53] and the later and more ample *Annals of the Four Masters*, which, like chronicles in Welsh, Anglo-Saxon, and Latin, mention with customary brevity a comet, sundogs, eclipses of sun and moon, storms, showers of blood, hail, snow, mists, great winds, drouth, prodigious births, earthquakes, and mild winters. Momentous though those phenomena may be, they are not of immediate literary significance.

[51] *Goidelica*, pp. 179–81; *Thes. Pal.* II, 294. There are many instances in the *Devil's Praise of Molling*, *The Cattle-raid of Cooley*, and in the panegyrics assembled by Meyer, *Abhandlungen d. könig. pr. Akad. d. Wissen.* (phil.-hist. Kl., 1913). *Annals of the Four Masters*, ed. John O'Donovan, 7 vols. (Dublin, 1856). *The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, ed. J. H. Todd, Rolls Series (London, 1867). A complete list of references would be tedious here.

[52] "A Prayer to the Virgin," *An. Ir. Poet.*, p. 32.

[53] Ed. W. H. Hennessey, Rolls Series (London, 1866).

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The employment of nature to suggest vividly but briefly a setting for an important human event and also to build up a sympathetic or contrasting atmosphere may be illustrated from poems in the chronicles. In several cases, the quatrain (or group of quatrains) begins with objects of nature in such a way as to present at once the physical situation and yet to suggest symbolism; for example,

> Cold is the wind across Ile
> Which blows against the youth of Cenn-tire;
> They will commit a cruel deed therefor;
> They will kill Mongan, son of Fiachna.[54]

There is a grimness and an economy of words in the following recital of a fatal encounter that remind one of Scandinavian verses and saga. Conaing was drowned:

> Waves of sea, great, shining,
> Sun, have punished him;
> In his weak skiff of wicker,
> Against Conaing they arrayed themselves.
>
> The woman who flung her fair locks
> Into his skiff, over Conaing,
> Pleasantly she smiles
> Today, before Bile Tortan.[55]

In this Irish convention of a nature setting, the details, whether merely physical or symbolical as well, do not appear hackneyed. Concisely stated, they possess vitality and appropriateness, and penetrate with the quiet force of a Greek epigram. Occasionally the poems were developed to a greater length than those above. The elegy composed on the death of Aedh Finnliath, as given in the *Four Masters* for the year 876, opens with a windy winter night, which folk must undergo during their grief at the loss of their "red-speared king." The lamentation is compared to the "awful sight of watching waves heave from the bottom." The setting from nature and the wretchedness expressed in the terms of a natural simile precede the panegyric proper, which admits the stock metaphors of "a shielded oak" that protects and of

[54] *Chronicum Scotorum*, pp. 78–79. In the *Four Masters*, I, 195, Colum Cille addresses to God a poetic prayer, in which, in the name of his "Druid," the Son of God, he calls the hostile host an enveloping fog.

[55] *Chron. Scot.*, pp. 76–77.

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"a yew without blemish" for a man in comparison with whom "no greater than small flies are the kings of Adam's race." Within the larger convention the author used the smaller conventions of yew and oak, and yet contrived to suffuse the whole with an air of spontaneity. But the introduction is the most effective part of the elegy.

III

In other Irish poetry the objects in nature and life surrounded by them—the season, or birds, or the landscape as a whole—became the main theme of the song, instead of being subordinated as elsewhere, to background or to illustrative comparison. The whole occasionally suggested an attitude toward life, while the details revealed some of the likes and dislikes of the Irish folk.

References to spring are less frequent[56] than those in more southern or eastern literature, both in the somewhat conventional introductions on that season and in the descriptions of earthly or heavenly paradises. Nevertheless, many vernal features attractive to other peoples delighted the Irish also.

Long before St. Francis[57] and his sermons to Umbrian birds, the Irish, including the clergy, dwelt upon birds and their songs. The blackbird was the favorite.[58] One quatrain is typical for its suggestion of music and serene content:

> Ah, blackbird, thou art satisfied
> Where thy nest is in the bush:
> Hermit that clinkest no bell,
> Sweet, soft, peaceful is thy note.[59]

[56] Cf. *Todd Lect. Ser.*, IV, ed. E. Hogan, "Battle of Ross na Rig," 10–11; "Battle of Rosnaree," 62–63; "Irish Ordeals," ed. Stokes, *Ir. Tex.*, III, p. 211; (music of stream) *Anec. Oxon.*, IV, 8 (Oxford, 1894), ed. K. Meyer, 49.

[57] Cf. Ganzenmüller, *op. cit.*, pp. 175 ff.; Hilarin Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi*, tr. Berchmans Bittle (New York, 1925), ch. XIX, pp. 413–429.

[58] *Todd. Lect. Ser.*, III, 130–1, (136–7). In Gelages' lament, "The Battle of Ventry," *op. cit.*, the blackbird is among the bird-mourners of the tragedy by the sea. Cf. Grace H. Macurdy, "The Blackbird in Early Literature," *Nation* (New York), CVIII (1927), 129–32.

[59] Meyer, *An. Ir. Poet.*, p. 100; Eleanor Hull, *The Poem Book of the Gael* (London, 1913), p. 138; Meyer, *Gael. Jour.*, IV (1889–94), 115. On the same page (115), Meyer gives another quatrain:

> A fool is each man on earth
> Who ceases from praising Him,
> And ceases not the bird
> And it without soul . . . .

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A longer poem exhibited not only a tender sympathy with the bird but an accompanying melancholy doubt as to God's attitude toward man.

Sadly talks the blackbird here.
Well I know the woe he found:
Whoever cut down his nest,
For his young it was destroyed. . . . .
Thy heart, O blackbird, burnt within
At the deed of a reckless man . . . .
Thy nest without young, without egg,
A little story for the cowherd . . . .
No bird now comes from out thy house,
Across its opening a nettle grows . . . .
There was feeding by thy side
Thy mate, a bird from over the sea:
Then the snare caught her,
At the cowherds' hands she died.
O Thou (*fir*), the Shaper of the world,
Hard to us thy partiality:
Friends at our side do not die
Nor their wives nor their children.
Came as a blast a fairy host
To slay the household;
Though woundless was their taking off,
As great their slaughter as by arms. . . . .[60]

This anticipates the tender manner of Burns in his *To a Field Mouse.* The poet observes the fate which overtakes the bird at the hands of heedless men and is moved to sympathy. He then reflects that the incident is of a piece with his personal experience. He too has lost his family through an unexpected visitation. Without manifesting a spirit of rebellion, he declares how unfair life seems to him. Thus an observation of the course of nature attunes the mind to a moral comment on the fate of man.

The cuckoo was accorded the same favorable treatment as the blackbird, and ordinarily was regarded as a cheerful bird.

Another quatrain from Meyer, "Bruchstücke der älteren Lyrik Irlands," *Abhandlungen d. preuss. Akad. d. Wissen.* (phil.-hist. Kl., 1919), Nr. 150, emphasizes the yellow bill of a blackbird as it sings in a yellow-bush tree (willow catkins in bloom?). Meyer dates the *Bruchstücke* from the beginning of the eighth to the eleventh century.

[60] Meyer, *Gael. Jour.*, IV (1889–1894), 42; *An. Ir. Poet.*, pp. 94 f. Eleventh century?

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Gentle din, delightful din, delicate music of the world,
A cuckoo with sweet voice on tree-tops;
Motes play in the sunbeams;
Have gladly gained a mountain the young cattle.[61]

In more modern Irish folk-lore and in Anglo-Saxon, the cuckoo has had a voice of sadness.[62]

We find references to the wren[63] and to other birds[64] in various situations. Anticipating a conceit common in later mediæval literature, the poets represented birds as singing praises to God at a divine service.[65]

Animals and plants received from the Old Irish much less attention than birds. References to them though numerous[66] are brief, as in the similes and metaphors considered above. They are to be found naturally in poems on the weather and on the seasons, and they are often introduced incidentally to adorn other subjects or to exemplify the pleasures of the poet. Vivid as some of these references are, they hardly call for special analysis here.

Though we lack an abundance of literature dealing with all the seasons, we have admirable poems[67] from which it is easy to perceive that the Irish disliked wind, storms, and winter. In *Fingal Ronain* the brief refrain produces an almost uncanny effect:

[61] Meyer, *Bruchstücke*, Nr. 148; cf. 157, 158, and other poems below. In many examples important details are italicised.

[62] Cf. Ernst Sieper, *Die altenglische Elegie* (Strassburg, 1915), pp. 70 ff.

[63] Meyer, *Gael. Jour.*, V (1895), 40–41.

[64] *The Adventure of St. Columba's Clerics*, ed. Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, XXVI (1905), (130 ff.), 138 ff.; *Vision of Merlino*, ed. R. A. Stewart Macalister, *Zeit. f. c. Phil.*, IV (1902), 442 ff. (paradisiacal); "Find-loch Cera," *Todd Lect. Ser.*, X, 378 ff.; *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, ed. Stokes, I (1894–95), 115; *Gael. Jour.*, V (1895), *Anec.* XII, Meyer, p. 94—a sea-scene with seals, a bird with a yellow beak; *Urisk of the Corrie of the Howlings*, 335:

When the yellow-crested birds sang
Their sweet pipe-music.

[65] Meyer, *Gael. Jour.*, IV (1894), §115. See footnote 61. Cf. Alcuin's poem on a nightingale.

[66] Cf. Meyer, *Bruchstücke*, Nr. 159, a poem on the bee; Nr. 152, beavers in cold water; Nr. 161, blackberries and strawberries given by a maiden to a king's son who had found her in a greenwood.

[67] Meyer, *Todd Lect. Ser.*, XV (April, 1909), 50–51. For glimpses of landscape as a snowy one: "Mesca Ulad," *op. cit.*, pp. 16 ff.; *Cattle Raid of Cooley*, Dunn, p. 34 (Windisch, pp. 216–17); *Anec. Oxon.*, Meyer, IV, 8 (Oxford, 1894), 65, 67, 108. The references to dawn, sunrise, sunset, beauties of night, and times of day are usually brief in Older Irish.

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It is cold against the whirlwind.[68]

Similarly the two verses which occur at the beginning of *The Song of Crede, Daughter of Gooary*, and which are repeated at the end, give wildness to the emotional expression, because they are not in harmony with the motif of the body of the poem:

These are arrows that murder sleep
At every hour in the bitter-cold night.[69]

A more encyclopaedic interest in the weather is exhibited in the *Famous Columba*.[70]

The poems dealing with the summer season vary details agreeably. One song[71] rejoices in the arrival of summer. The peace of the slender nimble deer is broken by the lovely cry of hounds, who, though wounded by holly, pursue their quarry. The cuckoo sings sweetly, and the blackbird rejoices in his heritage, the wood. The sad angry sea sleeps along the smiling white stretch of the strand. "Smooth is the path of the seals."[72]

Since this poem contains much material that is familiar to us today, we can scarcely realize how few like it occur in early literature other than Old Irish. In the choice and freshness of its language, it recalls the Middle English lyric, "Sumer is icumen in." The details suggest moods and are not mere conventional formulæ of natural description. The coherence of one item with the next arises chiefly from their similarity of temper.[73] The tone of the whole is of a peaceful yet lively outdoors. The poet appealed variously to the senses of sight and sound. In the third and sixth stanzas when he mentioned the sea he desired the heightening effect of pathetic fallacy.

[68] Meyer, *Rev. Celt.*, XIII (1892), 388–9.

[69] Probably of the tenth century; Meyer, *An. Ir. Poet.*, p. 63, and *Eriu*, II, pp. 15 ff. For less important references, see *Todd Lect. Ser.*, III, 120–1 (rain and wind; cf. Greek epigrams); 134–5 (wind; see also footnote for figures of wind, as from the sea or a cold mountain); IV, 92.

[70] "The Bodleian Amra Choluimb Chille," ed. W. Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, XX (1899), 256–7; early ninth century, *Rev. Celt.*, XVII (1896), 41 ff.

[71] Meyer, *An. Ir. Poet.*, p. 53; Meyer, *Four Songs of Summer and Winter* (London, 1903), pp. 20 ff.; probably of the tenth century. See footnote 78.

[72] A kenning like the Anglo-Saxon *hronrad;* cf. in the same poem "hornless herd" for horses. Kennings are not common in this sort of Irish verse.

[73] Exigencies of the complex Irish meter influenced somewhat the order of details; but the effect is rarely bad. Cf. the similar difficulties which Dafydd ab Gwilym, the Welsh poet of the fourteenth century, confronted successfully. In the Irish quatrains there is some attempt to secure unity by details of sound or motion.

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The following poem about summer not only shows the range of detail, but enables the reader to perceive how the style develops mood. Nature does not here provide a setting for a human experience or the occasion of a moral, but the season is praised for the sake of the pleasure which it affords in itself. Again, a poet emphasizes color and bird-song. His choice of apt details is wide; his manner is greatly strengthened by the judicious use of verbs.

Summer, season welcome!
Glorious is color then.
Sing blackbirds a full song
As soon as there is *a slender spear of day.*

Calls loudly a dust-colored (*den*) cuckoo:
Is welcome glorious summer.
Is past bitterness of bad weather,

Summer shrinks the river,
The swift herd of horses seeks a pool,
Long hair of the heather is outspread,
The soft white wild-cotton blows.

Panic startles the heart of the *deer;*
The smooth sea runs apace—
Season when *ocean sinks asleep;*
Cover blossoms the world.

Bees—*small their strength*—bear
A good burden, reaped of blossoms;
Kine up the mountain-side bear with them mud,
The *ant* makes a rich meal.

The harp of the forest sounds music,
The sail gathers—peace perfect;
Haze lingers on every height,
Haze on the lake of full waters.

Talks a corncrake, a vigorous bard,
Sings a waterfall high, pure (*ūag*),
Welcome to a warm pool;
Has come talk of rushes.

Light swallows spring aloft,
Loud music encircles the hill,

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Buds good rich mast,
Tells a tale a stuttering quagmire.

The peat-bog (*Leig?*) is as a raven's coat;
Leaps the small speckled fish;
Strong is the bound (*gedc?*) of a swift warrior.

Flourishes man, buds the maiden,
In her triumph fair, strong. . . . .

A wild longing is on you to race horses;
Ranged in ranks is a host;
A bright shaft has been shot into the land,
So that gold beneath it is the water-flag.

A timorous, tiny, persistent little fellow
Sings at the top of his voice (*aird ucht?*),
A lark sings clear tidings:
Surpassing summer-time of delicate hues![74]

The range of sensory impressions is much greater than in the previous poem. There are more significant items which appeal to sight and sound, and one exceptional reference to the contrast in temperature between the waterfall and the pool. The effect is that of a long succession of vignettes harmonious with one another, but never merging; the thought shifts daintily from one sensation to the next, as if the poet casually wove together what he saw during a leisurely ramble amid hills not far from lake and sea. Or again, he appears to have recollected from many experiences details which he has strung together as rapidly as the Welsh Dafydd ab Gwilym at times employed his figures from Nature.[75] On the whole, man himself is in the background. The mood exhibits compassion for wild creatures and leads to the personification of 'insensate things.'

In the following brief example[76] the poet notes sounds which are peculiar to winter; the seasonal position of the sun, thus suggesting

[74] Meyer, *Rev. Celt.*, V (1881–83), 197 ff.; *An. Ir. Poet.*, pp. 54–5; *F. S. S. W.*, pp. 8 ff.; *Eriu*, I (1907), 186; Hull, *op. cit.* (T. W. Rolleston), p. 83.

[75] Dafydd employs a larger number of grotesque details; cf. translations in *Poet Lore*, XXXVI (1925), 415–433.

[76] I regularly omit such phenomena as uncanny or Druidic mists, incantations, or like ambiguous material; samples may be found in *Bricriu's Feast*, *op. cit.*, §§36, 39, 40; *Thes. Pal.*, II, 293; the three obscure Ossianic poems, *Ir. Tex.*, I, 158 ff.

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the lack of warmth and the short day; the temper of the sea; and the life of little creatures.

My tidings to you: bells a stag,
Snows winter, summer has gone.

Winds high, cold; *low sun*,
Short his course, sea running high.

Dull red (*rornad*) *the bracken*, its shape has gone;
A wild goose has raised its wonted cry.

Cold has caught the wings of birds;
Season of ice—these are my tidings.[77]

A longer poem, expressing the same mood but treating the subject in greater detail, is characterized by contrasts in temperature, kindliness toward birds, and the impress of the silences instead of the sounds of winter. The tenderness toward creatures reminds one of several stanzas in Burns' *A Winter Night*, but the Scotch verses are astir with "brattle." The Irish poet pictures the bogs as in extensive flood. So cold is it that wild animals cannot sleep, so waste that birds have no refuge. Despite the violence of the storm and the destructive force which it exerts upon dwellings, there is snugness and comfort within doors.

Cold, cold!
Cold to-night is broad Moylurg,
Higher the snow than the mountain-range,
The deer cannot get their food.

Cold till Judgment!
Great the storm over all;
Shining is each furrow upon the slope,
A full lake each ford.

Are a-roaming the fish of Ireland;
No strand which the wave does not pound;
Not a town is there in the land,
Is heard no bell, talks no crane.

[77] Ascribed to Finn in commentary on *Amra Choluimb Chille; op. cit.*, p. 258; Meyer, *An. Ir. Poet.*, p. 56; *F. S. S. W.*, p. 14; Hull, *op. cit.* (A. P. Graves), p. 81; of the ninth century. Cf. Nutt, *Ossian*, pp. 13–14, 27. Cf. also the "Moral Verses," set in more or less harmonious relation with verses on All Saints' Day, *An Introduction to Early Welsh*, John Strachan (Manchester, 1909), pp. 225–6, especially for images of the season.

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Get *the wolves of Cuan-wood*
Neither rest nor sleep in their lair;
The little wren cannot find
Shelter in her nest on the slope of Lon. . . . .

Cosy our pot on its hook,
Crazy the hut on the slope of Lon:
The wood here snow has crushed,
Toilsome to climb Ben-bo. . . . .

From flock and from down to rise—
Take it to heart!—were folly for thee:
Ice in heaps on every ford—
That is why I say 'cold'![78]

The poem endows the winter scene with a pathos that reminds one of the much later *Gawain and the Green Knight*, and it is fully as vigorous as the sterner passages of Thomson's *Winter*.

A like starkness pervades the following verses:

The mountain range of Cua,[79] wolf-ridden, rough and black—
There moans a wind about its ravines,
Howl wolves about its clefts; in autumn bells the stag, fierce, herd-bereft;
Cries the heron over its rocks.[80]

Further evidence of the Old Irish attitude toward winter—in this case characteristic indeed of some religious writings, too—appears in *Eve's Lament:*

There would be no ice in any place,
There would be no *glistening*, *windy winter*,

[78] Meyer, *An. Ir. Poet.*, pp. 57–8; from *The Hiding of the Hill of Howth* (Uath Beinne Etair), ed. Meyer, *Rev. Celt.*, XI (1890), 125 ff. Probably of the tenth century. A quatrain of this poem is given with other quatrains in MS. Rawlinson B 502 fo 59. b, together with the reply on summer, Heinrich Zimmer, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* (1887, Nr. 5), pp. 184 ff.; without reply it is also in the Book of Leinster, 208a. The song of winter is sung by Mac Lesc (Lazy Boy) as an excuse against going out to get water; Finn replies and punishes him. A second version of "The Hiding" Meyer found in MS. Betham 145, p. 13, and therefore corrected for *F. S. S. W.;* the first version is from MS. Harleian 5280. Parts of poems shifted settings or were "plagiarized."—Cf. Hull, p. 82. Cf. also the Welsh "Winter," Strachan, *Intr. E. Welsh*, pp. 241–2.

[79] Delight in mountain-heights is indicated in a passage in the Irish version of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, "In Cath Catharda," ed. Stokes, *Ir. Tex.*, IV, 2 (Leipzig, 1909), 220, where the Latin has no such expression.

[80] Meyer, *Bruchstücke*, Nr. 153; cf. 156, 154, 155.

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There would be no hell, there would be no sorrow,
There would be no fear, if it were not for me.[81]

The preference for summer which is indicated in the poems above is confirmed by other poems and passages wherein the author or the hero revealed delight in his abode or his home country.[82] Such is the mood of *Colum Cille's Greeting to Ireland*, when the Saint rejoices in the white-haired sea, the apples, the melodious birds of the west, the oak-grove, and his cell.

Delightful is it,
The deep-purple ocean where the seagulls cry,
As I come from Derry afar,
It is peaceful, delightful.[83]

Similar is a sketch of the island of Arran, by the white cliffs of which sail long galleys amid the calls of seagulls. The poet expends most of his phrases upon its natural joys of hunting dogs, game, blackberries, sloes of blackthorn and hazelnuts, trout and water cold in her rivers, and the gleaming of purple upon her rocks.[84] In the incoherent order we find the same range of sensory impressions, and an expression of delight in the hunt, the hedge, and the field.

A pleasant picture is afforded by three quatrains attributed to Suibne Geilt (a chieftain who became mad during a battle of the seventh century).

My little hut in Tuaim Inbir:
Not a full house, which may be richer in thought,
With its stars to its wish,
With its sun, with its moon.

Gobban has made this . . . .
Should be told to you its story—

[81] *Eriu*, III (1907), p. 148; Meyer, *An. Ir. Poet.*, p. 34; probably the late tenth or early eleventh century.

[82] Rural touches of life occur in the "Lives of the Saints," ed. Stokes (*Anec. Oxon.*, Oxford, 1890): Senan, 11. 2150 ff.; C. Cille, 976; Brighit, 1759, 4136, 4351, 4356.

[83] Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, ed. Reeve, p. 285; probably of the twelfth century; Meyer, *An. Ir. Poet.*, pp. 85–87.

[84] Lay of Caeilte from the thirteenth-century prose tale, *Colloquy of the Ancients, Sil. Gaed.*, I, p. 102; II, p. 109; Meyer, *An. Ir. Poet.*, p. 59; Hull, p. 85; cf. Nutt, *Ossian*, pp. 50–51; 27.

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My heartlet, God from heaven,
He is the roofer who thatched it.

A house wherein it does not rain,
A place wherein spear-points are not feared,
As light as if it were in a garden
Without a wall (*udnucht*) about it.[85]

Equally moderate are the demands of the scribe who praised the blackbird and the cuckoo who sang overhead as he wrote.[86]

In another poem are expressed with greater range the same temperate desires and natural piety. A hermit would live apart from the world and with a few companions dwell in a simple home near a spring. Like Tibullus, he would be content with a little. There while the birds sang in the wood the men would busy themselves with poultry or bees or garden-plants. At the proper times they humbly worshipped God in His dwelling. The view of nature and of their way of life was practical as well as æsthetic.[87] The poem anticipates in many ways the manner and the substance of Robert Herrick's *A Thanksgiving to God for His Home*, which expresses gratitude for "a little house" and for bread, butter, worts, water-cress, and eggs. The Irish cleric, however, wished for companions in his comfort, and extended his circle of appreciation to the lark.

The jewel of such Old Irish poetry is *King and Hermit*. According to the author, whose ideal resembled that of the previous poem, Gooary, the king of Connaught, wished his recluse brother to return to the life of the court. But holy Marban had a forest of Arden—a secret hut well protected in the odorous wood, where he could get good water. His food was excellent: meat, eggs, fruit, berries, herbs, and honey. Many birds sang about him, and he heard also the music of the wind and the waterfall. With modest eloquence, he said in behalf of his simple luxury:

I have a shieling in the wood,
No one knows it but my God:
An ash-tree on this side, *a hazel-bush* beyond. . . . .

[85] *Thes. Pal.*, II, 294. It has been suggested—not quite convincingly—that the "oratory" is his grave.

[86] *Thes. Pal.*, II, 290; Meyer, *An. Ir. Poet.*, p. 99.

[87] Meyer, *An. Ir. Poet.*, pp. 30–31; *Eriu*, I (1904), 39; of the ninth century. The hermit or founder of a monastery, Manchin Lēith, lived in the seventh century.

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Two heath-clad doorposts for support,
And a lintel of honeysuckle: . . . .
Sings a sweet strain from its gable,
A lady in a cloak of blackbird's hue.

Leap the stags of Oakridge
Into the river of clear banks; . . . .
A spring choice, pure, ...

Round it lie down tame swine . . . .
Plenty of food, acorns, berries pure . . . .

A clutch of eggs, honey, sweet mast,
God has sent it:
Apples sweet, red whortleberries,
And berries of the heath.

Ale with herbs, a dish of strawberries. . . . .

A cup with mead of hazel-nut, blue-bells,
Quick-growing rushes,
Oaklets dun, manes of briar. . . . .

When in summer-time spreads colored mantle,
Sweet-tasting fragrance!
Pignuts, wild marjoram, green leeks. . . . .

The music of men, bright, red-breasted,
Movement lovely.
Strain of the thrush, cuckoos familiar
Above my house.

Swarms of bees and chafers, *little musicians of the world,*
A chorus gentle . . . .
The music of the dark torrent.

An active songster, wren lively
From the hazel-bough;
Hooded birds beautiful, woodpeckers. . . . .

Come fair white birds, herons, seagulls—
Sings the cuckoo at intervals
No mournful music—dun heathpoults
Out of the *russet heather.*

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Lowing of heifers in summer.....

The voice of the wind against the branchy wood,
Upon blue sky:
Cascades of river, note of swan,
Delicious music.

Bravest troop make me music,
Who have not been hired.
In the eyes of Christ, the ever-young, I am no worse off
Than thou art.

Gooary, though a warrior, was sensibly touched by this view of nature and life, and declared,

I would give my kingship glorious
With the share of the heritage from Colman—
To the hour of my death would I forfeit it—
Might I be in thy company, O Marvan!

King and Hermit,[88] which recalls the classical amœbæan eclogues on the respective merits of life in the city and in the country, but which differs from them in that it dwells perhaps disproportionately on the advantages of the simplest country life, shows the range of sensuous appeal to a healthy Irish mind—sounds, odors, temperatures, tastes, sights, and colors; birds, insects, animals, trees, flowers, and waters; edibles and drinkables. The theme of economic comfort, of agricultural fertility and welfare, may find a parallel in much Greek and Latin treatment of nature. The attitude toward life and its creatures is affectionate. The poem is an extended example of the unsophisticated joy of a religious man in an outdoor nature which he feels is bounteous, not alien, to him, and which is a friendly portion of God's creation.

A comparison of the preceding clerical lyrics with the later mediæval monastic literature of the continent shows that something of the same delight in congenial surroundings where the land is fruitful, the birds are melodious, and the water is sweet and pure, still enlivened the existence of the clerics; but scarcely an example vies with the lyrics of the height of the Older Irish

[88] Meyer, *An. Ir. Poet.*, pp. 47 ff.; *King and Hermit* (London, 1901); "language of the tenth century." Something of this wealth of promise is offered by Finn in *Wooing of Ailbe* (Tochmarc Ailbe), ed. Rudolf Thurneysen, *Zeit. f. c. Phil.*, XIII (1921), 251 ff.

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vernacular. The total impression of the group of Older Irish lyrics as well as of the later continental literature I have referred to leads one to the conclusion that simple piety could be combined with an humble and grateful appreciation of the comforts and the beauty of the world. These clerics employed their skill in the art of verse to acknowledge the goodness of God's creation.

IV

In contrast with the uneventful ease of the cleric's life stand the excitement and danger of that of the sailor and sea-harrier. Older Irish literature voiced the sentiment of the sea naturally. Not only did the people inhabit islands, but their occupation in self-support and self-defense caused them to be concerned with aspects of the moody deep. A tribute to even more aggressive early activity on their part is given in Claudian's *Panegyric on the Consulship of Stilicho* (A.D. 400), wherein Britain declared that the general had given aid against neighboring peoples (II, 251 ff.):

> totam cum Scottus Hivernen
> movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys,
> illius effectum curis, ne tela timerem
> Scottica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne litore toto
> prospiciem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis.

Perhaps at times Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon expressions of the thoughts and feelings of a man out on the ocean influenced the Irish,[89] yet we scarcely need so to explain the temper revealed in the discussion below. The Irish had their own sensitive capacity and their own ample stimulus.

> Bitter is the wind to-night,
> It tosses *the ocean's white hair:*
> To-night I fear not the fierce warriors of Norway
> Coursing on the Irish Sea.[90]

The early Irish literature echoed the sea, sometimes reflecting a melancholy or fearful spirit, sometimes a joyful or courageous frame of mind. Even without mention of the ocean, the reader feels that the murmur of the sea against the beach or upon the

[89] Material for comparison with Gallician-Portuguese poetry from the thirteenth century on is offered by A. F. G. Bell, "The Seven Songs of Martin Codax," *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XVIII (1923), 162–167.

[90] *Thes. Pal.*, II, p. 290; Meyer, *An. Ir. Poet.*, p. 101; cf. *Bruchstücke*, Nr. 149.

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rocks of the coast haunted the characters even as in the *Ajax* and the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles. The wildness in the scenery of Ireland and the islands[91] lent the wood an eery and romantic temper.

> The music of the forest
> Would sing to me when with Curithir,
> Together with the voice of the purple sea.[92]

Of the same nature is *The Exile of the Sons of Usnech.* In a famous lament for Naisi's death, Deirdre fills us with a sense of wandering amid a wood and suggests the happy, passionate, perilous, wearing life which she and Naisi had led therein, always within call of the ocean. A keynote to her love and to the tale itself sounds in her poignant phrases:

> Tone of a wave, the voice of Naisi,
> Ever sweet music to hear it.[93]

The passage is even more significant if we recall the sensitiveness to voices which is shown in much Older Irish literature, and which emerges perhaps in Macpherson's *Ossian.*

As Deirdre slew herself in savage manner against a cliff (§19), so did Samera's daughter, Buan, in *Bricriu's Feast* (§70). In parts this story is likewise associated with the sea and the denizens thereof (§§ 81, 85–87). The arrival of the three heroes is compared to the crash of thunder, heavy storm, and tempestuous deep. Again, *The Training of Cuchulain*[94] is linked with the seashore. There is a sound of the ocean in the emotional figures expressed by the Old Woman of Beare in her "lament."[95] It fills the stanzas

[91] For later Gaelic sea-poetry, examine Kenneth Macleod, "The Celt and the Sea," *Celt. Rev.*, III (1906–07), 242 ff., "Sea Poems," *ibid.*, III, 333 f., IV (1907–08), 28, 166 f., 246 f., 348 f., V (1908–09), 146 f.

[92] *Liadin and Curither*, ed. Meyer (London, 1912); Meyer, *An. Ir. Poet.*, p. 65; of the ninth century.

[93] For atmosphere in wood-wanderings, cf. *The Pursuit of Diarmid and Grainne*, *William of Palerne*, *Libeaus Desconus* (the two latter, French and English romances); cf. Nutt, *Ossian*, p. 72.

[94] Ed. Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, XXIX (1908), 110–147. The latter part of *Stair Nuadat Find Femin*, ed. Käte Müller-Lisowski, *Zeit. f. c. Phil.*, XIII (1921), 195 ff., deals with life by the sea.

[95] Meyer, *An. Ir. Poet.*, pp. 90–93; *Otia Merseiana*, I, 119 ff.; of the late tenth century.

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of *Colum Cille's Greeting to Ireland.*[96] An element in his home which pleased Colum Cille was its proximity to the violent sea.

> Delightful to be on the Hill of Howth
> Before going over *the white-haired sea;*
> The dashing of the wave against its face,
> The bareness of its shores and its borders. . . . .
> Grievous is my errand over the main,
> Travelling to Alba of the *beetling brows.*

A less courageous note marks a leave-taking of the fatherland in *The Choice of Cormac, Son of Culennian,*[97] but it is accompanied by appreciative epithets for the sea which are used to bring out the contrast with the instrument of man.

> Shall I choose . . . .
> To go upon the rampart of the sea,
> Turning my back upon my native land? . . . .
>
> Shall I launch my *dusky little* coracle
> On the *broad-bosomed, glorious* ocean?
>
> O God, wilt Thou stand by me
> When it comes upon the stormy sea?

The attitude of the church—in accord with the general southern attitude that the sea is ever a peril to avoid—is illustrated in *Sanctan's Hymn.*[98]

The feeling of a man in danger from a hurricane at sea is shown in a poem which treats the four points whence a tempest could arise; the feeling is now of delight, now of panic. The worst cry of fear is in the last stanza (added by another author?). The whole shows the larger design of some of these poems. Mingling the winds is a device as early as Homer.

> A great tempest . . . . on the Plain of Ler, bold across its borders
> Has arisen a wind, has slain us fierce winter; it has come across the sea . . . .
> It *has pierced us like a spear.* . . . .

[96] *Op. cit.*
[97] Meyer, *An. Ir. Poet.*, p. 44.
[98] *Thes. Pal.*, II, 352.

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When from the east sets the wind, the spirit of the wave is roused,
It desires *to rush past us* westward to the land where sets the sun,
To the *green sea, wild, broad.*

When from the north sets the wind, it urges the waves, dark, fierce,
Towards the southern world, surging in strife against the wide sky,
Listening to the witching song.

When from the west sets the wind across *the salt sea of swift currents,*
It desires to go past us eastward towards the Sun-tree,
Into the sea, *broad, long-distant.*

When from the south sets the wind across the land of Saxons of mighty shields,
The wave strikes the Isle of Scit, it surges up to the summit of Caladnet,
And *pounds the gray-green mouth* of the Shannon.

In flood is the ocean, the sea, delightful is the home of ships,
The wind whirls the sand around the estuary . . . .
Swiftly the rudder cleaves the broad sea. . . . .

The wave—strong its force—has tumbled across each river-mouth broad;
Wind has come; has slain us white winter, round Cantire, round the land of Alba;
A full stream Mount Dremon pours forth.

Son of the God the Father, with mighty horses, save me from the horror of fierce tempests!
Righteous Lord of the Feast, only save me from the horrid blast,
From Hell with furious tempest![99]

[99] Meyer, *An. Ir. Poet.*, p. 51; *Otia Mers.*, II, 76 ff.; of the eleventh century. Other references to the sea may be found in Meyer, *Abhandlungen* (1913), I, i (eleventh century), a stanza on the quiet, another on the stormy sea. *Todd Lect. Ser.*, IX, "The Metrical Dinshenchas," E. Gwynn, pp. 26 ff.: ('Inber n'Ailbine'); 'Ochan,' 36 ff., X, 'Bend Etair,' I, 104 ff.; 'Loch Garman,' esp. 174 ff.; 'Srub Brain,' 256 ff. Cf. the use of figures referring to the sea: *Lect. MS. Mater. Anc. Ir. Hist.*, p. 474; "Battle of Magh Leana," pp. 80–83 (ship at sea), 94–95. Little significant material about the sea in *Merugad Uilix Maicc Leirtis* (version of the *Odyssey*), ed. Meyer (London, 1886); a voyage in *Tochmarc Monéra*, ed. E. Curry (Dublin, 1855), pp. 158–9. A seashore atmosphere in *The Battle of Ventry;* see pp. 16, 19–21, 42, 51, 54–6 (elegiac song of Gelges, in which even the birds lament). In *Lives of the Saints*, Stokes, Brenan's voyages are described, 3554 ff., with mostly ideal or wondrous scenery and creatures.

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Older Irish has two long prose passages describing a tempestuous sea. That from *The Battle of Magh Leana*[100] abounds with adjectives, in keeping with the author's style elsewhere.[101] Moreover, there seem to be reminiscences of similar, though shorter, passages in classical poets.

The dark, impetuous, proud, ardent waters, became as white-streaked, fierce-rolling, languid-fatigued Leibhiona upon which to cast the white-flanked, *slippery-thick*, straight-swimming salmon, among the *dark-prowling*, foamy-tracked herds of sea-monsters from off the brown oars; and upon that fleet sweeping with sharp rapidity, from the sides and borders of the territories, and from the shelter of the lands; and from the calm quiet of the shores, they could see nothing of the globe on their border near them, but the high, proud, tempestuous waves of the abyss, and the rough, roaring shore, shaking and quivering; and the very quick, swift motion of the great wind coming upon them; and *long-swelling, gross-springing*, great billows, rising over the swelling sides of the (sea) vallies; and savage, dangerous, *shower-crested* sea, maintaining its strength against the rapid course of the vessels over the expanse, until at last it *became exhausted, subdued, dripping, and misty, from the conflict of the waves* and the fierce winds.

The epic attention to detail is illustrated by the account of the sailors' activity.

The labouring crews derived increased spirits from the *bounding* of the swift ships over the wide expanse; and the wind happening to come from the rear directly fair for the brave men, they rose manfully and vigorously, with their work, and lashed the tough new masts to the brown, smooth, ample, commodious bulwarks, without weakness, without spraining; without stitching, without over-straining. These ardent, expert crews, put their hands to the long linens (sails) without shrinking, without mistake, from *Eibil* to *Achtuain;* and the swift-going, long, capacious ships passed from the hand force of the warriors and over the deep, wet, murmuring pools of the sea; and past the winding, bending, fierce-showery points of the harbours; and over the *heavy, listless walls* of the great waves; and past the *dark, misty-dripping hollows of the shores;* and past the saucy, thick-flanked, spreading, white-crested currents of the streams, and over the spring-tide, contentious, furious, wet, overwhelming torrents of the old ocean. Until the sea became rocking, like a *soft,*

[100] Pp. 44–49.

[101] D. Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland* (London, 1899), pp. 369–370. Dr. Hyde has taken the work in the present state to be post-Norman. The copious use of adjectives occurs in some passages of the Irish chronicles and oddly enough in the description of Cuchullin's horses in Macpherson's *Ossian.*

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fragrant, proud-bearing plain, *swelling and heaving*, to the force of the anger and fury of the cold winds: the upper elements quickly perceived the anger and fury of the sea growing and increasing. Woe, indeed, was it to have stood between those two powers, the sea and the great wind, when mutually attacking each other and contending at the sides of strong ships and stout-built vessels, and beautiful scuds; so that the sea was as showery-tempestuous, growling, wet, fierce, loud, clamorous, dangerous, stages after them, whilst the excitement of the murmuring, dark-deeded wind continued on the face and on the sluices of the ocean from its bottom to its surface. And *tremulous*, *listless*, *long-disjointing*, *quick-shattering*, *ship-breaking* was the effect of the disturbance, and treacherous the *shivering of the winds* and the rolling billows upon the swift barks;

The series of adjectives conveys an exact sense of the variety of activity which the water displayed here and there from one moment to the next. The description continues:

for the tempest did not leave them a plank unshaken, nor a bulwark undangered, nor a bed unshattered; nor a lifting uncast down; nor a mast unshivering; nor a yard untwisted; nor a sail untorn; nor a warrior unhurt; nor a soldier unterrified; nor a noble unstunned; excepting the ardour and the sailorship of the brave men who attended to the attacks and howlings of the fierce wind. Now, however, when the wind had exhausted its valour, and had not received reverence nor honour from the sea, it went forward, *stupid and crest-fallen, to the uppermost regions of its residence;* and the sea was fatigued from its roaring and drunken murmurings; and the wild billows ceased their motions; so that spirit returned to the hosts, and activity to the warriors; and perception to the champions. And they sailed onwards in that order without delay or accident. . . . .

With the above may be compared the second passage, which is from *The Battle of Ventry*[102]:

They made a strong, eager, quick, powerful, well-timed rowing so that the white-skinned, foamy streams behind the ships from the quick rowing were like *the white-plumed froth on blue rivers*, or like *the white chalk on high stones*, so that . . . . those ships over the billowing main and over the *big, great-crested, slow, blue waves*.

Then arose the winds, and the waves grew high, so that they heard nothing but the furious, mad sporting (?) of the mermaids, and the *many crazy voices of the hovering terrified birds* above the pure green waters that were in uproar. *There was no welcome forsooth to him who got the service and the attendance of that angry, cold and deep sea*, with force of the waves and of the tide, and of the strong blasts consuming their . . . . and their . . . . and . . . . against the vessels, nor was the babbling of those . . .

[102] MS. of fifteenth century; the origin of the story not much older.

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pleasant, with the creaking of the ropes that were lashed into strings, and with the *buffeting of the masts* by the fierce winds that *shivered them severely*. There was not amongst them a vessel in its hold, ripped open in its .... shattered in its .... overturned in its mast, severely bent in its stays, ... in its *red canvas*, lacerated in its boats, stopped in its swift career by the full gust of the storm, if the people of assistance and help near them had not come to aid it.

Now, when this storm did not find weakness on the heroes, nor debility on the champions, *it rose from them*, and went to its *high, lofty, aërial abode*. Then the sea grew gentle unto them, and every *blue* wave grew tame so that the ocean was mild, smooth, friendly in harbour and recess and corner and rock. And none of them had need to work or to row, but the *slanting, full-sailing ships* went along with the *sound of the pure-cold wind*, until they took harbour and port on the goodly island of the world and at the *green rock* that is called Sgellig-Michel to-day.

This example exhibits a sensitiveness to color which is not confined to "gray" or "light" or "dark." Since the two passages show a similarity of method and have classical reminiscences, we may conjecture that the accounts belong to the same school of literary tradition. Though the author of the former uses the adjective more freely, both writers betray the somewhat repetitious fondness for epithets familiar in Irish literature from the time of the *Hymns*. In both, the elements of the air and the sea contend with each other—a vivid personification not without a dash of humor.

These stout descriptions of the sea and of sea-life, despite some conventions of vocabulary, are products of experience. They suggest comparison with similar passages in Anglo-Saxon verse. The literary styles of the Irish and the Anglo-Saxons, though both are repetitious, are distinct. From the documents accessible today, we may safely say that the Irish exhibit greater sensitiveness to color and oftener put stress on the pleasant, restful hours at sea. On the whole, however, it is doubtful whether the one literature achieved decisive superiority to the other in marine description. In Anglo-Saxon verse the sea seems to have played a greater proportional part than in the Irish; the reason may be that from the latter have come down to us relatively larger quantities of literature about other themes than in nature than have survived from the former.

V

Notable in Older Irish literature are the accounts of wonder-voyages. The noteworthy examples are the following:

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Snedgus and Mac Riagla (Imram Snedhgusa acus meic Riaghla), ed. Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, IX (1888), 14–25; events of seventh century.[103]

Voyage of Mael Duin (Imram Curaig Mail-Duin), ed. Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, IX (1888), 447–95; X (1889), 50–95; events of eighth century.

Voyage of the Hua Corra (Imram Curaig Hua Corra), ed. Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, XIV (1893), 22–69; events of sixth century; tale later than *Mael Duin*.

Voyage of Bran (Imram Brain, Echtra Brain), ed. Meyer (London, 1895); seventh century; first written down then or perhaps early in the eighth century; also parts in *An. Ir. Poet.*, pp. 3 ff.

The Vision of MacConglinne (Aislinge Maic Conglinne), ed. Meyer (London, 1892); *An. Ir. Poet.*, pp. 20 ff.; events of twelfth century.

If several of the previous examples of sea-poetry recall Heine's lyrics about the North Sea, the special group now under consideration suggests other themes and fantastic thoughts that came to the German poet. The voyages were, for the most part, taken by men who sought the Lord and immortality or who were given opportunity because of their sins to learn the character of hell and of heaven before they died. Many of the details were pre-Christian. Some of the strange phenomena might have had a place in Lucian's *True Story*. The pleasures often duplicated those of the home landscape—flowers[104]; fragrant apple-trees[105]; music of tree-tops[106]; humming of bees[107]; singing of birds[108]—sometimes praise of God.[109]

The most remarkable of the wonder-voyages is *Imram Brain*. The poem displays the usual Old Irish sensitiveness to natural music. The following details suffice to bring out the atmosphere of color and glitter.

One day Bran hears behind him wherever he goes about his stronghold sweet music. Finally it overpowers him and he sleeps. When he awakes, he beholds a branch of silver with white blossoms hardly distinguishable from it. Upon his return with it to the palace, he and his court hear a strange woman sing of an island over the distant sea,

> Round which glisten sea-horses:
> A fair course against the white-swelling surge—

[103] Events of the seventh century, but the account much later.
[104] *Hua Corra*, pp. 45, 51.
[105] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[106] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[107] *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 59.
[108] *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 59 (birds are souls, p. 45); *Mael Duin*, p. 495.
[109] *Snedgus*, p. 21.

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The country is Elysian.

A delight of the eyes, a glorious range,
Is the plain on which the hosts hold games:
Contend coracle against chariot
To the southward in Silver-white Plain.

Pedestals of *findruine* underneath
Glittering through ages of beauty;
Fair land through ages of the world,
On which drop many blossoms.

An ancient tree is there in bloom,
On which *sing birds to the Hours:* . . . .[110]
Unknown is wailing or treachery
In the tilled land well-known. . . . .

Wealth, treasures of every hue
Are in the Land of Peace—a beauty of freshness: . . . .
Golden chariots on the Plain of the Sea
Heaving with the tide to the sun: . . . .

Steeds of *yellow* gold on the sward there,
Other steeds with *crimson* color,
Others again with a coat upon their backs
Of color of heaven, *all-blue*. . . . .

Will come a great birth ages after,
Which will not be in high places,
A son of a woman whose mate is unknown;
He will seize the kingdom of many thousands. . . . .

Accordingly, Bran yields to urging and goes on the voyage thither. In two days he beholds a man driving a chariot on the ocean towards him. The stranger when he arrives sings a song in which he declares that the marine phenomena which Bran sees are to him phenomena of the flowery earth in profusion of color:

Beauty wonderful to the view of Bran
In his coracle over clear sea;
While to me in my chariot from afar
Is a flowery plain about which he rides.

[110] For birds singing and the like, cf. E. Kölbing, "Christian von Troyes *Yvain* und die Brandanuslegende," *Zeit. f. verg. Litteraturgesch.*, N. F., XI (1897), 442–448; A. C. L. Brown, *Iwain: Study in the Origin of Arthurian Romance*, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes in Philol.*, VIII, 68, 83 ff.

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Bran sees
A mass of waves beating on the clear sea;
Myself I see in Plain of Sports
Red-headed flowers without fault.

Glisten sea-horses in summer
As far as Bran can stretch his glance:
Pour forth rivers a stream of honey
In the land of Manannan, son of Ler. . . . .

The combination of oriental paradise and Celtic other-world, with its intimations of the nature of immortality, and its embodiment of both the Christian doctrine of the fall of man and the conception of a savior or redeemer, is analyzed with other folklore in the same edition by Alfred Nutt. As to the treatment of nature, the details chosen are fresh and varied, though many of them are the same as those in other poems which deal with fair scenery and the joys of the outer world. The contrast between the two ways of looking on the world, however, affords a generous opportunity for the play of fancy. What may be the bed of meaning in the opposite views of the sea is hard to determine in detail; it lies in symbolism and mythology. We have passed beyond the world of natural experience.

VI

The Older Irish therefore employed nature in similes and metaphors, particularly for personal description. The similes usually were chosen with happy results to depict color by comparison with Irish flowers or other features of wood and field. The metaphors were often less vivid because they seem to have come from a common stock of Europe. Though they made part of the convention of the panegryric, they were less effective than another convention which employed nature for occasions such as death. A considerable number of elegies provided a brief setting of sea or landscape for the site of the disaster or the environment of the mourners. These added keen poignancy to the solemn event. Finally whole poems—whether of one or many quatrains—became lyrics expressing moods induced by natural surroundings.

The longer poems had range of detail and a characteristic method of presenting it. The whole was fused together by a genial flow of emotion.

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The Older Irish, like the Greeks, wished the soil to be fruitful and the wood to be stocked with game for the hunt. But the surface of the country also pleased with its hills and craggy shores, which were colored in spring by a soft haze. Birds and insects, the wind and the waterfall, made sweet music for scribe and cleric. Not only the sense of sight for image and for color and the sense of hearing were agreeably stimulated, but also the senses of smell and temperature were keenly active. The result was that the poet could tap an inexhaustible store of sensations and could choose expressions and examples that would give the effect of direct originality. His method of distributing the details through a poem which was intended to induce a particular mood in a reader, was, within the limits imposed by a system of versification, to give a succession of images, no one necessarily suggested by another, but all of them probable for an experience, say, of a summer afternoon on an open hillside or in a wood. The consequence is that the order of impressions is as casual as it is on a day in the height of spring, when a listener with no special aim in view cannot tell what sound or what sensation will come to him next. Accordingly, the poet played lightly with suspense and engaged the sympathetic reader. He was almost one of a school peculiar to the nationality and to the age. "School" is perhaps too strong a word, but from the Irish at an early time came fairly long poems which were devoted to the description of nature in one aspect or another, as on the seasons, but in which freshness is much more conspicuous than conventionality.

These various employments of the landscape do not demonstrate that the temper of the poets was essentially lugubrious. They had their sad hours, but in general their tone was pleasant, cheerful.[111] The verses were not bathed in the moonlight of Macpherson's *Ossian* or young Werther. Rather, there was gayety, a fine carelessness as to the rapture that the next moment would bring. The Irish cleric feared not the toils of nature, nor did he view her with a jaundiced eye.

[111] One may go further and extend the view to the early Celts, for a survey of the poetry of Dafydd ab Gwilym would find no dominant melancholy, though it would prove him quite the Welshman and the Celt. The theory of an early and persistent melancholy of the Celtic peoples, though it was developed by Renan and Matthew Arnold and still lingers in handbooks and popular criticism, has been exploded and is accepted by no Celticist.

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When the mood of the Old Irish poetry reflects peace amid a living outdoor world, it intrigues one to a comparison with the almost contemporary and very notable Chinese poetry of the T'ang dynasty, or even with that highly sophisticated Japanese romance of the Lady Murasaki which employs verse in a lovely, if conventional, manner as an integral part of the narrative. Other comparisons lie nearer home. Unfortunately, not so many specimens of Early Welsh literature are extant as there are of Early Irish. It would not be profitable, therefore, to attempt a comparison between the two kindred Celtic folks in the hope of determining real precedence. Both literatures displayed keen appreciation of nature. Further problems of more or less reciprocal influence and of a common inheritance are baffling because of our meager information. A comparison with contemporary Latin verse or with other vernaculars,[112] so far as we have material, indicates a proportionately larger interest in nature on the part of the two Celtic literatures. For Middle English, perhaps the clearest examples of range distinguish the alliterative "survival" of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Here a number of poems are in a dialect of the west or the north, and thus are possibly nearer to Celtic traditions. Moreover, several of the poems, though exhibiting French influence, at the same time deal with Arthurian themes and with Old Irish material, and hence for another reason raise the question of Celtic influence. But for the present, the study of these problems—the treatment of nature in Early Welsh literature and the treatment of nature in the alliterative "survival" —must be omitted. This paper has concentrated on examples from Older Irish literature.

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[112] Cf. P. S. Allen, *The Romanesque Lyric*, Chapel Hill, 1928.

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II

THE CONSTRUCTION OF *PIERS PLOWMAN*

MANY strikingly divergent views have been advanced as to the structural integrity or looseness of *Piers Plowman*. Its early critics, to be sure, had little to say upon the subject but there seemed to be general agreement in the view that the work is loosely put together. The long summaries by Morley and others, for example, give small evidence that the critics had detected any strong organizing elements in the design. With the strenuous attack by Professor Manly, a new epoch in the criticism of the work began. Scholars who favored multiple authorship naturally agreed that the poem lacks a well defined plan, and even advanced the view that we have in fact not only from two to five authors but from two to five poems, all upon themes in important respects dissimilar and more or less loosely constructed. While Professor Manly tore Piers' seamless coat asunder, the advocates of a single authorship—somewhat less emphatically, to be sure—found relative coherence in the poem as a whole and discounted the view that the style is excessively digressive. Throughout the controversy the critics dealt largely with textual problems, only occasionally turning to consider the primary subject-matter of the work. The articles of Mensendieck furnished the most important contributions to an interpretation of an underlying plan, especially in regard to the most difficult section, the *Vita de Do-Well*. His chief concern, however, was with a few theses relating to special passages, so that his studies hardly deal with the larger problem of the enveloping thoughts of the poem, if indeed such thoughts exist. Thus far investigation has resulted in many contradictory views but in no detailed statement upon the cardinal problem in the interpretation of *Piers Plowman*.

The problem of the authorship of the poem actually bears only indirectly on that of the poem's organization. It should not be forgotten that some of the most loosely constructed of Elizabethan plays, as *Old Fortunatus*, are apparently the work of one poet, while some of the best unified, as *The Maid's Tragedy*, and *Eastward Hol*, are known to have been written by two or more poets. I cannot regard the assumption of divided authorship as decisive one way or another in determining the philosophical or æsthetic coherence of the medieval poem. Certain of the conclusions

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reached in the present investigation seem favorable to divided authorship, while rather more of them favor single authorship. But I do not wish the present article to be viewed as a contribution to the controversy in any but a distinctly secondary degree.

Undoubtedly the author or authors enjoyed the effect of violent transitions and surprises and definitely sought this effect in the poem. This is merely to recognize it as a dream poem, composed in the same spirit that dominates gothic architecture. The poem undoubtedly has a rough surface. To read it is like riding over a bad road; we are jerked and bounced and tossed. But so we may be at the hands of the most rigorous logician. That the poem has a rough surface should by no means prejudice us as to its fundamental coherence or incoherence. Thus, although Dean Swift's sermons are as smooth as polished marble and Donne's as rough as a thistle, the latter are quite as likely to be fundamentally coherent as those by the Dean of Saint Patrick's. That a poem is of the gothic spirit really tells us nothing of its essential organization or disorganization. The latter qualities cannot be felt by mere surface touch, such as we employ for style. An alligator's skin may be rougher than the surface of a pile of sand, but one covers an exquisite organism and the other is merely a confused heap. We cannot "sense" the answer to our problem; we must analyze the poem.

In this discussion I shall distinguish the two chief parts of the poem by the names generally employed in the colophons themselves. The first part of the work, which concludes with the story of Piers' pardon and the poet's reflections thereon, I shall call the *Visio*, and the remainder of the poem, the *Vita*, which is itself divided into three parts, the *Vita de Do-Well*, *Do-Bet* and *Do-Best*. I shall examine first the *Visio* and the *Vita*, secondly the relations to each other of the subsections of the *Visio* and finally the relations of the subsections in the *Vita*.

I

The relation of the *Visio* and the *Vita* has never been carefully stated and often has been, at least from my own point of view, ill understood. The *Visio* is a study of the life of the laity both as it is and as it should be. We have in this part of the poem that which the common communicant ought to know, and nothing more. We have no abstruse theological or philosophical problems, no allegory of learning, no account of the saintly life and no

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thorough and detailed analysis of the functioning of the Church as the coördinating principle in society. On the other hand, we have such social satire and such an account of man's religious duties as the humblest medieval reader might be expected to understand. If he follows the road here traced by the poet, he is considered to be sure of salvation. With the *Vita* the theme is changed. We have an account of the world as seen by the thinker who has passed through the medieval disciplines of learning, asceticism and priestly responsibility. He has known the intellectual life, the mystic and the active life, and so fulfilled the more arduous duties which heaven imposes upon its specially chosen warriors. In this part of the poem the satire falls not upon delinquencies in secular duties, but upon faults peculiar to persons dedicated to the life of scholarship and religious practice: upon those who, like the gluttonous Doctor, the feigning Hermit and the over-indulgent Confessor, betray learning, devotion and the institution of the Church. This part of the poem deals with ideals superfluous to and improper in a layman, but to which God's select soldiers must conform if they are to remain loyal and in turn win their salvation.

To a certain point the two Lives agree. This is why the author of the so-called A-Text continued his poem beyond the *Visio*. The *Vita* begins humbly. It gives an account of the life of man from his birth to his intellectual and spiritual maturity. It contains passages dealing successively with the creation of the world, the birth and care of children, marriage and the preliminary disciplines of study. The chief figures encountered in the allegory are Will, the name symbolically given to the Christian Pilgrim at birth, Thought, who meets him in his earliest years, Wit, his first teacher, and Study, who gives him elementary training and who introduces him to Scripture and to Clergy, who is with Scripture. But in the A-Text the pilgrim learns little from Scripture and nothing from Clergy, who will have nothing to do with him. The word Clergy the poet here uses, of course, as virtually synonymous with learning. In short, the A-Text breaks off just where the education of the more enterprising layman would be expected to conclude. Born with will, early endowed with thought and wit, acquainted with elementary learning, he represents the foundation upon which, after all, even the greatest seer and the deepest thinker of the Church must build.

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We may now see why the A-Text was circulated so widely. It contained what the common man needed to know and no more. If the A-Text had ended with the *Visio*, it would have instructed the layman in all his primary duties to God and man, but it would not have shown him concretely his place in society and his relation to the Clergy and the Religious. Thus the section of the *Vita* included in the A-Text formed a part of that Manuscript Version as circulated among the people. I have no opinion as to whether the author soon after writing the A-Text died, or continued his poem and encouraged reproductions of the A-Text even after the B-Text had been finished. I observe, however, that the A-Text ends at a point which, if unsatisfactory from an æsthetic standpoint, is entirely satisfactory from a doctrinal standpoint. The *Vita* repeats certain elements of the *Visio*. The man of religion must be born, possess will, thought and wit, and know his A.B.C. just as a common communicant. His salvation comes from the same source. Piers the Plowman saves one no less than the other. Each must to some degree Do Well. Each must know and seriously consider the Creed and Paternoster and follow the road of the Ten Commandments. Each requires the same sacraments. Thus in each section we have allusions to baptism and burial and elaborate passages dealing with penance and the Mass. These repetitions may or may not, I take it, be viewed as inartistic, but are clearly necessary to the subject in hand. The poem in its design may be thought of as one of those great canvasses which Veronese and Tintoretto delighted to paint in which a pillar divides the picture into two finely balanced scenes of approximately equal magnitude, although one is slightly more significant than the other.

My view is confirmed by colophons in the B-Text Manuscripts which describe the part of the poem that the *Vita de Do-Well* and the A-Text have in common as both a part of the *Visio* and of the *Vita*. The foregoing conclusions may be expressed in tabular form as given on the following page.

While the *Vita* is clearly stated to be divided into three parts, it is commonly observed that the *Visio* is also divided into three parts. Closely following upon the first vision of the Field of Folk and of Holy Church, which is clearly introductory, we have the Story of Lady Meed, the Confession and Absolution of the Sins at Church, and the two concluding Passus dealing with Piers and his servants and concluding with the story of the Pardon. I shall

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The *Visio*	The *Vita* (A-Text)	Remaining Section of the *Vita*
The life of the common communicant: the demands of nature; plowmen, artisans, knights, ladies, merchants and lawyers: *Conscience;* the Ten Commandments; the elements of the faith; sacramental needs	Common attributes of laity and clergy: the demands of nature; *Anima, Inwit, Will, Thought, (elementary) Study; Conscience;* the Ten Commandments; the elements of the faith; sacramental needs	The higher order of perfection required of the the Priesthood, or *Clergy*

later examine the character of the transitions in greater detail. For the present, however, I am concerned only with observing those parallels which I believe to be deliberate between the three parts of the *Visio* and the three parts of the *Vita*. A tabular scheme may here prove useful:

	Visio	*Vita*
	Story of Lady Meed	*Vita de Do-Well*
Part I	Problems of economic and secular government; temporal welfare; *Reason;* the Active Life	Problems of theology and Church government; eternal salvation; *Reason;* the Active Life (Part I): *Activa Vita*
	The Sins	*Vita de Do-Bet*
Part II	Inner life of the ordinary Christian; preparation for the Mass	The Contemplative or Religious Life: solitude and faithful hermits; preparation for the Mass
	The Plowman's Pardon	*Vita de Do-Best*
Part III	The plow of the honest laborer; hope for salvation of the individual; satire on indulgences; the Active Life	The mystic plow with which Christ cultivates souls; despair for the spiritual welfare of Christian Society (*Unitas*); satire on indulgences; the Active Life (Part II): Christ as Preacher; the cure of souls

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The first main part of the *Visio*, namely the Story of Lady Meed, deals with the problem of secular government and nearly at its conclusion introduces us to a figure named Reason, who decides for the king the quarrel between Meed and Conscience. Reason thus becomes the central figure in this section of the poem. The first part of the *Vita*, or the *Vita de Do-Well*, deals with problems of theology. Again Reason proves the culminating figure, since all the preceding allegorical types in the *Vita de Do-Well* lead up to it, and after its appearance we enter the long transition to the *Vita de Do-Bet*. The chief problem in the Story of Lady Meed is man's well-being in this world. The chief problem debated in the *Vita de Do-Well* is man's eternal well-being. One section deals with the active life of secular affairs, the other, with the active life of industrious theological study. The Story of the Confession and Absolution of the Sins deals obviously with the more personal, intimate and inner life. It concludes with an allegory of the Mass, the sacrament which restores man to the Grace of his Creator. The *Vita de Do-Bet* deals with the life of solitude and contemplation (of this I shall have more to say later), and concludes with the bells that ring in Easter and which summon the dreamer to the sacrament. The Story of Piers in the *Visio* deals with the theme of honest work and its reward, which is pardon and salvation. Here for the first time we meet the image of the plow, in this case simply the plow of the farmer. In outward appearance at least even Piers himself is no more than an overseer or even a participant in these physical labors. He exacts honest labor and receives no easy indulgences in his pardon. In the *Vita de Do-Best* we have an allegory of the entire community envisaged as *Unitas* laboring at its myriad tasks under the guidance of the Church. Here Piers and his plow once more appear, but Piers is now indubitably Christ, his plow the word of God, man the harvest and the barn the heaven of divine rest. This imagery has, to be sure, been hinted in the *Vita de Do-Bet*, but here is first objectified. Piers' wicked servants, the unscrupulous priests and friars, grant easy indulgences. In the *Visio* we have seen the promise of salvation for the honest worker. The individual may be saved. In the *Vita* we have the picture of society retrogressing rather than progressing. Individuals, as notably an honest priest, may still be saved. But the community goes from bad to worse. We should, I think, regard as deliberate both these comparisons and these contrasts between the six major sections of the poem. In each

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case the lines seem to me to have been too sharply drawn to be accidental. I believe that the author or authors deliberately repeated the major elements in the design.

II

The *Vita* is obviously the more complex part of the poem, as it is also the longer part. It has, however, been the less discussed. I shall glance comparatively briefly at the outstanding features in the construction of the *Visio*. I consider that they show a point of view by no means haphazard or confused. For each of the major images presented there can, I think, be given convincing reasons as to why it is pertinent to the theme of the poem as a whole and as to why it occupies the position which it actually holds in the work.

We are introduced to the Field of Folk because the poet begins his teaching not with revelation nor with religion but with nature. So he begins later in his *Vita de Do-Well* and at the conclusion of that section of the poem assures us that even Saracens in substance know the first Person of the Trinity. Moreover *Piers Plowman*, unlike the poems by Dante and Milton, contains no scene in heaven. Once only and for the space of but three hundred lines the scene sinks to the deep dungeon and dark from which Christ rescues our forefathers in darkness. With the exception of the Harrowing of Hell the poet avoids all scenes that belong to another life than that of this world. In short, the scene of *Piers Plowman* is precisely the opposite of that of Dante's poem. The Italian poet deals only with life beyond the grave, the English poet only with life upon this side of the grave. The whole poem deals in this sense with the Field of Folk. Its author or authors contrived most vividly and forcefully to state an initial proposition. The work remains in this respect at least remarkably true to its premises. Even from an aesthetic standpoint it holds faithful to this field and to this earth. Its varied imagery always breathes earth-odors.

Holy Church, the figure who next appears, begins her instructions with homely and materialistic observations. She too acknowledges first of all the animal nature of man. Three things she tells the dreamer are necessary, food, drink, and clothing. From this characteristic teaching she elevates her discussion till at the last she states the doctrine of the Redemption and its moral of charity. But she always fulfills the function of a Prologue. She never tells

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the dreamer more than any child might be expected to know. She reads him, as it were, his catechism, stating simply those ideas upon which the whole of the Christian System rests: the doctrine of free will, of the depravity of the body, of obedience to God, of charity and of grace.

In her last words Holy Church warns the pilgrim of evil and bids him be wary of distributing blame. She disappears, after serving not only as a Prologue but as a link to the first part of the story proper, the allegory of Lady Meed. The Greek mind would of course have left the problem of the state to the last, as the highest and most important of all problems. The medieval poet, however, true to premises already contained in his poem, regards religion and the Church as the supreme guide in life, and treats the state as an initial problem to be faced before proceeding to far graver problems. Thus the political life vividly introduces us to sin. Man's error lies not in false political theory but in his personal weakness. Sin becomes the vital issue. Thus we are logically led to the second chief division of the *Visio*, the Story of the Confession and Absolution of the Sins.

If it should be urged against my view of the distinct functions of the *Visio* and the *Vita* that of the six or seven characters representing the sins (for the number differs in the different texts) one of the characters is a priest, I should reply that in embodying sloth in human form the poet followed a well-tried tradition in making Sloth a priest. It should be noted that the faults ascribed to this idler include many omissions and commissions not in the least peculiar to his profession. He is the eternal truant from duty. His truancy, not his duty, concerns the poet here. Sloth cannot be said to represent the short-comings of the Clergy as such. A further objection might be raised in that the C-Text of the *Visio* and this only contains a passage of some length on the sins of monks and friars. The lines occur in the sermon of Reason, which introduces the Story of the Sins and links it with the preceding Story of Lady Meed, wherein Reason is also a character. Reason's sermon is obviously intended to enumerate the outstanding sins of all orders of society. That in two texts the clergy and the religious receive slight notice and in the third no more than a moderate proportion of attention, seems to me on the whole to support rather than to damage my position. The clergy appear almost forgotten in many long passages. In the lines dealing with Hunger we hear of the friars only as laborers in the common fields,

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driven by famine to desert their normal course of life. We should of course remember that the *Visio* reflects life as the layman sees it, not merely as he lives it. Although not a participant in their peculiar problems, he both observes the clergy and the learned and recognizes the great influence which they exercise upon him.

The confession of the Sinners is followed by their absolution and by the quest of society for a better life. This leads us to the third section of the *Visio*. The extremely popular appeal of the *Visio* as a whole is powerfully enhanced by the allegory in the Passus dealing with Famine. Although in this section of the poem the activities of the higher orders of society are noted, as that of knights and ladies, we hear most of the common laborers and especially of their unwillingness to do honest work in the plow-fields. The opening of the last Passus of the *Visio* gives a list of all classes, in which the clergy are but hastily mentioned, while detailed attention is accorded to merchants, lawyers and, once more, to laborers. Laymen pretending to be priests are condemned.

We should observe caution in our interpretation of Piers' pardon. It states that all who do well shall be saved and that all who do evil shall be damned. Later the author gives his own view as somewhat more moderate, for he grants that the Pope and the prayers of the Church have some power to save souls, although to trust in such aids is not so safe as to do well. Piers' pardon is simply *Do-Well* as applied in particular to the laity. The clergy and the religious must also *Do-Well*, and in a more exacting degree. By "doing" and by "working" medieval authors do not of course mean merely temporal actions. Thus Hilton's treatise *On Daily Work* deals in large part with prayer and meditation. Piers never of course fancied that a Christian could forsake faith, devotion and the sacraments and by mere bodily works go to heaven. He meant that a man must be saved primarily upon his own merits and by God's grace, and not by the aid of indulgences. It is not from the nature of this pardon but from the character of the *Visio* as a whole that we may safely regard the *Visio* as addressed primarily to the laity. Piers' pardon, even in the *Visio*, applies to all mankind. That a priest scorns it, however, helps us to perceive its applicability to the people. The *Visio* ends with the pardon because with the need for a pardon it begins. Man is shown in a transient state. He may, on dying, go either to the deep dungeon or to the fair tower. The first prayer which the pilgrim passionately addresses to Holy Church consists in the

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one vital question for every devout medieval man. The question is simply, how may I save my soul? We may conclude then that so far as the larger contours of form are concerned the *Visio* is a well arranged poem. Like the typical dream allegory, it appears even wildly discordant upon the surface. But when the meanings of the symbols are considered, we become aware of the presence of no inconsiderable design.

III

The *Visio* introduces us not only to the name of *Do-Well* but to the need for the *Vita* as a whole. In his last speeches Piers in the *Visio* states that he will change his course of life: instead of being so busy about his physical welfare, he will do as the apostles did and turn chiefly to the cultivation of his soul. This forewarns us of the change which we are about to encounter in the Second Part of the poem. And here we are faced with our gravest problems, to which, however, answers may be given I think with even more assurance than in the case of the *Visio*. Again I shall venture to clarify my views by the use of a tabular scheme:

Do-Well	*Do-Bet*	*Do-Best*
The Active Life of intellectual studies and priestly duties; *Activa Vita;*	The Contemplative Life; discussion of faithful hermits;	The Active Life expressed in the corporate Church, or *Unitas;* especially the rule of the Bishop;
self-rule; the Ten Commandments and the Seven Sins; allegorical figures and contemporary allusions;	self-obliteration; the three Contemplative or Christian Virtues; many scriptural figures;	the cure of souls; the four Active or Moral Virtues; allegorical figures and contemporary allusions again;
the protection of the Father	the protection of the Son	the protection of the Holy Spirit

Let us review a few of the outstanding features of the *Vita de Do-Well, Do-Bet* and *Do-Best*. This part of the poem represents the search of an imaginary pilgrim for three "lives" or "virtues" or, as we should be more likely to say in the language of present-day psychology, three states. The pilgrim meets many characters, the chief of whom are in the order in which he meets them, Thought, Wit, Study, Scripture, Clergy, Nature, Patience, Hawkin the Active Man and Piers Plowman. From most of these charac-

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ters the pilgrim inquires who are Do-Well, Do-Bet and Do-Best, and from no two of them does he receive quite the same answer. Had they agreed, he might possibly have given up the quest. Wit tells him that Do-Well is to labor honestly, while Clergy tells him that Do-Well is principally to be loyal to the Faith. Clearly each character has something to contribute to the pilgrim's growing knowledge of his life's journey. Each represents a progressive stage in his education. The different answers show not that the poet himself is confused (the poet knew, I think, his answer from the beginning) but that his pilgrim is groping his way, as do all men toward a solution of life's difficulties. He quarrels with all his teachers, makes mistakes, falls by the way, because of his peculiar temperament profits more from some teachers than from others and ultimately reaches the knowledge which he desires, only to find that in forgetting himself and taking upon him the burden of society he has borne Christ's cross. For the individual Christian may be saved, but society as a whole is not destined to achieve harmony on earth. The kingdom of Piers the Plowman is not of this world.

The three stages of life are always described as three grades of holiness. About the last grade we have from the first the greatest agreement. Again and again it is allegorized in the image of the bishop who guards his flock. To rule others is to Do Best. To rule one's self is to Do Well. Do-Bet is described as an advanced state of charity and humility. But the states are clearly and consistently presented in themselves, that is, in the three several parts of the poem; and we need not be over-puzzled by what the first persons whom the pilgrim meets say about them. We may I think say confidently on the basis of the entire character of the Passus dealing with Do-Well that this state is one of self-culture through knowledge. All the chief figures whom the pilgrim meets until very near the end of this section of the poem are evidently stages in his scholastic training. If he lapses for a time to follow Desire of the Eyes and Lust of the Flesh, he in time returns. Even his detour with Nature is at least a part of his academic life. The Life of Do-Bet begins with a long passage in praise of faithful hermits and in behalf of a true priesthood, introducing us to the three Christian or Contemplative Virtues, Faith, Hope and Charity, here named Abraham, Spes and Piers Plowman. This part of the poem is centered in the biblical narrative. Its chief images are not, as elsewhere, of the poet's own invention,

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but are drawn from the synoptic Gospels and from the Apocrypha. The *Vita de Do-Best* narrates the history of the Church from its beginning in the Resurrection, through the period of its primitive purity to its present state of degeneration. The story is told primarily not from the individual but from the social point of view. It is the story of *Unitas*, of Piers' family. It deals in particular with the government, or misgovernment, of this family, and hence with the responsibility of those who rule the Church, the confessors and prelates. It tells of the Christian Society that, although protected by the Holy Spirit and sustained by the bread of the sacrament, is subject to ceaseless incursions from its enemies, led by Satan. The Four Active or Cardinal Virtues, Justice, Prudence, Fortitude and Temperance, are discussed at considerable length. Allusions of a clearly secondary importance, however, are still made to the pilgrim, who is now old and hoar, but has not as yet attained true happiness on earth. The Field of Folk cannot give such happiness. Salvation is not of this world. Here the poem ends.

Once in the course of his journey the Pilgrim expresses surprise to learn that there are three states of life instead of two. He had always supposed that the two stages were the active life and the contemplative life. But he finds himself unmistakably in a world ordered in patterns of three. His teacher at this point gives just such an ambiguous answer as a good teacher always gives when he knows that it is best for his pupil to find the answer in his own experience. Yet the doctrine upon which the triple division of the poem has been made was really a familiar one in medieval thought. Saint Thomas expresses it as follows:

> Vita contemplativa simpliciter est melior quam activa quae occupatur circa corporales actus: sed vita activa, secundum quam aliquis praedicando et docendo contemplata aliis tradit, est perfectior quam vita quae solum est contemplativa: quia talis vita praesupponit abundantiam contemplationis. Et ideo Christus talem vitam elegit (*S.T.*, Part III, Quæst. XL, A. 1).

A summary of Bernard's view may be found in a work very popular in England in the fourteenth century, the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*. As the reader will at once observe, this passage agrees with the poem in some interesting points of detail.

> Est igitur vita actiua, quae designatur per Martham. Sed actiuae vitae, sicut ex dictis Bernardi colligere possum, duae sunt partes. Prima pars,

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qua quis se exercet ad suam principaliter vtilitatem corrigendo se, emendando a vitiis, & informando virtutibus. Et idem secundario sit ad vtilitatem etiam proximi per opera iustitiae, & obsequia pietatis,& charitatis. Secunda pars eius est, quo modo quis principaliter suum exercitium confert in vtilitatem proximi, quamvis ad suum etiam maius meritum, vt alios regendo, docendo, & adiuuando in animarum salutem, vt faciunt Praelati, & Praedicatores, & huiusmodi. & inter has duas partes vitae actiuae, est vita contemplatiua, vt iste sit ordo, quod primo quis se exerceat, & laboret in oratione, & sacrarum studio literarum, & aliis operibus bonis, & obsequiis in conuersatione, quasi corrigendo se a vitiis, & acquirendo virtutes. Secundo quiescat in contemplatione, solitudinem mentis quaerens, & soli Deo vacans toto posse. Tertio per praedicta duo exercitia, virtutibus, & vera sapientia imbutus & illuminatus, & feruidus effectus, ad aliorum salutem intendat. Primo, igitur, vt tetigi, oportet, quod in prima actiua parte, mens expurgetur, depuretur, & roboretur per exercitia virtutum: deinde in contemplatiua informetur, illuminetur, & instruatur: postea confidenter potest ad aliorum profectus exire, vt eos possit adiuuare.

Here we have the chief elements comprising the three "lives" in *Piers Plowman*. Walter Hilton in the fourteenth and Thomas Pecock in the fifteenth century also evince the popular interest in the problem of the three states. The *Meditationes*, which was commonly ascribed to St. Bonaventura, was translated into English during the later century by Nicholas Love.

There is still a further organizing factor to be noted in the instance of the poem. St. Augustine had advanced what has come to be known as the "psychological trinity." *Piers Plowman* does not follow Augustine's thought but presents a somewhat similar conception. The poet several times quotes the familiar text which declares man to be fashioned in God's image. He evidently considered that, since God is a Trinity, man must in some sense also be a trinity. Each of the three Parts of the *Vita* begins with allusions to the interrelation of the three parts of the Trinity and each is clearly dedicated to a special Person of the Trinity. At the conclusion of the *Vita de Do-Well* we are told that even the Saracens believe in God the Father. It is this Person of the Trinity who clearly presides over the Life of Do-Well. Christ as Piers the Plowman is the central theme of the *Vita de Do-Bet*. In this part of the poem the life of Christ, his crucifixion and the harrowing of hell supply the chief narrative elements. The *Vita de Do-Best* is no less clearly dedicated to the Holy Spirit, since it narrates at considerable length the descent of the Spirit at

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Pentacost, the Gifts of the Spirit and the rule of the Spirit within the Church, protecting it from even greater inroads than have as yet been made by the armies of Anti-Christ. Such is the spiritual trinity of man according to *Piers Plowman*, a thought of no inconsiderable importance in the organization of the work.

It would be manifestly impossible in the brief space of this paper to discuss any large number of details in the *Vita* which indicate the organizing genius of its author or authors. I should prefer to allow my statements relative to the major plan of the poem to stand out for the time being conspicuously, rather than to run the risk of smothering these primary outlines under a mass of detail, however interesting that detail might be to careful students of the poem. A few observations of lesser importance may however detain us.

In the first place it will not of course be assumed that because the Life of Do-Best is dedicated to God the Holy Spirit and the Life of Do-Well to God the Father that the poet had fallen into the heresy of holding the Third greater than the First Person of the Trinity. The poem and the states are of course cumulative. The poet learns early in his career that the Life of Do-Best for example presumes that of Do-Bet. And it not only presumes this preceding life, but includes it. This the imagery of the poem makes clear. Piers the Plowman is still active in the Life of Do-Best. But to know Piers the Plowman it becomes necessary to meet him in the Life of Do-Bet. Man never loses his need for learning or contemplation. He does not outgrow these powers but by them and by their constant use attains a third power, namely, the ability and the right to rule other men. It is better to know two persons of the Trinity than to know one, and better to know three Persons than to know two. Indeed none can truly be known without a knowledge of all.

The first third of the *Vita de Do-Well*, that is, the part contained in the A-Text, is naturally the easiest and most straightforward. We should never here be seriously in doubt of the reasonable sequence of the thought. As first episode we have the meeting of the pilgrim with the two friars. The friars give him no satisfactory answer to his questions. The poet probably means to satirize the friars, who in reply to a serious question give merely an entertaining story. In any event, the incident teaches the pilgrim the need of searching for Truth deeply and the vanity of relying upon persons. He learns at once that no glib phrases can

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solve his problem. He must labor himself. He cannot, as the illiterate poor, merely believe what he hears without long pondering upon it. He must use his own wit and go through the arduous disciplines of thought, study, learning, reason, humility and contemplation.

Having brushed specious explanations aside, the pilgrim is prepared to begin his quest in earnest, and to consider man from the cradle to beyond the grave. He first hears from Wit, who is of course Mother Wit or the primitive natural reason, of the creation of the world and of the soul, of the vital principle, or *anima*, and of the rational nature of man, or Inwit. This Inwit, we are told, is the greatest of gifts after the grace of God. By an exercise of Inwit the pilgrim is of course to advance on the road to knowledge. But Inwit does not exist in drunkards, imbeciles and children. Therefore men should avoid excessive drink and care for helpless children and imbeciles. The theme of child-care leads naturally to the subject of marriage. The pilgrim has now reached a stage in his progress when a new teacher is required. He goes therefore to Dame Study, who begins with a long satirical address against the abuse of study and learning by the unfit. Study says that she has taught Scripture the rudiments of learning, and in due time turns over the youthful adventurer to his new master. He has now passed through trivium and quadrivium and may commence his theological studies. These studies however begin badly. The pilgrim is recalcitrant, and quotes Augustine to the effect that many a poor man enters the palace of heaven with no other help than good works and a paternoster. Naturally Scripture and Clergy (learning) will have nothing to do with such a perverse pupil. Here the A-Text ends.

The B- and C-Texts relate how the pilgrim, after trying the joys of a worldly life, returns at length to his old teachers, Scripture and Clergy. But he returns by no means wholly cured of his bad manners, and shortly after some reckless words (in the C-Text they are assigned to Recklessness, but this is merely a name which the pilgrim assumes during a reckless stage in his career) he goes off with Nature. This teacher however can give him no knowledge which aids the solution of the supreme problem, that of salvation. He now meets one Imaginatif who recalls to him all the points in the previous debates, and carefully sets him right as to the advantage of learning, the necessity of a priesthood, the danger of overemphasizing the virtues of poverty and the vanity of merely

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natural reason. Much rectified in heart, he now enters the house of Theological Reason, accompanied by Patience and by Conscience. Conscience is of course also a character in the *Visio*.

Here occurs some fine satire on false Doctors of Divinity, with their gross habits and really superficial learning. The pilgrim sees however that the best learning has its limitations. Learning is not enough. It is necessary also to lead the life of penance, devotion and contemplation. The figure of Activa Vita appears and confesses himself unworthy and a sinner. He must purge himself by meditation. The poet passes therefore to an account of the contemplative life, which begins in the despising of earthly goods and in the love of meekness and poverty. His new teacher informs him both wherein the true life of devotion consists and how basely the clergy and the religious have in the fourteenth century betrayed their duty towards that life. Thus we are introduced to the *Vita de Do-Bet*.

The Life of Do-Well is in fact the only part of the second half of the poem difficult to follow. This is because throughout his Life the pilgrim engages in many arguments with his teachers, showing all the restlessness of a disputatious nature. We easily infer from it how lively and contentious medieval schools of philosophy and theology as a rule became. The scholar's obstinacy accounts for the vitality of this section of the poem and totally precludes the insipidity into which an allegory of the life of learning is only too likely to fall. The relatively straightforward arguments of the *Vita de Do-Bet*, depicting the Christian or Contemplative Virtues, and of the *Vita de Do-Best*, depicting the reception which the four Active or Moral Virtues meet with at the hands of the Christian world, scarcely need further comment than that which they have already received in preceding paragraphs.

IV

I have now stated as briefly as possible what I consider to be the chief organizing elements in the thought of *Piers Plowman*. But I do not wish to have it appear that I consider the poet or poets incapable at times of virtual irrelevancies, of digressions and repetitions. Certain of the repetitions, as already pointed out, arise from reduplications necessitated by the two-fold division of the poem. The author evidently realized his embarrassment, for he, or his collaborators, not infrequently shifted passages

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about, especially in the C-Text, where many passages formally in the *Vita* have been brought forward to the *Visio*. This, however, is much more confusing to the eye of the reader of Skeat's edition than to the content of the poem. It is not by these transpositions that the essential organization is bettered or defaced. The poet, however, shows throughout a fondness for certain topics that push themselves unceremoniously to the fore and break the flow of the argument. First of all we have the author's singular affection for the theme of poverty. In the *Visio* he again and again digresses from what seems his main line of argument to urge patient, honest work. In the *Vita* he may at any moment break out into the praise of poverty. This thought clearly belongs to the Prologue of the *Vita de Do-Bet*, which is the life of contemplation. It is not so clear that it becomes other parts of the work. In both *Vita* and *Visio* he may at any time incite his reader to pity the sufferings of the poor. Two long passages added in the C-Text, one in the *Vita* and one in the *Visio*, deal with this theme. The very pervasiveness of these digressions makes them, to be sure, in a sense less digressive. Like a recurrent theme in music, they give a unity of tone to the work as a whole. Yet, to repeat, they do interfere with the argument of the poem, and must in that respect be considered a defect.

Another characteristic of the poet is his fondness for satire, especially against the clergy. Most of this satire occurs in the *Vita*, where it has the better right to be. Yet it does not always seem logically introduced. We feel it often as an artistic fault. The poet of B.XI pleasantly confesses at least one of his sins as follows:

> This lokynge on lewed prestes hath don me lepe fram pouerte,
> The whiche I preyse there pacyence is more parfyt than richesse.

Another prejudice which the poet reveals in his somewhat irascible poem is disgust at lawyers. A more orderly author would presumably have found one Passus in which the law might properly have been discussed, said therein all that he had to say on the subject, and from thenceforth held his peace. Not so, however, the author or authors of *Piers Plowman*. This is something more than a merely stylistic feature. With problems of style I am, of course, not concerned in the present paper. In so far as the intrusion of passages on poverty, ecclesiastical satire and satire upon the lawyers breaks the argument of the poem as a whole, we

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might conceivably deduce evidence in favor of divided authorship. Such intrusions are often artistic faults. On the other hand, the pervasive nature of these intrusions, noticeable not only in the C-Text, and by no means in one section of the poem more than in another, suggests a single authorship, and certainly gives unity of tone to the work when viewed in its entirety.

I have attempted in this paper to show the poem to be a really finely built structure, the nave for the people, the choir for the clergy, yet, like many a church in the Middle Ages, so crowded with tombs, rood-screens, chantries and side altars, that the total effect is a most curious blending of order and confusion. On the whole I am chiefly impressed by the order of the work, and this has I feel certain been the aspect of the poem the more slighted by its critics. However, I should not wish to deny that *Piers Plowman* is rough in certain elements of construction as well as in language. Nor do I regard the departures from logical precision to be invariably artistic defects.

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III

DEFENSE OF CRISEYDE

Go litel book, go, litel myn tragedye,
. . . . . .
And red whereso thow be, or elles songe,
That thow be understonde, god I beseche!

CHAUCER'S Criseyde has suffered, in reputation, the fate that the populace of Troy proposed to inflict on her physically, as daughter of the traitor Calchas, when they

seyden he and al his kyn at ones
Ben worthi for to brennen, fel and bones (1, 90–91).

Strange perversions of the story, tending to the disparagement of Criseyde, began almost in her creator's lifetime, and have been repeated and enlarged upon down to the present day. She has been accredited with a versatility in vice that matches the accusations of Catullus against his lost Lesbia.

There is no doubt that Henryson's *Testament of Criseyde*, after its appearance in 1532, and later, editions of Chaucer's collected works, was regarded by the careless reader and by many who never read Chaucer's poem at all, as a part—the sixth book—of his story, and that it added impetus to the flood of vilification.[1] But Henryson was not the first of the slanderers. More than a century before publication of the *Testament*, we encounter in Lydgate's *Troy-book* (c. 1420), after a reference to Chaucer for the details:

But Guydo seyth longe or it was nyght
How Cryseyde hath forsake her owne Knight,
And gave her herte unto this Diomede,
Of tendernesse and of womanhede—

a version that was accepted by Shakespeare, who fixes the time of the consummated infidelity on the night of Criseyde's arrival in the Greek Camp.[2]

[1] Rollins, Hyder E., "The Troilus-Cressida Story," *PMLA*, XXXII, 383.

[2] Shakespeare's hand, in a way, was forced; making his first and, except *The Tempest*, his only experiment on a play that approximated the *classic* unities, he could allow no interval between the yielding to Troilus and the *supplantacioun*. He seems to have followed the observation of Aristotle that tragedies tend to confine themselves "to a single revolution of the sun, or exceed it very slightly."

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It is not only the poet with eye in a fine, or other, frenzy rolling, who checks off Criseyde's days on his calendar, or times her with a stop-watch. Professor Albert S. Cook,[3] confusing two entirely different events, long separated in time and totally disassociated in significance, says: "Chaucer seems to say (5.1033–4) of Diomede that on the eleventh day after her arrival

> So wel he for himselve spak and seyde
> That alle hir sykes sore adoun he leyde,

though a few lines later he professes not to know how long it was before Criseyde forsook Troilus for Diomede." Professor Tatlock[4] though expressing his calculations in question form, appears more positive about the chronology of the desertion. "Why," he asks, "is she untrue to her long-constant lover in thought and word within ten days, and in act within a few weeks? Why does she meanly and unfairly try to put him in the wrong?"

Henryson, unwilling to leave Criseyde healthy, or Troilus

> Ther as Mercurye sorted him to dwelle;

shows her as a street-walker and inflicts her with leprosy as a punishment for her sins. Heywood (*Iron Age*) contributes the gratuitous embellishment to Henryson's already too presumptuous distortion, that she was discarded by Diomede because he overheard her consenting to an assignation with a creature whom Chaucer would not have permitted his "lady bright Criseyde" even to speak to—Sinon, one of the "traytours that bitraysed Troye."

The books, old and new, furnish amplifications and singular variations of the slanders against Criseyde. Thomas Feylde[5] (1509), who was as incapable of understanding the story as he was of spelling the poet's name, asserts that she never loved Troilus at all:

> Recorde of Cresyde
> Whome Troylus loved
> And was sore payned
> Canser doth tell

[3] "The Character of Criseyde," *PMLA*, XXII, 546.

[4] Review of Root's *The Booke of Troilus and Criseyde*, (*Saturday Review of Literature*, N. Y. Dec. 4, 1926).

[5] Spurgeon, *Five Centuries of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*, Cambridge (1925), I, 71.

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Her love was fayned
And wortely chaunged
And gyven to Dyomede
With Grekes to dwelle.

George Gascoigne[6] (1575), not content with the attacks on her conduct subsequent to the break with Troilus, and intentionally ignoring the fact that she was a widow (as was Boccaccio's Griseida) suggests by unworthy innuendo, a debased maidenhood:

Thy brother Troylus eke, that gemme of gentle deedes
To think how he abused was, alas, my heart it bleedes!
He bet about the bushe, while other caught the berde,
Whome crafty Cresside mockt to much, yet fede him still with words
And god he knoweth, not I, who pluckt hir first sprong rose,
Since Lollius and Chaucer both make doubt upon that glose.

While it is a long leap from John Gower to Professor Cook, we note an affinity in malicious ingenuity between Gower's assertion that she was so degraded as to *divide* her attentions between her two lovers[7]:

And Troilus stod with Criseide,
But evere among, althogh he pleide,
Be semblant he was hevy chiered,
For Diomede, as him was liered,
Cleymeth to ben his parconner,

and Professor Cook's suggestion that in offering to Diomede the ordinary hospitality of spices and wine, she had in mind, from her supposed acquaintance with the *Roman de la Rose*, the inflammatory effect of Ovidian aphrodisiacs.[8]

Godwin,[9] most inept of Chaucer's biographers, permits himself to perpetuate the gross charge of his worst editor:

Creseide (as Mr. Urry in his introduction to Henryson's epilogue to the Troilus, has very truly observed), however prepossessing may be the manner in which she appears in the early part of the poem, is 'a false inconstant whore',"—as if the short and ugly noun were not enough, without the double-barrelled adjective—"and of a class which the mind

[6] Spurgeon, *op. cit.*, I, 110.
[7] *Conf. Amantis;* VIII, 2531–5.
[8] *PMLA*, XXII, 546.
[9] William, Godwin, *Life of Chaucer* (2nd Ed. Lond. 1804), I, 472.

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of the reader almost demands to have exhibited, if not as 'terminating in extream misery,' at least as filled with penitence and remorse.

These brief references to the widely diversified calumniation of Criseyde, serving as an introduction to this study, are enough to recall to the student the nature of the charges against which I propose to defend her. The writer is quite convinced that the evidence, without resort to special pleading or appeal to sympathy, will fully justify her, and not only refute her grosser detractors, but at the same time correct the judgments of her charitable-minded and sympathetic friends, whose half-hearted apologies (that have done her no good), I shall not take time to quote.[10]

Chaucer realized, and made Criseyde prophesy, that she would fare badly in history (5. 1058 *et seq.*), but had he dreamed of the utter desecration she was to suffer, we feel sure he would have left a more explicit warning than that which has been interpreted as expressing only fear that posterity might mis-write or mis-metre his lines (5. 1793 *et seq.*).[11] It is not difficult to read into the stanza that embodies his earnest prayer,

That thow be understonde, god I beseche,

something more than an apprehension concerning his reputation as a grammarian; something nearer his heart than the loss in his verse of the final *e*, and its long delayed discovery by modern scholars. It was not, we venture to suggest, the fate of his syllabification, but the future of his Criseyde, that disturbed his thoughts as he approached the end of the work.

I am unable to recall how long it was after falling under the fascination of the *Troilus*, that I suspected misleading *ambages*

[10] G. L. Kittredge, *Chaucer and his Poetry*, Cambridge 1920, p. iv; Emile Legouis, *Geoffrey Chaucer*, tr. by L. Lailavoix, New York, 1913; B. ten Brink, *History of English Literature*, tr. by Wm. Clarke Robinson, London, 1901, II. p. 92; W. J. Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, London, 1919, I, 264; Henry Newbolt, *A New Study of English Poetry*, London 1917, p. 158.

[11] Professor Skeat's note on mismetre, in 5.1793, is puzzling: "This shows that Chaucer was conscious of his somewhat archaic style, and that there was danger that some of the syllables might be dropped." A contemporary of the author of *Piers Plowman* could not, unless through some uncanny power to foresee the future development of our language, be conscious that his style was *archaic*. In view of the fact that Chaucer, like everyone else, knew more about the past than the future, it would be more reasonable for him to fear that his lines would be misunderstood rather because of his innovations both in structure and words, than for any servitude to antiquity.

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lurking therein, that could be solved only by a discriminating attention to the scene shifts and time elements of the narrative. There kept recurring to me with an insistence of particular significance, the lines (5. 1086–1092):

> But, trewely, how longe it was bytwene,
> That she forsook hym for this Diomede,
> There is non auctour telleth it, I wene.
> Take every man now to his bokes heede:
> He shal no terme fynden, out of drede.
> For though that he bigan to wowe hire soone
> Or he hire wan, yit was ther more to doone.

The writer's determination to defend the lady's reputation; to assault, if I may say so, the entrenched line of century-old slander, is strengthened by the recollection of the poet's rebuke and warning to her detractors of earlier days (4.19–21):

> Allas: that they sholde evere cause fynde
> To speke hire harm! and if they on hire lye,
> I wis, hem self sholde han the vilanye.

The critics who almost unanimously agree that the Criseyde of the first four books is above reproach,[12] are puzzled, each from his own point of view, by her conduct in Book Five. The purpose of this study is to show that her desertion of Troilus is justified and that the comments on her conduct and appraisals of her character are generally unintelligent or unfair. The writer has endeavored to explain Chaucer's story as he understood it when he first read it, some three years ago, at a time when he was unaware of, and therefore unaffected by, the lady's history in the sources, and except for an indistinct recollection of Shakespeare's play, equally ignorant that she had had a later career. And so to my "matere".

Before the fifth book, anticipatory references to the time and circumstances of Criseyde's infidelity are few and wary. The conclusion of the story stated in advance, at 1. 56, is:

> how that she forsook hym or she deyde.

At 4. 15, we read:

> For how Criseyde Troilus forsook
> Or at the leeste how that she was unkinde—

[12] The Criseyde that Professor Cook presents is not Chaucer's, but anybody's, from Homer to Shakespeare.

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followed at 4. 26–28, with a statement of matter included in the fourth book, but which is actually in the fifth:

> This ilke ferthe book me helpeth fyne,
> So that the losse of lyf and love yfere
> Of Troilus be fully shewed here.

These anticipatory statements concerning the future *supplantacioun* merely are that Criseyde will forsake Troilus before she dies (necessarily it would have to be then, or not at all); or at least she will be unkind to him; and that he will lose his life and her love *yfere*, which may mean he will lose both, or both at the same time.

A brief comment on the fourth book is a necessary preliminary to our analysis of the fifth book, the events of which furnish the basis for the attacks upon Criseyde.

As soon as Troilus, Criseyde and Pandarus are each separately informed of the decision of the Trojan *Parlement*, that the proposal of the Greeks to exchange Criseyde for Antenor has been accepted, and that she must prepare to depart, a sequence of hurried and anguished conferences occurs among the three, as follows: Pandarus and Troilus (4. 376–658); Pandarus and Criseyde (4. 806–945); Pandarus and Troilus (4. 1085–1120); Troilus and Criseyde (4. 1146–1700). In the first and fourth of these scenes, each of the three proposes with almost equal insistence and sincerity, a different plan for thwarting the decree that threatens to separate the lovers. No one of the plans is discussed by all three, and the plan of each is proposed and made known to only one of the other two, so that there is an unfortunate lack of co-operation between the persons interested in the attempt.

First, Pandarus, after convincing himself that Troilus is sincere in his assertion that he cannot live without Criseyde, rashly and generously offers to die for him. He proposes to raise a faction of his own relatives and friends to oppose by force the fulfillment of the decree. Pandarus fully realizes that in case of failure, the probability of which he anticipates, he and his kindred will rot like dead dogs in the streets of Troy—a fate which Troilus, as a prince of the royal house, will probably not share. Pandarus also frankly admits that the carrying out of his plan will necessarily make public the secret amour, but conceding that the disclosure will be unfortunate for the lovers, he sensibly asserts that it is an evil lesser than their separation. In any event, they will stand

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no lower in public opinion than Paris and Helen. Troilus does not express dissent from the plan of Pandarus for the reason that it may result in the death of his friend and his friend's family, but only because he fears that it may not meet with Criseyde's approval. He is unwilling

> To ravyshe hire, but if hireself it wolde.

That, says Pandarus, was his own idea; but we are given to understand that if Troilus had not raised the question, Pandarus would have proceeded with the ravishment at once, leaving his niece to consent or not, after it was over. However, the conference is closed with the clear understanding that Pandarus shall arrange an immediate meeting of the lovers, at which Troilus shall obtain the consent of Criseyde to the plan which Pandarus has proposed.

When Troilus meets Criseyde (4. 1146–1700) he does not mention this plan, so that we have no opportunity of learning whether she would have consented to the slaughter of all her kindred in order to secure her own happiness; whether she would have been willing to take her place in history beside Helen, as a beauty whose amorous activities brought misery to others. On the contrary, Troilus proposes to Criseyde an entirely different plan, which, probably because of its utter futility and sure dishonour to himself, he had not dared to suggest to Pandarus. It is that the lovers shall steal out of Troy by night and seek refuge with supposed friends, whose names and place of abode he does not mention; but whom it seems hardly possible they could safely reach in the ravaged *hinterland* of Troy-town. It is not, however, the obvious hopelessness of the attempt, but the fact that it will brand Troilus as a victim of "lust voluptuous and coward drede" (4. 1573) that causes Criseyde to reject it at once. Only a biased commentator[13] can ascribe Criseyde's refusal to approve the secret flight, to her insistence that her reputation for chastity must be preserved at all cost. The dishonour, as she expresses it, that she refuses to incur, is that reflected dishonour which will come to her if she permit Troilus for her sake to show himself a cowardly voluptuary:

> And also thynketh on myn honestee
> That floureth yit, how foule I sholde it shende,
> And with what filthe it spotted sholde be,
> If in this forme I sholde with yow wende.

[13] Thomas R. Price, "Troilus and Criseyde," *PMLA*, XI, 307.

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So that to her but one course is possible: obey the decree, join her father in the Greek camp, and persuade or cajole him into permitting her to return. In her sincere optimism she tells Troilus (4. 1281):

> I shal yow wel an hep of weyes shewe.

Criseyde's plan (4. 1146 *et seq.*), as she views the situation, seems reasonably sure of success. She knows that the Greeks have asked for her only at her father's solicitation, and believes that his anxiety to get her out of Troy was caused by his ungrounded fear that the Trojans might mistreat her out of hatred for him. She is therefore confident that when she has an opportunity of convincing her father that she enjoys the protection of Hector, and is well regarded, any objection to her restoration can be removed. Of average capacity to remember past events, and brave enough to trust her own judgment in the present crisis, she lacks, as she humbly and frankly admits, that future-seeing eye that Calchas, *foreknowing wight*, possessed.

The critics, wise after the event, blame her for being less fortunate than Alma of the *Faerie Queene*, whose life was guided by a happy combination of "three honorable sages"[14]:

> The first of them could things to come foresee;
> The next could of thinges present best advise;
> The third things past could keep in memoree.

This study will indicate that I have not accepted the orientation of the characters that Professor Kittredge has presented in his own incomparable way.[15] Perhaps it is only a difference of opinion as to which of the two fundamental elements in the construction of the tragedy Chaucer emphasized. Professor Kittredge lays stress upon the fated fall of Troy, as the ANÁΓKH to which the will of man contributes nothing, and the consequence of which he can in no way escape. This is an element of the plot that may not be disregarded, but the importance of which is likely to be, and has, in my opinion, been exaggerated; principally because of the length of Troilus' soliloquy a la Boethius in the fourth book. While the poet's report of the meditation of the hero on *necessitee* would certainly have been better if it had been shorter, it does not appear artistically irrelevant. Troilus, no doubt, believed that it was

[14] II, IX, 48, 8–9 and 49, 1–5.

[15] *Chaucer and his Poetry*, Harv. Univ. Press, 1920.

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fore-ordained that he should "forgone Criseyde," and never dreamed that his own stupidity and instability of character were bringing that result about.

The fact that Chaucer ascribes to Troilus his own smatterings of mediæval philosophy, and permits him, by use of the dialectic thereof, to demonstrate (to his own satisfaction, at least) that he is the innocent victim of a fore-ordained doom, does not necessarily mean that the poet agrees with him, or that he sees no deeper into the minds of his creatures than they themselves see. Troilus, already well on the way to the accomplishment of his own destruction, classes himself among the dumb, driven cattle, whose destiny is determined by "Fortune, executrice of wierdes," but Chaucer, as we shall see, has adopted a scheme for the construction of his tragedy, that places the emphasis upon decision and action developing from character, rather than the automatic working out of a fated result. He comes nearer to anticipating Shakespeare than he does to following Æschylus.

When it has been agreed that Criseyde must leave Troy and go to the Greek camp, it is naturally difficult for her, in answer to the importunities of Troilus, to bind herself by a promise to return on a definite day. She attempts to avoid committing herself saying at 4. 1278:

> For, dredeles, withinne a wowke or two,
> I shal ben here—;

At 1317 she still postpones a binding promise. "When I am gone," she says,

> And thenk right thus: "Criseyde is now agon,
> But what! she shal come hastely ayeyn";
> And whanne, allas? by god, lo, right anon,
> Or dayes ten, this dar I saufly seyn.

She was speaking honestly; the author vouches for her sincerity (4. 1415 *et seq.*):

> And treweliche, as writen wel I fynde,
> That al this thing was seyd of good entente;
> And that hire herte trewe was and kinde
> Towardes hym, and spak right as she mente—,

but after Troilus has told her at 4.1440 *et seq.* the awful results, including his suicide, that will follow if she fail to return on a day set, she is compelled to bind herself by one of those mediæval

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oaths that she had hoped to avoid (4.1590 *et seq.*), swearing "by Juno, hevenes quene," to return on the tenth day:

> Or Phebus suster, Lucina the shene,
> The Leoun passe out of this Ariete—.

At 4.1683 *et seq.*, she seems to retreat from an inflexible oath to merely a hopeful prayer:

> But Juppitar . . . .
> . . . . so yeve us grace,
> Or nightes ten, to meten in this place.

Criseyde's realization of the practical difficulties that are likely to delay her return, make her reluctant to fix a definite day. But there is no escape; Troilus is unwilling to trust her good faith and judgment; he must have her bound by a covenant, the breach of which will violate the laws of courtly love. To the mediæval mind, the performance of the letter of a promise was obligatory—and even where the spirit was ignored, it was sufficient.

The departure of Criseyde from Troy, which is set forth in the opening of the fifth book, takes place the day after the last interview of the lovers that closes the fourth book. On the night of the day of her delivery to Diomede, Troilus moans (5.218):

> Wher is myn owene lady lief and dere?
> Wher is hire whyte brest, where is it, where?
> Wher ben hire armes and hir eyen cleere,
> That yesternyght this tyme with me were?

After a sleepless night, Pandarus comes to him in the morning and persuades him to visit Sarpedon, who, now living in Troy, evidently kept up the custom of his kingdom of Lykia, where he "ate fat sheep and drank freely of honey sweet-wine" (*Il.* XII). When Troilus proposes to terminate the visit on the fourth day, one readily sympathizes with the protest of Pandarus, who has thoroughly enjoyed,

> al that myghte yserved ben on table,
> That deyntee was (5. 437, 8);

to say nothing of the music and feminine society. Having no enthusiasm to return to the house of Troilus and resume discussion of the hero's bad dreams and instructions for management of his funeral, Pandarus pertinently inquires, "Where can we find

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a better entertainer than Sarpedon? In addition, it would be discourteous to leave in four days after having accepted an invitation for a week." So they stay the week out, and returning to Troy on the eighth day after the departure of Criseyde (5.519), Troilus goes to moan before her empty "paleys."

At 5.687 the scene shifts from Troy, where Troilus on the ninth night is expecting her return in the morning, to Criseyde in the Greek camp:

> Upon that other syde ek was Criseyde.

The narrative then brings her in turn to the same ninth night (5. 750), when she states her determination to return to Troy on the next day, so as to keep her promise to be back in ten days:

> But natheles, betyde what betyde,
> I shal to-morwe at night, by est or west,
> Out of this oost stele on som maner syde—.

So that at 5.685 Troilus in Troy, and at 5.750 Criseyde in the camp, are speaking at precisely the same time, that is, the ninth night after their separation.

But Diomede visits her

> on the tenthe day
> Syn that Criseyde out of the citee yede (5. 842, 3),

and as she tells him on leaving that she will speak to him another time, provided he desist from discussing love, it is clear that the conversation between them or some incident not recited, has made it impossible for her to steal from the host on the tenth day so as to keep her promise. As the poet informs us later (5.1027–9) that the conversation on the tenth day "bygan to brede" the causes that led her *finally* to determine that she could not return to Troy (although, as we shall see, other and even more important causes intervened that led to this decision) it is rather important to consider what this conversation was. It is comprised in ll. 841–1029.

Diomede's attack opens with an attempt to obtain from her a confession that she had left a lover in Troy, and no doubt he suspects Troilus, whose obvious dejection on parting from her (5. 85–91) he had noted. Passing that, he skilfully places before her, with a combination of truculence and humility, the following separate but related reasons why she would be wise to "graunte him grace":

1. Troy is doomed to destruction, and a horrible vengeance will be taken on all its inhabitants (5. 888):

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"Ther shal not oon to mercy gon on lyve."

Your own father Calchas knows it well and that it will be soon; that is why he fled to the camp and worked to bring you here.

2. In respect to himself; he is heir to the thrones of "Calydoyne and Arge," and therefore in a position to protect her in the imminent catastrophe.

3. He offers the personal devotion of a humble lover, ready to serve her as his lady.

We cannot escape the conclusion that the poet intends us to understand that Diomede is lying when he asserts that he offers her a virgin heart:

> I lovede never womman her biforn
> As paramours—(157-8);

and

> I am youre man,
> And ben the firste of whom I seche grace—(939, 940).

He endeavors to support his spoken lie by acting the part of a bashful youth (925–931):

> And with that word he gan to waxen red,
> And in his speche a litel wight he quook,
> And caste asyde a litel wight his hed,
> And stynte a whyle; and afterward he wook,
> And sobreliche on hir he threw his look,
> And seyde; "I am, al be it yow no joye,
> As gentil man as any wight in Troie."

As if Criseyde was woodcock enough to be caught by any such springe! If she did not know that Diomede had left a wife at home, one Aigiale, her creator knew about her from Benoit, who calls her Egial. She could tell by looking at him that he (800–802):

> Was in his nedes prest and corageous
> With sterne vois and myghty lymes square,
> Hardy, testif, strong and chivalrous—,

hardly a figure and character to succeed in imposing on Criseyde his imitation of a green youth smitten by first love, or convince her that he had theretofore restrained his "nedes prest."

Criseyde in answering Diomede (956–1004) is not vulnerable to his attack, or any attack, because, as the poet authentically says (953–4):

> she hadde that hire herte on Troilus
> So faste, that there may it non arace.

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Defenseless, among lawless men, with no protection but her outcast father, realizing already her position, as she later (1592–1594) so poignantly expresses it in writing:

> How myght a wight in torment and in drede
> And heleless, yow sende as yit gladnesse?
> I herteles, I syke, I in destresse,—

she speaks "straungely" (955): "I know," she says, "that the Greeks will destroy Troy if they can,"

> But it shal not byfallen as ye speke (962).

It is made quite clear that Calchas knew before he left Troy that the city was doomed, but Criseyde was not only left sleeping at home, entirely *unwist* of his proposed departure, but there is no suggestion that during the two to three years after he left and before she was sent to the camp, that his fears or prophecies had been communicated to her.

When she hears of the exchange, she supposes that her father has arranged to bring her to the camp because he apprehends that because of his traitorous desertion she is not likely to be treated well in Troy; and when she arrives in the camp he does not advise her that he had any other reason for insisting upon her transfer.

Chaucer, omitting the scene in *Filostrato* where Calchas, on the arrival of his daughter, predicts the doom of Troy, relieves her of the responsibility of disbelieving a decree of the gods announced by the mouth of Apollo's priest. The prediction of disaster from the mouth of a boastful enemy, and one whose motives she well understood, gave her no reason to believe that Troy was other than eternal; and she counters the prophesy of Diomede with its opposite: "It shall not befall as you say."

The poet, having carefully protected Criseyde from any suggestion that she conceives the possibility of the destruction of the city, devises for her, as against the impetuous onslaught of Diomede, a defensive maneuver in the form of what appears to him an encouragement. Still speaking "straungely," she says (990–993):

> Hereafter, whan ye wonnen han the town,
> Paraunter thanne so it happen may,
> That whan I see that nevere yit I say,
> Than wole I werke that I nevere wroughte.

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No great criticism has been heaped on the lady in the Franklin's tale for promising, with nothing like the same excuse as Criseyde had, to be unfaithful when and if the laws of nature were overthrown by an unimaginable catastrophe. Even her husband saw her position[16]; but Criseyde's promise: "If I see what I never yet saw (the fall of Troy), perhaps I may do what I never did (take another lover)," exacted under a veiled but quite real compulsion that she could hardly resist, is one of the links in the chain of evidence against her!

Having disputed the validity of Diomede's assertion of victory, she counters his lie with another lie—a matter in which she has been much blamed by those who do not even suggest or notice the lie of Diomede. Coming to deal with his impertinent suggestion that she has a Trojan lover, she flatly denies it (975–978):

> I hadde a lord, to whom I wedded was,
> The whos myn herte al was til that he deyde;
> And other love, as helpe me now Pallas
> Ther in myn herte nys, ne never was.

As against the developing ardor of "this sodeyn Diomede," the lady in distress hopes that a pretended devotion to the memory of a dead husband may prove more effective than a confessed love for a Trojan warrior. If the ethical standard of the reader is too high to condone Criseyde's lapse from truth in this crisis, he should remember that apart from any consideration of self-interest or self-protection, she acted in strict accordance with a standard to which she was subject when she lied to Diomede. The canons of Courtly Love, requiring truthfulness on all other subjects, not only permitted but required lying to protect the disclosure of a secret love affair; and Criseyde, though a real and, in some respects, a quite modern woman, is also a creature of that conventional school and subject to its laws; so was Troilus for that matter, and it was his violation of the obligation to keep the secret that constituted a moving cause of the catastrophe.

The last words of Criseyde to Diomede in their talk on the tenth day are paraphrased from Boccaccio and Benoit, both of

[16] The sensible comment of "Matthew Broune," (*Chaucer's England* I, 58) will suffice for the ordinary reader. Dorigen and her many predecessors in Indian, Persian and Italian sources are all held blameless in making the Rash Promise (see *Originals and Analogues*, W. A. Clouston; Chaucer Soc. 1886). No doubt the *Breton lai*, if we could find it, would also show her free from blame.

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whom show her as wavering in heart, or only pretending coyness in order to encourage (1002–1004):

> I sey nat therfore that I wol yow love,
> Ny sey not nay, but in conclusioun,
> I mene wel, by god that sit above.

But Chaucer, while borrowing the language of his authorities, will not allow us to read her words in the sense that her prototypes used them. What she has just said is for the ears of Diomede. Only a dull or unsympathetic reader can miss the significance of the immediately following lines (1005–1008) addressed to him:

> And ther withal she caste hire eyen doun,
> And gan to sike, and seyde, "O Troie town,
> Yet bidde I god, in quiete and in reste
> I may yow sen, or do myn herte breste."

The poet says that when Diomede told her, on the tenth day, his prophesy of the destruction of Troy, the danger of her position and the value of his protecting influence (5.1027)—

> bigan to brede
> The cause whi, the sothe for to telle,
> That she took fully purpos for to dwelle.

It is not stated that on this tenth day she decided to remain; on the contrary it had already been clearly stated (766–770) that this decision was reached two months later:

> But got it wot, or fully monthes two,
> She was ful fer fro that entencioun.
> For bothe Troilus and Troie town
> Shal knotteles through out hire herte slide;
> For she wol take a purpos for tabyde.

Nor is it even stated that Diomede's words were what caused her to decide two months later to abandon the idea of returning to Troy; they were only the beginning ("bigan to brede") of a chain of events that resulted in her taking "a purpos for tabyde."

On the eleventh morning Diomede comes again (5.1030).

Chaucer is now about to end the particular scene dealing by direct narrative with Criseyde in the Greek camp, that begins at 5.841; to indulge in some comment (retrospective or anticipatory); to shift to the side of Troilus and come to an end.

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The first question we have to determine is, where does the consecutive narrative that begins at 5.841 end; and where does the author's non-consecutive or anticipatory comment begin? The answer to this question is in itself of importance, and a preliminary to questions of greater importance, in passing judgment on Criseyde.

Stanza 148, as printed by Root, reads:

> The morwen com, and, gostly for to speke,
> This Diomede is come unto Criseyde;
> And shortly, lest that ye my tale breke,
> So wel he for hym selven spak and seyde,
> That all hire sikes sore adown he leyde.
> And finaly, the sothe for to seyne,
> He refte hire of the grete of all hire peyne.

A careless reading of the passage conveys the impression that on the eleventh morning, in a short time Diomede argued so well for himself that Criseyde began to cease sighing for Troilus, and at the close of the interview she forgot her sorrow altogether. But this is not the poet's meaning at all, as I read it. First, as to punctuation; we find that in the manuscripts and early texts there is nothing to indicate that the first five lines of the stanza are included in a single sentence. They have no "periods," or marks of sentence-ends at all.

Considering the stanza as not punctuated by the poet, we feel free to insist that the first two lines (1030,31) are a sentence:

> The morwen com, and gostly for to speke,
> This Diomede is come unto Criseyde.

Line 1032 should not be understood as a statement that *shortly* after the arrival of Diomede she ceased sorrowing and found consolation. The line:

> And shortly,[17] lest that ye my tale breke,

[17] G. L. Hamilton (*Chaucer's Indebtedness to Guido*, p. 6) commenting on 2.1219, has a note: "On the frequency of this phrase and its equivalents, 'shortly to tell,' and 'shortly to say,' in Chaucer's poems, cf. T. R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 95–96, 547–548. In *T. and C.* (3.548, 1117, 1156; 5.1009, 1826) except in the passage cited in the text such expressions are used as mere *chevilles*."

Lounsbury, referring to the use of these expressions in the translation of *R. de la R.*, says they are—"nothing but the addition by the translator of what had become to him merely a conventional formula of speech" (II. 96). In the collation in Lounsbury (II. 547) of the phrases "shortly" for "to say" or "to tell," the

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is not direct narrative continued, but parenthetical comment upon the poet's intended method. "To speak briefly so as not to interrupt the story too much, Diomede did console her and relieve her of her pain"; but neither this statement nor the immediately succeeding stanzas should be read without bearing in mind St. 156, which warns us concerning the time intervals and sequence of the incidents.

It is two months after the tenth day before the thought of Troilus and Troy slip through her mind like an unknotted thread through the eye of the needle (5. St. 110); which makes it impossible that the poet intends to say that on the eleventh day Diomede fully consoled her.

We may therefore conclude that the long direct narrative that begins at 5.841:

> But for to tellen forth of Diomede,

ends at 5.1031:

> This Diomede is come unto Criseyde.

Accordingly, I change Root's[18] semicolon (Skeat has a comma) to a period. Then, beginning a new sentence, the balance of the stanza is author's comment anticipating later developments stated on his own authority, leading to the yet more obviously anticipatory comment contained in stanzas 149 to 155 inclusive, which is all ascribed to other authority, telling of matters that occurred later: she gave Diomede a horse that had been Troilus', a brooch that Troilus had given her, and made him wear a "pencel" of her sleeve. Another story tells that when Troilus wounded Diomede, she wept and cared for his wounds and gave him her heart; but Chaucer carefully refrains from saying *when* the stories say that she gave the horse, the brooch or her heart. Having reported in compact form the substance of what the stories said in their

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expression "and shortly" (5.1032) is not mentioned. But the similarity between the phrases makes it clear that in no aspect does it suggest, either that the consolation of Criseyde was accomplished that "morwen," or anything in regard to the time when it was accomplished.

[18] It may appear ungracious to make use of Professor Root's text as a whole, and reject it in part. However, as he frankly states (Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, Princeton Univ. Press, 1926, p. lxxxiii) that "The punctuation has been supplied throughout the text in accordance with modern practice," I feel justified in making my own guess in this particular instance.

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accusations against her (all comprised between ll. 1031 and 1085), he warns us (1086–1092)—I repeat the stanza:

> But, trewely, how longe it was bytwene,
> That she forsook hym for this Diomede,
> There is non auctour telleth it, I wene.
> Take every man now to his bokes heede;
> He shal no terme fynden, out of drede.
> For though that he bigan to wowe hire soone,
> Er he hire wan, yet was ther more to doone.

This is followed by his own sympathetic comment (1093–1099):

> Ne me ne list this sely womman chyde
> Forther than the storye wol devyse.
> Hire name, allas, is punysshed so wyde,
> That for hire gilt it ought ynough suffise.
> And if I myghte excuse hire any wise,
> For she so sory was for hire untrouthe,
> Ywis, I wolde excuse hir yet for routhe—

a comment that is non-committal in respect to her blameworthiness, and equally consistent with the view that she is excusable or not.

Chaucer stated the literal truth when he said that no author says how long the wooing of Diomede lasted. In Boccaccio, it is quite clear that the dream of Troilus which occurred on the fortieth day after the departure of Criseyde, pictures a consummated infidelity. Chaucer fixes the time when she gave her heart to Diomede as following the battle in which Troilus wounded Diomede—a chronology which he adopted from Benoit. Professor Root has calculated the time elapsed in Benoit "as hardly less than two full years," or "at least twenty-one months" (note to 5.1086–1092). In checking the times of the several intervals as set forth in Professor Kittredge's Summary of the *Roman de Troie*[19] against Joly's edition I had reached the conclusion, some years ago, that the interval of Benoit which Chaucer necessarily adopted by his acceptance of the battle incident, was not less than eighteen months. However, the exact number of months is not important, so long as it be recognized that the time is sufficiently long to postpone the surrender to Diomede until after the occurrence of the events which made it inevitable.

"The story telleth us" (l. 1051) what she said when she falsed Troilus; but the story does not tell us when this was. Clearly "she

[19] Chaucer Soc. Pubs., 2nd Ser. No. 42, App. I.

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falsed Troilus" (l. 1053), when "That she forsook him for this Diomede" (l. 1087); but no author tells when that was. It has already been stated in Stanza 110 that it was two months after the tenth night from her leaving Troy that she decided she never could return (took "purpos for tabyde"); but that was not when she "falsed" Troilus by forsaking him for Diomede. That is a very definitely fixed time, whereas the time of the desertion cannot be determined.

Stanza 158 shifts the scene to Troilus in Troy, on

> that ilke nynthe nyght,
> Which on the morwe she hadde hym bihight
> To come ayeyn:

the same night on which Criseyde says (St. 108):

> I shal to-morwe at nyght . . . .
> Out of this oost stele—

and proceeds to narrate the events that happened in Troy after Diomede had actively begun his wooing, and the actions of Troilus which convinced Criseyde at the end of two months from that time that her return was impossible. Stanzas 158 to 173 carry Troilus, his impatience and suspicion increasing, to the sixth day after the day on which she promised to return (the tenth):

> The thridde, ferthe, fifte, sixte day
> After tho dayes ten of which I tolde.

On this sixteenth day, while Criseyde, in the Greek camp, is planning and hoping to overcome the obstacles that prevent her return, Troilus, becoming convinced that she has committed the unpardonable mediæval offense of breaking an engagement (l. 1209), "whan he saugh she nolde hir terme holde," concludes that he must get ready to die. But instead of dying,

> Therwith the wikked spirit, god us blesse,
> Which that men clepeth woode jalousie,
> Gan in hym crepe (1212 *et seq.*).

Jealousy is accepted as one of the stock symptoms of the "loveris maladye of Hereos," but Troilus, like Mrs. Gummidge, seems to have felt his troubles more than other people.

This mad jealousy, which is about to lead to disastrous results, is not here revealed for the first time as a weakness of Troilus, but

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one which his creator had in mind from the start. At this point we stop at 5.1213 and go back to the early indications that foreshadow this apparently sudden onslaught of unfounded jealousy.

When Troilus falls in love with Criseyde, and she learns of it, the poet presents the situation as one that permits marriage, if she wishes. There is no suggestion, as in *Filostrato*, of any impediment by reason of difference in rank. Chaucer presents Criseyde as deliberately rejecting the idea of marriage, in favor of a relationship which now would be termed illicit, but which, according to the conventions of courtly love, was equally honorable. One of the principal reasons that appeals to her in reaching this decision is the jealousy that husbands are afflicted with, and, inferentially, the effects of it:

> I am myn owene womman, wel at ese,
> I thank it god, as after myn estat;
> Right yong, and stonde unteyd in lusty leese,
> Withouten jalousie or swich debat:
> Shal noon housbonde seyn to me 'chek mat.'
> For either they ben ful of jalousie,
> Or maisterful, or loven novelrye (2.750–6).

The first indication that Troilus is subject in an excessive degree to that undesirable trait is at 3.792. Pandarus, who has Troilus concealed in his room in the house of Deiphebus, in urging Criseyde to admit him to her chamber, uses the argument that Troilus, if he is not entirely crazy already, soon will be, on account of a story that he has heard of her having another lover (3.792):

> And he is come in swich peyne and distresse,
> That, but he be al fully wood by this,
> He sodeynly mot falle into wodnesse,
> But if god helpe; and cause whi this is?
> He seith hym told is of a frende of his,
> How that ye sholden loven oon that hatte Horaste,
> For sorwe of which this nyght shal ben his laste.

I find no suggestion in the poem itself for the assumption of one commentator[20] that this was a ruse invented by Pandarus; on the contrary, the immediate development of the incident shows that

[20] H. M. Cumming, *Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to the Ital. Works of Bocc.*, p. 8: "Troilus in reality merely assumes a pretext of jealousy, after Pandarus has falsely declared to Criseyde that her lover is unhappy, because he suspects that she is favorable to the suit of one Horaste."

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Troilus, in fact even before he had any claim of right to the love of Criseyde, exhibited the prerogative of a husband, upon hearing a story at second-hand—a story, also, without foundation—because Criseyde had never heard of the person with the Anglo-mediævalized distortion of the classical name Orestes.

> "Horaste, allas! and falsen Troilus!
> I know hym nat, god helpe me so," quod she,

then with just indignation and wise prescience she resents the unjustified jealousy of Troilus (3.837):

> But O, thow wikked serpent jalousie
> Thow mysbyleved, envyous folie,
> Why hastow Troilus made to me untriste,
> That nevere yit agilte hym, that I wiste?

Troilus is not yet her accepted lover, nor is he to be until, with due consideration of the fact that love is the excuse for his folly (3.986), Criseyde delivers to him both a lecture on jealousy and a warning against its results (987):

> Thus to hym spak she of his jalousie.

Her words found at 3. 988–1050 are full of affection, of common sense, and of sound advice:

I love you; I am and always shall be true. How has it come that guiltless, you have permitted yourself without reason to suspect me? Some say that "Jealousy is love"—maybe it is more like hate than love. But in you, I "wol nat calle it but illusion," springing from the abundance of your love and anxiety ("besy cure"). I am sorry, but not angry.

The manner in which Troilus meets this statement is not very creditable for one who was

> in no degree secounde
> In duryng don that longeth to a knyght (5.836-7).

He dodges the issue, saying (3.1084–5):

> · god woot, that of this game,
> Whan al is wist, than am I nat to blame.

At 3. 1092 he completes the baby-act by fainting:

> And down he fil al sodeynly a-swowne.

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When he revives he utters the stereotyped expression of the fainting woman—"Where am I"—in the phrase (3.1124):

> O mercy, god, what thyng is this?

The situation is aptly commented on and a significant comparison of the characters furnished in the next two lines:

> Quod tho Criseyde, "Is this a mannes game?
> What! Troilus, wol ye do thus, for shame?"

He does not dare to tell her that he believed the story about Horaste on pure hearsay; nor has he the manly honesty to confess his fault and beg forgiveness. When she insists (St. 165) that he tell her the grounds of his jealousy, or whether mere malice had inspired him, he "fishes up" an excuse for himself. Chaucer does not put him in a creditable position when he undertakes to answer (St. 166):

> Withouten more, shortly for to seyne,
> He moste obeye un-to his lady heste;
> And for the lasse harm, he moste feyne.
> He seyde hire, whan she was at swiche a feste
> She myghte on him han loked at the leste;
> Not I nat what, al deere ynough a rysshe
> As he that nedes moste a cause fisshe.

Her answer is characteristically sensible, "My dear, your excuses are not worth a bean; you deserve to be spanked like a bad child." At the same time she realizes that her lover's inclination to suspicion and uncontrolled jealousy is a serious fault, and while she forgives him, she again warns him (St. 169):

> I foryeve al this;
> And evere more on this nyght yow recorde,
> And beth wel war ye do no more amys.

Remember it!—a warning that he promises (3. 1181) to observe, and promptly forgets.

The uncontrolled jealousy of Troilus, as only an expectant lover, may be forgiven him on physiological and psychological grounds; but what extenuation can be pleaded for persistence in his suspicion, after the raptures of the first night? When the time has come for parting, instead of the conventional expression of gratitude expected of a mediæval—or any—lover, under similar cir-

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cumstances, Troilus, in quite carefully selected language, seeks new assurances of her devotion, phrasing his case thus:

"If there were any way in which you could convince me that your love for me is equal to mine for you, I should feel very much relieved" (3.St.213).

Criseyde, who with her own problems and her own fears for the future seldom shows any indications of feminine hysteria, at this point comes perilously near to it (3. 1503–5):

> And, for the love of god that us hath wrought
> Lat in youre brayn non other fantasie
> So crepe, that it cause me to dye.

Pandarus, as a friend who well knows his weakness of character, apologizing for the unpleasant frankness of his warning, cautions him against the danger of losing Criseyde through his own foolishness (3.1621):

> but-tak it nat a-grief—
> For love of god be war of the myschief:
> That there as thow now brought art in thy blisse,
> That thow thi self ne cause it nat to misse,

following with a paraphrase of the Boethian (and Dantean) lines on the bitterness of remembering happier days.

At 4, St. 230, when it has been decided between the two that Criseyde must go to the Greek camp, she is again compelled to beg him for very pity to cease torturing her by his suspicions:

> "O mercy, god, what lif is this?" quod she.
> "Allas, ye sle me thus for verray tene!
> I se wel now that ye mystrusten me;
> For by youre wordes it is well ysene,
> Now, for the love of Cinthia, the sheene,
> Mistrust me nought thus causeles, for routhe;
> Syn to be trewe I have yow plight my trouthe!"

We find then early and repeated suggestions of an overdeveloped tendency to jealousy in Troilus, that is destined to make him an easy victim to the slander of "wikked tonges," that is also foreshadowed in advance of its actual introduction into the story.

The attack of jealousy which tortures Troilus (5. 1212–1232) covers a period that begins on the sixteenth day after the departure of Criseyde and culminates in the dream, in which he sees a wild boar lying in the sun (5.1240):

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> And by this boor, faste in hire armes folde,
> Lay, kissynge ay, his lady bright, Criseyde.

The dream is but the culmination of his waking thoughts filled with suspicion, to be classified among the dreams which Pandarus explained to him at 5.372–4, when he dreamed of death:

> Ek oothere seyn that thorugh impressions,
> As if a wight hath faste a thyng in minde,
> That thereof comen swiche avysiouns,

but to Troilus it is a proof furnished by Jove of a consummated infidelity (1247):

> My lady bright, Criseyde, hath me bytrayed!

The answer that Pandarus gives when he hears of the dream is:

> How dare you accuse Criseyde because you have had a bad dream; you cannot interpret dreams. The boar was probably her father, who lies in the sun because of his age and sickness, and looks like a boar, anyhow. Now, you are a fine letter-writer, but you have not written her since she left. Write to her, and you may take my word that if she has been untrue she will not answer; but if she does, she will explain why she has not come back.

Troilus sits down and writes "hastely" (5.1310–1421). It is not more than two months since she left, and therefore at least ten days before she decided to stay (5.1348–51):

> ye thise monthes tweyne
> Han taried, ther ye seyden, soth to seyne,
> But dayes ten ye nolde in oost sojourne:
> But in two monthes yit ye nat retourne.

Troilus is not in a state of mind to understate the length of her stay; if he does not state it accurately it may be presumed that he exaggerates it.

Criseyde promptly "wroot ayein" (5.1424), sincerely saying that she hopes to return. We judge this, both from our calculation of the time elapsed between her departure and the writing of her letter, which is short of the time when the poet tells us she decided to stay (5.770), and also from the convincing tone of the letter itself. She writes "ful pitously," that she will come as soon as she can, but she does not know when—and swears she loves him best. But Troilus, obsessed with jealousy, unable to forget the dream, set in his conviction of an infidelity that she has not been guilty

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of, and which she does not contemplate, sees in her letter but untrustworthy promises ("botmeles bihestes," 5.1431).

At this point the poet, who is about to rush through the incidents that culminate in the catastrophe, turns aside from the narrative to comment significantly on the result that is to spring from Troilus' refusal to believe Criseyde's promise and her assurance of fidelity (5.1432–5):

> But, Troilus, thow maist now, est or west,
> Pipe in an ivy lef, if that the lest;
> Thus goth the world; god shilde us fro meschaunce,
> And every wight that meneth trouthe avaunce!

His own distrust and suspicion have brought him to a point where he may go whistle: "God shield us, and all who love truth from such misfortune." The trivial expression suggests not so much a noble victim of inexorable Fate, as a stubborn lover so lacking in trust and intelligence that the poet is compelled (at least temporarily) to wash his hands of him.

At this point, unable to eat, drink or talk, half out of his mind at his imagined betrayal, he reaches the climax of imbecility. He violates the fundamental courtly canon of Secrecy. That the nature and extent of the lover's obligation to secrecy as recognized by the general rules of courtly love, were particularly emphasized by Chaucer in this narrative, is not open to doubt. The disclosure in confidence of a love affair to a trustworthy friend, is not only pardonable, but recommended, but Troilus' recital of the dream to Cassandra (5.1450) was not only a betrayal of the secret amour, but an accusation of infidelity against Criseyde. Cassandra, it will be noted, did not convince Troilus that Criseyde was false. Of that there was no need; she merely "divined" for him the identity of his successor. His betrayal of the secret to her was the end of it as a secret. She was a loose-mouthed talker even from antiquity.

Before we consider the significance of the Cassandra incident, the reader must submit to another digressive retrospect. Going back again to the very beginning of the poem, we find unmistakable anticipatory suggestions that the causes of the catastrophe are:

(1) The uncontrolled jealousy and suspicion of Troilus,

(2) that lead him to betray the secret of their love and accuse Criseyde of infidelity;

(3) the resultant slander, that "wikked tonges" circulate.

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At 1. 22 *et seq.*, the poet urges happy lovers *that bathen in gladnesse*, to pray for those lovers *that falsely been apeired Thorough wikked tonges.*

At 2.785–6, when Criseyde has not yet reached the stage of passion, and is considering the merits of Troilus, she says:

> Also thise wikked tonges ben so preste
> To speke us harm—

and at 2.804–5:

> And who may stoppen every wikked tonge,
> Or sown of belles whil that they ben ronge?

At the opening of Bk. 4, they had been lovers for more than two years, but the secret was well kept. When the proposal of sending Criseyde to the Greeks in exchange for Antenor was made, reason warns Troilus that he must not attempt a rescue (4.165 *et seq.*):

> Withoute assent of hire ne do nat so,
> If thow debate it, lest she be thy fo,
> And seyn, that thorugh thy medlynge is iblowe
> Youre bother love, ther it was erst unknowe.

Pandarus is willing to aid him in seizing Criseyde to prevent the exchange, but Troilus refuses consent on conclusive grounds (4.564 *et seq.*):

> It mooste be disclaundre to hire name.
> And me were levere ded than hire defame,
> As nolde god but if I sholde have
> Hire honour levere than my lif to save.

In order to prevent suspicion they had frequently abstained from seeing or speaking to each other for a fortnight (4.1326,7). Their precautions have been so successful that even the gossips of Troy do not suspect the two-year-old amour. When they call to bid her good-bye, they think that her tears are for them (4.717–8):

> Because that she sholde out of that route
> Departe, and never pleye with hem more;

not dreaming (4.704–5):

> As she that al this mene whyle brende
> Of other passioun than that they wende.

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Secrecy is essential; the danger of slander must be avoided. These are the rules of the game as well as the dictates of common sense, in a relationship such as theirs, and Troilus knows it. But after the dream and before any infidelity on the part of Criseyde, while she is a prisoner in the Greek camp, "in torment and in drede. And heleless—herteless—syke—in destresse" (5.1591 *et seq.*); struggling like a caged bird to fight her way back, her noble lover (5.1450 *et seq.*)

> for Sibille his suster sente,
> That called was Cassandre ek al aboute;
> And al his drem he tolde hire or he stente.

Troilus' disclosure of his dream to Cassandra constituted not only a betrayal of the secret love affair, but an unjustified accusation of infidelity against Criseyde. If we concede that he may have been ignorant of the judgment that a hundred poets of courtly love had passed on lovers guilty of such a betrayal,[21] we can not forget that he himself could not plead forgetfulness of the judgment as Pandarus had earnestly laid it before him, on the eve of the amour (3.309–315):

> Avauntour and a lyere, al is on:
> As thus, I pose a womman graunth me
> Hir love, and seith that other wol she non,
> And I am sworn to holden it secree,
> And after I go telle it two or three;
> Iwis, I am avauntour at the leste,
> And lyere, for I breke my biheste.

The disclosure to Cassandra was equivalent, insofar as certainty of publication was concerned, to telling two or three. We may be sure she listened avidly and when she had digested the choice morsel of news, redolent of scandal, *She gan first smile* (5.1457). The smile of the neurotic, mud-slinging old maid[22] inevitably recalls *The smyler with the knyf under the cloke.*

[21] One example will suffice: The conventional oath of the hopeful lover (Bernart de Ventadorn, *Mas s'a lieys plazia*) is: "But if it should please her that she should do me some benefit, I should swear to her, by herself and by my faith, that the benefit which she might do me would not be disclosed by me." A strict observance of the promise of secrecy in respect to the *benefit*, if granted, would appear to be a quite reasonable requirement.

[22] It is true that according to Dictys (IV, 14) she was betrothed to Euryphylus and was later added to the *harem* of Agammemnon (Dictys, V. 13; Benoit, VV 26195 ff.); but the fact that she had a lover who never married her, and was after-

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She is obviously a much better read person than her young brother and warns him that if he wants to know what the dream means, he will have to learn a "fewe of olde stories . . . . how that fortune overthrowe hath lordes olde—." Certainly Troilus could have no better instructress than the "greet devyneress" who can recite before the fall of Troy, the story of Thebes as told by Statius A.D. 100.

Or she stente (5.1485) with her story of Thebes she established the identity of the boar and Diomede, and *out of doute* fully, and to her own gratification, calumniated Criseyde. The conclusions of the prophetess are twofold:

> This ilke boor bitokneth Diomede (5.1513);
> This Diomede is inne, and thow art oute (5.1519).

By the first, she supplies the naturally jealous nature of Troilus with an object, lacking since the abandonment of (the probably mythical) Horaste. By the second, she not only slanders Criseyde by anticipation, but what is more important, her "wikked tonge," brings about the fulfillment of her slanderous interpretation of the dream.

Cassandra's accusation of Criseyde has no foundation in fact or rumor except the dream as recited to her by Troilus, but it is enough proof for Troilus that he, like "lordes olde" has been overthrown by fortune; he accepts Cassandra's interpretation as a verification of his already fully satisfied conviction. It is true that he has a moment, but only a moment, of generous revulsion, that leads him indignantly to defend Criseyde by a reference to one of the classical personages that the boy was acquainted with. He says:

> You are a witch—you only think you are a prophetess; you slander women out of malice; as to Criseyde (5.1527)—"As wel thou myghtest lyen on Alceste."

Here the author's intention is not open to misunderstanding; if we go back to St. 174, when *woode jalousie gan in hym crepe*, and observe the results of it in St. 176, when he waxed pale, lean and feeble, complaining of a *grevous maladie aboute his herte*; and

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wards ravished, does not mitigate our condemnatory judgment, nor qualify her as a mediæval *amie*. I have not gone to the trouble to trace back the sources of Heywood's assignment of one, "Chorebus a Prince, who came to the warres for the love of Cassandra" (*Iron Age*, Pt. II, *Dramatis personae*).

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if we bear in mind that at this time, although consumed with jealousy, it was yet a jealousy lacking confirmation. If we consider further that even the certainty of her infidelity that the dream inspired, was, as shown by his letter (Sts. 189–203) not without moments of hopeful doubt, we must conclude that when the *wikked tonge* of Cassandra ceased at 5.1519, then, after but an instant of loyal revulsion, we find that not only does he believe Cassandra, but that his doubts all resolved, his sick-minded jealousy is converted into conviction and rage. 5.1534–37 is very clear on this point:

> Cassandra goth; and he with cruel herte
> Foryat his wo, for angre of hire speche;
> And from his bed al sodynly he sterte,
> As though al hool hym hadde made a leche.

No longer sick, but up, active and vigilant, he descends to the extremity of ill-considered and indefensible action, that places him without the pale of lovers who are entitled to any claim of loyalty on the part of the loved one, or any sympathy from the world. Believing that Criseyde has become the love of Diomede, he permits himself to spy upon her in order to obtain proof of her guilt (5.1538–9):

> And day by day he gan enquere and seche
> A sooth of this, with al his fulle cure.[23]

That the situation during the siege, as Chaucer conceived it, did not preclude the coming and going of spies between Troy and the Greek camp, is shown by the bantering words of Pandarus to Criseyde (2.1111–3):

> Ther is right now come into town a gest,
> A Greek espie, and telleth newe thinges,
> For which I come to tell yow tydynges.

One need not hesitate to believe that Troilus would stoop to play Paul Pry in a matter that concerned him so closely, when

[23] The only other account of Troilus having Criseyde watched, which I find, is in *La Istorietta Trojana* (ed. G. Gorra, *Testi Inediti di Storia Trojana*, Turin, 1887, p. 393), a thirteenth century abridgment of the *Roman de Troie* into Italian. The spy is described as *uno ragazzetto*, and even his name—Forolo—is given. As it seems seeems impossible to suppose that Chaucer had read the *Istorietta*, we must assume that he introduced the incident himself, as an element in his plan to place on Troilus the responsibility for the disastrous outcome of his *aventure*.

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we recall that several years before, Pandarus assumed him capable of reading the private mail of his brother Paris in regard to an affair not of his business (1.652—656):

> I woot wel that it fareth thus by me
> As to thi brother, Paris, an hierdesse,
> Which that icleped was Oenone,
> Wrot in a compleynte of hir hevynesse;
> Ye say the lettre that she wrot, I gesse?

Pandarus was wrong in his "gesse" that Troilus had read the letter from Oenone to Paris as Pandarus himself had—at least Troilus denied he had read it; but it is quite significant that he felt no indignation, nor even surprise, that his best friend should suppose he had read it.

This enquiring and searching on the part of Troilus, as we must insist, is prior in time to any suggestion by the poet that Criseyde has been guilty of infidelity, or even that she has abandoned the hope of returning to Troy. As we have noted, the first letter of Troilus to Criseyde was written two months after her departure. She answered it immediately, and he immediately on receipt of her answer sent for Cassandra, who interpreted it without delay. As soon as Cassandra left he started his detective work. So that Chaucer has furnished a clear enough chronology to justify the assertion that the Cassandra incident, occurring prior to the expiration of two months from that *ilke nynthe night* when she planned to leave Troy the following night, was the cause of her giving up the plan to return; in fact, made it impossible that she should return at least until the situation had changed. All of these incidents occurred during the time of truce which prevailed when Criseyde was exchanged for Antenor.

Bearing these facts in mind, the ironical significance of 5.1540 is obvious,

> And thus he drieth forth his aventure.

Troilus is now cured and out of bed; he is no longer woeful, but angry; he gives all his time to searching and spying to find out the truth of what Cassandra has told him of Criseyde being the love of Diomede—thus he hastens his own doom.

Not more than seventy days elapse between Criseyde's delivery to the Greeks at the very beginning of Book Five, and when "Cassandra goth," and the spying begins in St. 220. From this point the incidents covered by lines 1541 to 1589 occupy a period

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that is impossible to calculate from the data which Chaucer supplies. It is clear, however, that these thirty-eight lines indicate a considerable period of time elapsed. The war is resumed and gradually, "fro day to day," fortune turns against the Trojans, until one day Hector is slain by Achilles; then followed the mourning of the Trojan people, and especially Troilus. During this period Troilus never wavers in his conviction that Criseyde has betrayed him, but nevertheless he writes her numerous letters in which he (5. 1572–3)

> soughte ay newe
> To gete ayeyn Criseyde, bright of hewe.

According to Benoit, the arrival in camp takes place during a truce between the seventh and eighth battles, the eighth battle lasts one month (14516), and is followed by a truce of six months. The short ninth battle is followed by a truce of one month, and Hector is killed in the tenth battle. So that although Chaucer does not give us the details, it is fair to presume that the interval between the time when Criseyde decided she could not return and the time (after the death of Hector) when she finally told Troilus by her second letter (5.1590 *et seq.*) of that conclusion, was not less than five or six months.

This letter (5.Sts. 228–233) expresses a hope that *some time* she may return to Troy. At any rate it makes it clear that she has abandoned her efforts to fix another stated time for her return. The poet informs us (5.1587) that she probably wrote merely out of a feeling of pity, "for routhe, I take it so." But what she says is entitled to careful consideration as a complete denial of her infidelity, and a statement that Troilus had made her return impossible. The reason "that I tarie is al for wikked speche" (5.1610); and for that you are responsible (5.1611–1615):

> For I have herd wel moore than I wende
> Touchyng us two, how thynges han ystonde;
> Which I shal with dissimulynge amende.
> And, beth nat wroth, I have ek understonde,
> How ye ne don but holden me in honde.

If the letter is, as it seems to be, her renunciation of Troilus, it is also a clear statement of the grounds upon which she justifies herself in having renounced him. The letter is in answer to his, begging that she return. She is well aware that he has not only

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condemned her as unfaithful in his own heart, but has published (to Cassandra) the story of their love and her infidelity; and that after slandering her without cause, he has had her watched and spied upon. Criseyde, in writing, has these facts in mind, and also has before her not only the several letters which demand her return, without any expression of appreciation of her difficulties, but also the long letter (5.St.189–203 inclusive), which he wrote convinced of her infidelity, immediately after the dream. That letter was from a self-centred egoist. It says:

If any lover has a right to complain of his lady "*ich* oughte be that wight." As I write, *my* "woful gost" is about to leave *my* body. I am staying alive with much difficulty. You should see *my* eyes, they are like salty wells—*I* can hardly use them. When you see *me* again you won't know me. *I* have my lost health and color. It lies with you to decide how soon they bury me.

Troilus, as Pandarus complimented him, could "wel endyte," and this letter is proof of his ability to "compleyn" in the approved style of the mediæval lover. But when we come to compare it with the answer of Criseyde, who (5.1628) "ne koude . . . . wel endyte," we find the artificial convention of a period changed to stark sincerity; frankness substituted for bombastic sentimentality. Making a few formal concessions to literary convention, she quickly comes to the point in language that is as expressive today as when Chaucer wrote it:

How [she says] can I in sickness, broken-hearted, in torment and dread, send you any message of hope? You demand that I return; I cannot return, and for very fear that this letter may be seized, I may not tell you why. It seems to me that you think only of yourself and your own pleasure. Slander ("wikked speche") has been spread about us. I have learned that you have told about our love—a thing I could not imagine you would do (5.1614):

I have ek understonde,
How ye ne doon but holden me in honde.

No matter how the conventions of courtly love may have justified Troilus in reading this letter, in common fairness its language and his own conscience must have made him understand Criseyde to say: "Now I may never hope to come back. By telling Cassandra of your vile dreams, by believing her malicious lies, by tracking and spying on me, you have put an end to everything. God help you; farewell."

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It is somewhat disconcerting either in respect to the poet's purposes or the character of the hero, to learn that Troilus, who many months before upon the evidence of his dream, had rushed to Cassandra with the bad news that Criseyde was unfaithful, now thinks her letter indicates that she is *beginning* to waver in her affection (5.1634):

> Hym thoughte it lik a kalendes of chaunge.

Stanzas 234, 235 comment upon Criseyde's letter and upon the situation of the lovers after its receipt. At first reading they seem to state, with the author's sanction, that *now* at any rate, the *supplantacioun* is an accomplished fact. But what the poet says is that at this point *Troilus knows* that she does not hold him as she did; *he* well understood that she was not so kind as she ought to be, etc. The *poet's* statement is that not now, but *fynally*, Troilus comes to know *truly* ("out of doute"), that all is lost. The time referred to by *finally* is not yet. Another incident and the sequelae of that incident are still to occur and be narrated, before we can say with the poet's sanction that Diomede has won her.

From Boccaccio ("as seyth the storie," 1651) Chaucer tells of Troilus seeing borne through the streets of Troy the armour of Diomede that Deiphebus had captured in a "scarmouche," and pinned thereon a brooch that he had given Criseyde the day she left Troy.

The gift of the brooch is established; at least it is established about as clearly as any direct statement of Chaucer derogatory to Criseyde can be established. When he mentions it at 5. 1040, it is referred to authority; when he recurs to it at 5. 1661, he omits any statement that Criseyde gave the brooch which Troilus sees, to Diomede. *Non constat*, in so far as Chaucer goes he may have got it as he got her glove (in Guido's version), *furtive subtraxit*. Chaucer had already seemed (St. 149) to regard it more seriously than the horse and "pencel" incidents, by the comment (5. 1040) "and that was litel nede"; but the inferences drawn from the giving of the brooch are not the poet's. It is Troilus, not Chaucer, that asks (5. 1688):

> Was ther non other broche yow liste lete
> To feffe with your newe love?

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The brooch incident and the outburst of Troilus that follows, even convince, or at least silence, Pandarus, who up to this point has not failed to protest in favor of Criseyde against the repeated accusations of Troilus (St. 247):

> This Pandarus, that al thise thynges herde,
> And wiste wel he seyde a soth of this,
> He nat a word ayeyn to him answerde.

He says (5. 1732):

> I hate, ywys, Criseyde!
> And got woot, I wol hate hire evere more!

But judging as accurately as we may the poet's own statement of the time of the accomplished infidelity, it did not precede, but followed the brooch incident, and is included in the hurried and inconsequent narrative contained in stanzas 250–252. Here we may connect the poet's statement (5. 1746,7):

> Criseyde loveth the sone of Tydeus,
> And Troilus moot wepe in cares colde,

with the time subsequent to that when Troilus, in pursuit of Greeks, always sought Diomede (5. 1761,2):

> And, god it woot, with many a cruel hete
> Gan Troilus upon his helm to-bete.

And these incidents we inevitably place as co-incident with the only previous statement in the whole poem that indicates with any approach to accuracy, the time of the "forsaking" or "betrayal," cited in St. 150, upon the authority of "stories elles-where":

> Whan thorugh the body hurt was Diomede
> Of Troilus, tho wepte she many a teere,
> When that she saugh his wyde wowndes blede;
> And that she took to kepen hym good hede,
> And for to hele hym of his sorwes smerte,
> Men seyn, I not, that she yaf hym hire herte.

When we have read stanzas 250–252, we may say for the first time that the "more to done" (l. 1092) between the beginning of Diomede's suit and his success, has been done.

To summarize the results of this study:

From the opening of the fifth book to the end of 5. 1031, when Diomede returns to Criseyde on the eleventh day, the narrative

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proceeds in an orderly manner. At 5. 1032 the story is broken into by author's comment that continues to 5. 1085, anticipating future events as narrated by the authorities. If an attempt to rearrange Chaucer's narrative in time sequence of events could be imagined, it would require the removal of ll. 1032–1085, from their place in the poem (necessarily taking with them the commentatorial stanzas 156–157) and their insertion at a later position—probably in the neighborhood of the fight between Troilus and Diomede—in any event, after the dream and the Cassandra incident. The Fifth Book may be fairly summarized thus:

What Diomede told Criseyde on the tenth night after she arrived in the Greek camp, was one of the several considerations that in the end led to her decision that she must stay there. When Troilus had waited for her until the sixteenth day his jealous suspicion culminated in a nightmare in which he saw Criseyde embraced by a boar. Pandarus wisely advised him to disregard this ridiculous dream and write to Criseyde, which he did, but her answer, although it assured him of her love and loyalty, was not believed by him, because she did not explain why she had not returned and did not say when she would. The dream had convinced him that Criseyde was false, and upon his disclosing to Cassandra the story of his love affair and the dream, she interpreted the dream as proof that he had been supplanted by Diomede; an interpretation which he believed, but which he attempted to fully confirm by having Criseyde spied upon. Criseyde, who in the meantime had resisted the advances of Diomede by womanly wiles, and who was reduced to a desperate and pitiable state by her failure to escape from the camp, quickly learned that Troilus had betrayed the secret of their amour, and that Cassandra had denounced her as the mistress of Diomede. Her position in Troy had been one of such danger from the first that only through the protection of Hector had she, as daughter of the traitor Calchas, escaped death at the hands of the people. Now, not Hector himself, even if he had wished, could make it possible for her to live in Troy. She wrote to Troilus, saying that she could give him no hope of her return, and did not refrain from letting him understand that the responsibility was his. After she had thus definitely broken with Troilus, Diomede, her only friend and protector in the camp, persistently wooed her until she so far weakened as to give him a brooch that Troilus had given her, but she withheld surrender until a year or more later, when Diomede, almost wounded to death by Troilus, so excited her pity that she became his love. She accepted Diomede in great distraction of spirit, not only because of her bitter grief for the loss of Troilus, but also because she had sense enough to know that neither her own nor future ages would have any respect for her. Although she determined she would always be true to Diomede, it

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is not stated that she really loved him. Whether she was excusable or not, I shall not undertake to judge; even if she was not, I should forgive her if only out of pity.

In two associated crises of the plot, Chaucer displays a mastery of subtle irony unsurpassed in literature. As the first step toward the lovers' catastrophe and his own downfall, Troilus in accepting Cassandra's interpretation of the dream, compels Criseyde to abandon her efforts to escape from the camp. Troilus afterwards suspects, though he does not admit, that he may have been too hasty in his accusations of infidelity against Criseyde; but his conviction is revived by the sight of his brooch upon the captured *cote-armure* of Diomede. Incited to pursue his supposed successful rival with murderous intent, he inflicts upon him the *wyde wowndes* that cause Criseyde, for pity, to finally yield her heart to Diomede. Troilus is eventually *bytrayed* and Diomede's years of devotion rewarded, as the result of Troilus' almost successful effort to revenge the betrayal which he wrongly believed to have already occurred.

We have noted how cautious the poet was, before he embarked upon the narration of the events of Bk. 5, in suggesting any anticipatory criticism of Criseyde; how carefully he refrained from adopting any of the contemptuous or abusive reflections with which Guido and Boccaccio had prejudged their respective heroines. Now that Chaucer has concluded his recital, with a brief statement of the combats between Troilus and Diomede (5. 1758–1764), we examine the fifteen stanzas that follow, for the purpose of learning whether he showed any indication of a change of mind concerning the characters before he wrote: "Explicit Liber Troili et Criseydis."

A reader who, at this point, still entertained the idea that the story dealt with the betrayal of a noble and blameless lover by a light-minded wanton—especially a reader who, having in mind Boccaccio's (*Filostrato* 8.29–33) warning to *giovanetti* against the unfaithfulness of women, expected some sententious or didactic utterance of a similar kind—would be puzzled to find that Chaucer (5. 1772–1785), after expressing the hope that his fair readers will not be angry with him for writing the story, even if (*al be that*) Criseyde was untrue as *other* books say she was, ends with no diatribe against the woman, but with a warning to her against *Men*!

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Ny sey nat this al oonly for thise men.
But moost for wommen that bitraised be
Thorugh fals folk; god yeve hem sorwe, amen!
That with hire grete wit and subtilite
Bitraise yow! and this commeveth me
To speke, and in effect yow alle I preye,
Beth war of men, and herkeneth what I seye.

This is the poet's earnest final comment on the story he has told us. True, there are twelve more stanzas, containing half a dozen irrelevant tags: "Go litel book"; Troilus' "lighte goost" laughing down from a Ptolemaic heaven; a complimentary dedication to his friends Gower and Strode; a stanza of abuse of the heathen deities and asseverations of the poet's Christian orthodoxy. But the author's summation of the purport of his work is a warning to women, lest they suffer the undeserved unhappiness that came to Criseyde through her love for Troilus.

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IV

CHAUCER ON PREACHERS AND PREACHING

ELSEWHERE I have undertaken to show that the sermons of Chaucer's Pardoner and Parson conform to the practice of the mediæval pulpit[1]. It remains to examine Chaucer's utterances regarding preachers and preaching, in order to determine the full extent of his knowledge of the *ars praedicandi*. I shall treat the passages regarding the methods of sermon making, the times and places of preaching, the conduct of the preacher in the pulpit, and finally the audience.

The typical mediæval sermon begins with a short Latin text from the Bible, which is interpreted and amplified by methods set forth in the preachers' manuals. Of the methods of amplification the two most popular are the citation of authorities, such as the Old and New Testament, the Church Fathers, and the moral philosophers of ancient Rome; and the telling of illustrative *exempla*. A third method is by explanation or interpretation. The preacher ends his sermon with a brief recapitulation of the whole. The sermons of the Parson and the Pardoner follow this general outline. The Parson begins with a Latin text from Jer. 6. 16, *State super vias*, etc., and expands his sermon by a three-fold division of his subject, and by a generous citation of authorities. The Pardoner announces[2]:

> My theme is alwey oon, and ever was—
> "*Radix malorum est Cupiditas.*"

His sermon is also amplified by citation, but chiefly by the long *exemplum* of the three rioters.

In the *Summoner's Tale* the prying limiter, preaching a sermon on Wrath to sick Thomas, at the urgent behest of Thomas's wife, does not begin, in the approved manner, with a text from Scripture, but with a definition of the subject[3]:

> Ire is a sinne, oon of the grete of sevene,
> Abhominable un-to the god of hevene.

[1] "*The Pardoner's Tale:* A Mediæval Sermon," *M.L.N.* XLI., 506–9; "*The Parson's Tale:* A Mediæval Sermon," *M.L.N.* XLIII., 229–34.

[2] *Pard. Prol.*, C. 333, 34.

[3] D. 2005, 06

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This is amplified by the stories of a wrathful potentate who causes three innocent knights to be put to death; of "irous Cambyses" who slays a man that reproves his drunkenness; and of "irous Cirus, thilke Percien," who destroys the River Gyndes in which his horse was drowned. The whole ends with a paraphrase of Prov. 22. 24, 25[4]:

> Ne be no felawe to an irous man,
> Ne with no wood man walke by the weye,
> Lest thee repente.

In addition to Chaucer's actual use of authorities and *exempla*, there is an illuminating reference to the use of learned citations in a rebuke addressed by the Friar to the Wife of Bath. The old woman in the Wife's tale says to her young husband[5]:

> Now, sire, of elde ye repreve me;
> And certes, sire, thogh noon auctoritee
> Were in no book, ye gentils of honour
> Seyn that men sholde an old wight doon favour.

The Friar, who speaks next, being "a wantoun and a merye," resents the introduction of the methods of preachers and scholars into their merry tales[6]:

> But dame, here as we ryden by the weye,
> No nedeth nat to speken but of game,
> And lete auctoritees, on goddes name,
> To preching and to scole eek of clergye.

The last two lines indicate that the best preachers were, unlike the Friar, men of learning who could in need bring forth from their treasure things new and old to thrust home a point or to teach a lesson. The good Parson was "a lerned man, a clerk," whom even the blunt Harry Bailly had to compliment on his learning[7]:

> I see wel that ye lerned men in lore
> Can moche good, by goddes dignitee!

Even the limiter of the *Summoner's Tale*, with all his faults, professes devotion to his studies[8]:

[4] D. 2086-88.
[5] D. 1207-10.
[6] *Friar's Prol.*, D. 1274-77.
[7] *Shipman's Prol.*, B. 1168, 69.
[8] D. 1818, 19.

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> In shrift, in preching is my diligence,
> And studie in Petres wordes, and in Poules.

His dependence upon books is shown when he begs money for a church. He tells Thomas that if he does not give, the brothers must sell their books, and that that will mean the end of their preaching[9]:

> Now help, Thomas, for him that harwed helle!
> For elles moste we our bokes selle.
> And if ye lakke our predicacioun,
> Than gooth the world al to destruccioun.

If the books were sold, let us hope that they fell into the hands of a student and lover of books like the Clerk of Oxford, whom I like to fancy a candidate for holy orders, and in his later years a great and eloquent preacher.

In contrast to the learned preacher, typified by the Parson, stands the Pardoner, whose theme is ever the same, and who admits "I can al by rote that I telle." Little need had this rogue to fill his mind with sound learning, when one memorized sermon served his single purpose of collecting money.

It is hard to distinguish clearly between amplification by means of learned citations and by means of popular stories. In the limiter's sermon, for instance, the story of the wrathful potentate is found both in the philosopher Seneca, and in the *Gesta Romanorum* (No. 140) where it is attached to the name of the Emperor Heraclius. The popular stories had a universal appeal and a great illustrative value, but in the hands of unscrupulous preachers became simply a means of entertaining their hearers. So the Pardoner mentions in his prologue his own use of stories, and the fondness of ignorant folk for them[10]:

> I stonde lyk a clerk in my pulpet,
> And whan the lewed peple is doun y-set,
> I preche, so as ye han herd bifore,
> And telle an hundred false japes more.
> . . . . . .
> Than telle I hem ensamples many oon
> Of olde stories, longe tyme agoon:
> For lewed peple loven tales olde;
> Swich thinges can they wel reporte and holde.

[9] D. 2107-10.
[10] C. 391-4, 435-8.

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Nor was he alone in telling "false japes," as Wycliffe testifies[11]:

> Freres in her prechinge fordon prechinge of Crist, and prechen lesyngus and japes plesynge to þe peple. . . . . O! siþen Seynt Petur techus, þat if a man speke ouȝt he schulde schape him for to speke as he spake Goddis wordis, how miche more schulde þeise prechours hold þis rewle, and put away japes and lesynges in þer prechynges, and speke wordes of Goddis lawe.

The third method of amplification is by explanation or interpretation of the text of the sermon, called by Chaucer "glosinge." Of this the limiter says[12]:

> Glosinge is a glorious thing, certeyn,
> For lettre sleeth, so as we clerkes seyn.

This practice must have been known by name even to the layman, for when Harry Bailly first asks the Parson to tell a tale, he is interrupted by the Shipman's profane objection[13]:

> "Nay, by my fader soule! that shal be nat,"
> Seyde the Shipman; "heer he shal nat preche,
> He shal no gospel glosen heer ne teche."

But when at last the Parson does tell his tale, his first task is to gloss the text of his sermon, and to interpret "the olde pathes" of Jer. 6. 16, as Penitence, one of the "weyes espirituels that leden folk to oure Lord Iesu Crist, and to the regne of glorie." This is interpretation according to the spirit that maketh alive, not according to the letter that slayeth.

When the text has been glossed and the sermon amplified by prescribed methods, the main points are gathered up in a brief recapitulation, so that those who have neglected the first part may still carry away a message. The Pardoner's sermon is carefully summed up in the nine lines, beginning:

> O cursed sinne, ful of cursednesse!

and the Parson's in his last paragraph: "Thanne shal men understonde what is the fruit of penaunce." In the *Summoner's Tale* there is a description of another sermon delivered by the begging limiter on one of his expeditions in "a mersshy contree called

[11] *Select Eng. Works*, ed T. Arnold, III, 180.
[12] D. 1793, 94.
[13] *Shipman's Prol.*, B. 1178-80.

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Holdernesse." Here, perhaps more than in his sermon on Wrath, he brings to bear the full force of his rhetoric, for this time he is seeking money[14]:

> And specially, aboven every thing,
> Excited he the peple in his preching,
> To trentals, and to yeve, for goddes sake,
> Wher-with men mighten holy houses make.

The whole sermon is not recorded, but we have the recapitulation which sums up the arguments and makes the last irresistible appeal[15]:

> "Trentals," seyde he, "deliveren fro penaunce
> Hir freendes soules, as wel olde as yonge,
> Ye, whan that they been hastily y-songe;
> Nat for to holde a preest joly and gay,
> He singeth nat but o masse in a day;
> Delivereth out," quod he, "anon the soules;
> Ful hard it is with fleshhook or with oules
> To been y-clawed, or to brenne or bake;
> Now spede yow hastily, for Cristes sake."
> And whan this frere had seyd al his entente,
> With *qui cum patre* forth his wey he wente[16].

Who would fail to be moved by this harrowing picture of friends in torment, and not give all possible for their prompt delivery?

The times and places of preaching were manifold, but among the great church seasons when sermons were frequent, there was none more important than Lent, of which G. R. Owst says[17]:

> But there was one season of the Church's year which easily eclipsed all others in this respect. This was Lent, great season of fast and shrift .... when it was intended that there should be daily sermons in all the churches. It provided the earnest preacher with his great opportunity to stir the solemn crowds, now haunting the sanctuary, to prepare themselves for the great acts of Confession and Easter Communion which would follow, preaching vehemently—
>
> .... as freres doon in Lente,
> To make us for our olde sinnes wepe (*Clerk's Prol.*, E. 12, 13).

[14] D. 1715-18.

[15] D. 1724-34.

[16] Skeat quotes the complete formula from Morris's *Old English Homilies* (EETS. Or. Ser. 53, p. 115). "Qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum," occurring at the conclusion of a sermon.

[17] *Preaching in Medieval England*, Camb., 1926, pp. 146, 47.

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Into such a crowd on an occasion came the Wife of Bath, as much to be seen in her "gaye scarlet gytes," one suspects, as to take part in the preparations for Easter[18]:

> Myn housband was at London al that Lente;
> . . . . . .
> Therefore I made my visitaciouns,
> To vigilies and to processiouns,
> To preching eek and to thise pilgrimages,
> To pleyes of miracles and mariages.

The usual time for a sermon was during the celebration of mass, as the limiter modestly observes[19]:

> I have to-day been at your chirche at messe,
> And seyd a sermon after my simple wit.

The sermon might be introduced either between the creed and the offertory, or after the offertory[20]. The Pardoner, who in spite of his small voice had a great love of singing, saved his preaching till he had indulged himself to the full in the offertory[21]:

> Wel coude he rede a lessoun or a storie,
> But alderbest he song an offertorie;
> For wel he wiste, whan that song was songe,
> He moste preche, and wel affyle his tonge,
> To winne silver, as he ful wel coude;
> Therefore he song so meriely and loude.

How should the preacher conduct himself before his congregation, and how deliver his sermon? Even these questions are answered in the manuals. One, in particular, contains twelve precautions for the preacher in the pulpit[22]. Two of these furnish an interesting comment on the methods of the Pardoner:

> Seventh precaution: The preacher should conduct himself and speak with as great gravity as he should have in speaking of Christ in His presence, and in that of other princes and kings. . . . .

[18] *Wife's Prol.*, D. 550, 555-58.
[19] D. 1788, 89.
[20] See Owst, *op. cit.*, pp. 144, 45; and his Appendix 1.
[21] *Prol.*, A. 709-14.
[22] *A Late Medieval Tractate on Preaching*, trans. by Harry Caplan, in *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of James A. Winans*, New York, 1926, pp. 86, 87.

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The ninth precaution is restraint in looking about. This is very important in preaching, because objects disturb the senses, and through an object the natural memory is scattered and thus the order of memory confused.

The delivery and manner of the Pardoner violate both these precepts. Far from speaking or acting with dignity, he harangues his hearers in a high voice, and lets his "glaring eyes" rove at will among the people[23].

> "Lordings," quod he, "in chirches whan I preche,
> I peyne me to han an hauteyn speche,
> And ringe it out as round as gooth a belle.
> . . . . . .
> Than peyne I me to strecche forth the nekke
> And est and west upon the peple I bekke,
> As doth a dowve sitting on a berne.

How different from this charlatan is the good Parson[24]!

> Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,
> He taughte, and first he folwed it him-selve[25].

Chaucer's picture of the parson faithful to his duties finds a close parallel in the tract just quoted (p. 72):

Jesus undertook to do and to teach, or rather, first to do and then to teach. To denote this, each faithful preacher to-day is held to preaching first by deed and then by sermon. Would indeed that each preacher were to become such a diligent imitator of Jesus Christ, that he should preach not with the word alone but also with works!

The task of preaching was hard at best. The people were subject to distracting influences, and, if the appeals for money were as frequent as we judge from Chaucer's preachers, the sermons must

[23] *Pard Prol.*, C. 329-31, 395-97.

[24] *Prol.*, A. 527, 28.

[25] Cf. topics on which St. Cecilia preached to Tiburtius, *Second Nun's Tale*, G. 342-48:

> Tho gan she him ful bisily to preche
> Of Cristes come and of his peynes teche,
> And many pointes of his passioun;
> How goddes sone in this world was withholde,
> To doon mankinde pleyn remissioun,
> That was y-bounde in sinne and cares colde:
> Al this thing she unto Tiburce tolde.

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have been "anoyous things," indeed. The difficulty of preaching to inattentive and even hostile crowds is suggested in the *Tale of Melibeus*[26]:

> For soothly, he that precheth to hem that listen nat heren his wordes, his sermon hem anoyeth. For Iesus Syrak seith: that "musik in wepinge is anoyous thing;" this is to seyn: as muche availleth to speken bifore folk to whiche his speche anoyeth, as dooth to singe biforn him that wepeth.

Chaucer's knowledge of preaching can be traced to two sources, first to the preachers' manuals, and secondly to the world in which he lived. His skillful use of rhetorical devices in the sermons of the Pardoner and the Parson can be attributed only to a thorough familiarity with the handbooks for parish priests. To the poet's keen observation of preachers in pulpit and at cross-road we owe his portraits of good and bad preachers, and his scenes in church at mass with pardoner or limiter striving not to win souls from perdition, but silver from lean purses. It is these combined sources that give immortality to his preachers, and to his sermons a vigor and reality that come only from first hand knowledge of the art of preaching.

COOLIDGE OTIS CHAPMAN

Williams College

[26] B. 2233-35.

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V

THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCE OF CAXTON'S SECOND EDITION OF THE *CANTERBURY TALES*

IN HIS discussion of "The Early Printed Editions of the *Canterbury Tales*"[1] Dr. Greg endeavored to discover the affinities of the manuscript which was used by Caxton in correcting his second edition, printed in 1484. "We have already seen," he notes, "that C_8 was printed from C_7, but we have Caxton's own word for it that the text was carefully revised by comparison with a new manuscript, and this claim is amply borne out by the table of collations." In other words, whatever manuscript copy Caxton may have had in hand for his second edition, he seems to have used it only for corrections where he felt his earlier source to be at fault. From a thorough examination of the variant readings in the first 116 lines, Dr. Greg concluded that it "does not appear possible to determine the affinities of Caxton's second manuscript for the opening of the Knight's Tale." According to Koch, Caxton's second manuscript is to be assigned to the "Eλ-Dd group," but Dr. Greg finds that none of the MSS of this group is consistently more successful than others in the Petworth or Corpus groups: "It cannot, then, honestly be said that there is anything to choose between these three groups, and we seem bound to suppose either that Koch's conclusion was invalid or that the relations of the manuscripts are not constant." Nevertheless, Dr. Greg's investigation is not without results. The manuscript used by Caxton, he concludes, must belong either to the Eλ-Dd, the Petworth, or the Corpus group. Among these he narrows the selection by his table to a comparatively small number of MSS, and he points out that of those which he has examined "A^3 [BM Addit. 35286] does best." However, the variants shown in lines 70^2 and 74^1 of the Knight's Tale "seemingly bar this manuscript."

In order to test the soundness of Dr. Greg's method, and if possible confirm his results, I have undertaken to apply his method to another section of the text, choosing the Pardoner's Tale for the purpose because this is the only one for which all manuscript readings are available.[2]

In the following table the variants between C_7 and C_8 for the Pardoner's Tale are shown in the first two columns, while the third

[1] *PMLA*, XXXIX, 737 ff.

[2] Chaucer Society Publications. Series 1, 81, 85-86, 90-94, 97.

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column gives the reading of the corresponding lines in A^3—the MS which, according to Dr. Greg, succeeded best in the passage from the Knight's Tale.[3] In my anxiety not to overlook any variant which might have possible significance I may have included some which Dr. Greg would regard as of no consequence; these, however, will not affect the result.

Line	C_7	C_8	A^3
Title	And begynneth the Pardoneris prolog	And here begynneth the wordes of the Hoost	Here bigynneth the prologe of the reheytyng of our hoost
287	oste	hoost	hoost
288	be	by	bi
291	So falle on his body and on his bonys	Come to thise fals Iuges & her aduocats	Come to this Iugis and theis aduocas
292	To the deuyl I betake him attonys	Allas this sely mayde is sleyn allas	Alwey this Sely maide is slayn allas
293	boughte	a boughte	abought
296	the	....	....
306	Thyn Ipocras and thyn galiens	Thyn ypocras & thy galiens	Thin ypocras and ek thi galiones
307	bay	boyst	boist
311	terme	terne	terme
312	erme	erne	erme
313	almost I	I almoste	I haue almoost
316	amery	a mery	A mery
318	....	thou	thow
323	gentils	gentiles	gentiles
	Here endith the Pardoners prolog	Here endeth the wordes of the hoost	here endeth the reheytyng of our Hoost
329	Lordingis	Lordinges	Lordynges
331	Criyng	And rynge	And rynge
332	be roote	by rote	bi rote
333	alwey	alway	alway
337	is	on	on
342	Capital letters for names	small letters	small letters except "c"
345	saueryn	faffron (sic)	saffroun
351	....	of	of
352	Gode	Good	Good
356	Touche he this boon anone he shal be sounde	Take water of this welle and wasshe his tunge	Take water of that welle and wassh his tonge

[3] For the convenience of the reader I have used the same symbols and lettering as Dr. Greg has used in his article.

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Line	C_7	C_8	A^3
357	And yet also more ferthirmore	And it is hool anon and ferthermore	And it is hool anon and forthermore
358	pokkis	pockis	pokkes
361	Wol euery wight or tbat the cook croweth	Yf that the good man that the bestys oweth	If that the goodman that the beestes owith
362	And wold do ony thing that hym oweth	Wol euery weke or that the cok croweth	Wole euery woke er that the cok him crowith
364	Iew eldris	Iewe elders	Iewe eldres
370	....	in soth	the soth
372	....	that	as
377	and	good	good
379	doon synne horrible	don synne so orryble	doon synne horrible
388	....	to	to
391	many a Pulpet	my pulpet	my pulpet
392	And shewe lewd pepul and doun they set	And whan lewd peple be doun y-set	And whan the lewde peple is doun I-set
394	....	fals	fals(e)
400	....	of	of
407	....	ful	....
408	Sowneth euyentencion	Iownyth euyl entencion	Comth il entencioun
412	whyle	weyes	weyes
418	wol	wel that	wel that
419	symonye	sygnes	signes
427	wyse aueryse	vyce auarice	vice auarice
431	....	hem	....
435	of	hem	hem
445	and	ne	ne
446	Be	By	By
448	....	I wyl haue money wulle chese and whete	I whole haue money, wolle and chese and whete
452	wyn	vyn	vyne
453	ioly	Ioly	Ioly
466	And pleye the harlottis in many hernys	Where as wyth harpes lutes and gyternes	Wher as with harpes lutes and gyternes
468	....	also	also

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Line	C_7	C_8	A^3
470	deuyll	deuyls	deuels
475	iewes	Iewys	Iewes
477	cam the	cam in the	in comen . . . .
480	deuyll	deuyllis	deueles
485	Loth	loth	loth
491	Baptist	baptist	baptist
495	. . . .	whiche	which
498	O	Out	O
500	. . . .	synne	. . . .
502	and	. . . .	. . . .
	was	for	for
505	. . . .	forn	. . . .
508	adam	Adam	Adam
514	folowith	folowen	folowen
520	. . . .	deynte	deynte
533	the	. .	. .
536	. . . .	the	the
546	an newe	a newer	a newer
550	It is	Is	And
552	Foul	Sour	Sour
556	farist	fallist	fallist
557	curis	cure	cure
558	verry sepulturis	very sepulture	very Sepulture
564	fissh strete	bridge street	fisshestrete
569	atte tonne	at home	at hoom
576	That	. . . .	. . . .
589	gloteny	glotonye	glotonye
590	sahardry	hasardrye	hazardye
592	. . . .	and	and
593	. . . . also	Blasphemye of crist manslaughtre & waste also	Blaspheme of crist manslaughter & waast also
594	Of bataylle ofte tyme and of othir mo	Of cateyl & of tyme & ferthermo	Of catel and of corn and forther mo
595	vnto	of	of
596	Forto beholden	For to be holden	For to be holden
597	in	an	of
598	dissolate	desolate	desolate
604	garnathe	Corynthe	corinthe
613	a lye	alye	allie
616	shulde	sholde	shold
619	wil	wylle	wille
	Loke thou vse no pley of dyse in thy hous	. . . .	. . . .

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Line	C_7	C_8	A^3
621	Loke eke how the kynge Emetrus	Loke eke how to the kynge demetryus	Look eke that to the kyng demetrius
622	....	The king of Parthes as the boke sayth vs	The king of parthes as the book seith vs
623	....	of gold	of gold
626	as of	or	or
635	Iheromye	Ieromye	Ieromye
644	Or	Than	Than
650	....	to (Paris F—so)	....
652	be his blood	by the blood of crist	bi the blood of crist
653	fyue & thre	synke & trey	synke & trey
654	with me	....	....
676	sleth	sleeth	sleeth
	....	the	the
680	And maistir er ye come in his presence	He hath a thousand sleyn this pestelence	He hath. A.M. slayn this pestilence
681	He hath a thousand sleyn this pestelence	And mayster er ye come in his presence	And Maister er ye come in his presence
682	Forto bewaar	For to be waar	For to be war
684	This	Thus	Thus
688	....	hyne	hine
694	dale	weye	wey
697	vs	ve (misprint?)	vs
702	hertis hight	trouthis plight	trouthes plight
704	swore	born	born(e)
713	old poure man	old man and a poure	old man and a pore
731	....	to her	....
741	y	he	he
747	....	longe	longe
756	shalt dye	shalt it abye	shalt it abye
760	....	quod he	quod he
766	al	agayn	ageyn
768	so they ran	ran	ran
802	fist	fest	fest
816	y not	I note	I nat
826	Loke when he is set and than anon	Loke when that he is set thou right anone	Loke whan that he is set that ryght anon
852	apotecary	a potecary	A potecarye
869	And swithe in to the strete vnto a man	This poyson in a boxe & sith he ran	This poisoun in A box And sithen he ran
870	As faste as euer he mighte he ran	In to the nexte strete vnto a man	Into the next(e) strete vnto A man

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Line	C_7	C_8	A^3
877	ful	with wyn	with wyn
890	sene	fenne	fen
892	....	in	or
894	....	eke	eke
904	you	....	yow
926	And ye shul haue my pardon that is hende	....	....
928	tounys	myles	tounes
942	inuolupt	enuoluped	envoluped
950	I peynt	y depeynt	depeynt
952	colious	colions	coloyns

A study of this table discloses the remarkable fact that of the 148 alterations introduced by Caxton in his second edition no less than 120 agree with the readings in A^3. Of the other variants listed twelve are easily explained as due to orthographical or metrical corrections. We are left, therefore, with the following sixteen cases in which A^3 does not supply the reading in C_8:

291. None of the probable MSS has this reading word for word; A^3 is as close as any.
356. "*this*" is taken from "*this boon*" in C_7.; "*that well*" is the reading in all the MSS which could have been used.
362. "*him*" is not omitted by any MS which is at all suitable in other respects. The phrase in C_8. is probably carried over from l. 361 in C_7.
372. "*so*" occurs in E^1, Rawl. poet 223, Glasgow, Selden, Hodson 39, Cardigan, etc., but in none of the MSS which seem likely to have supplied other readings.
379. No MS authority is found for the insertion of "*so*"; it may have been added for the sake of metre.
392. "*be*" occurs in none of the MSS examined; the change seems to have been introduced by Caxton to make the metre more regular.
407. "*ful*" occurs only in Northumberland MS. Caxton may have felt it was required to fill out a short line.
408. "*Iowneth*" is found in no MS. The '*S*' of C_7 seems to have been read "*I*," a simple mistake.
431. No MS has "*hem to*" though several have "*hem*".
500. "*synne*" is not found in any MS though it is understood. Probably Caxton added it himself for the sake of sense and metre.
505. "*forn*" is found only in Ash. Append. MS 127.
564. "*bridge street*" seems unique. Since it has no MS authority, Caxton seems to have made the change himself.
594. "*tyme*" seems to be taken over from C_7, leaving the rest of the line as in A^3.

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731. This is also a unique reading. It may be added for metrical reasons.
826. Caxton may have tried to make the meaning clearer by using *"thou"* instead of *"than"* or *"that"*, as it is clearly understood.
928. *"myles"* is a very common reading, appearing in about half the manuscripts.

When these few instances are compared with many cases in which A^3 exactly supplies an unusual reading or change in word from C_7, the evidence strongly suggests that Caxton used either this very manuscript or one remarkably like it.

In those cases where A^3 does not supply the reading used in C_8 I have examined all the manuscripts suggested by Dr. Greg to find whether any of them are more successful. As possible sources of C_8 he considers the following manuscripts: $H\gamma$, L, A^3, R^2, E^3, Cp, A^1, S^1, H^7, $E\lambda$, E^1, S^2, Pr, Tt^1, H^6, R^1, H^3. These I have examined with the following results for the *Pardoner's Tale*:

H^6 (Harley 7333) fails to supply readings lacking in A^3 and also lacks almost all the important readings given in A^3. It is therefore quite out of the question. This result is surprising, since for the passage, in the *Knights Tale* H^6 was fairly successful.

Tt^1 (Trinity R.3.3) is like A^3 in many respects, but fails, on the whole, to supply the readings needed for C^8. N.B. it supplies line 372.

H^3 (Harley 1758) fails distinctly. In some instances it agrees with A^3 against a small difference in C_8.

$H\gamma$ (Hengwrt 154) is very close to A^3 in many readings (e.g. lines 597, 826) but on the whole is not nearly as satisfactory.

$E\lambda$ (Ellesmere) is very closely related to A^3 and supplies several lines where the latter fails to supply the reading of C_8. However, these readings (e.g. lines 372 and 650) are common to various other MSS. $E\lambda$ is not as successful, on the other hand, in many readings given by A^3.

Dd (Camb. Dd.4.24) also is like A^3 and supplies lines 372 and 650, but few or no other variants.

A^1 (BM Addit. 5140) supplies lines 372 and 650, but otherwise is not as good as $E\lambda$ or Dd.

E^3, L, R^2, E^1, $P\tau$, Cp, S^1, and S^2 are entirely out of the question as they fail signally to supply the required readings. Most of them show characteristics which are utterly different.

Paris F. MS angl. 39 is one of the most successful of all, though not as good as Harley 7335.

Harley 7335. This MS seems to be more closely akin to A^3 than any other. Its connection has been noted by Brusendorff,[4] who groups them

[4] Brusendorff, *The Chaucer Tradition* 1925, p. 64 (4); and pp. 95 (2); 96; 97; 98-99; 101; 103; 105.

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together in his London Group of MSS. Such readings as are found in lines 364, 394, 491, 514, 520, 552, 613, 616, where A^3 supplies the reading and Harl. 7335 does not, seem to indicate that it is not as closely allied with Caxton's source. Two instances,[5] it is true, are more nearly supplied in Harl. 7335, but they are unimportant compared with the others.[6]

Of these manuscripts the most successful is Ellesmere. Its relation to A^3 is very interesting.[7] On comparing these results with the conclusions reached by Dr. Greg, we notice that he also found the Eλ-Dd group significant. From his study of the Knight's Tale he chose Hγ as being the most likely MS, but since it fails signally in the Pardoner's Tale, it may be dismissed unless further evidence is brought forward. Our main conclusion is that no other manuscript in the group examined supplies the readings necessary where A^3 fails. Moreover, by referring to the table of variants again, it seems possible and indeed very probable that, with C_7 as his main source, and A^3 before him on the desk to refer to when he changed a reading, Caxton produced his second edition of the *Canterbury Tales*. The variants which have no authority in either C_7 or C_8 seem to be of a fairly obvious nature, or due to a slip in transcribing.

After finding that the readings in the Pardoner's Tale pointed so strongly toward A^3 as at least very closely related to the MS used by Caxton for his second edition of the Canterbury Tales, I decided to carry the investigation further by testing this MS in its readings of the General Prologue. Accordingly, I secured photostats of the text of the General Prologue in the two Caxton editions and in

[5] Ll. 342 and 448.

[6] According to Brusendorff: "The worst error Harl. 7335 commits is the insertion of a spurious Franklin's Epilogue, joining his tale to that of the Doctor, and made up of the last six lines of the spurious Yeoman-Doctor link, which occurs in the Bodley subgroup. However, Addit. 35286 is not free from mistakes either, reading 'fuyre' in F 950, where Harl. 7335 correctly has 'furye'. In some cases it offers isolated readings which are tempting but hardly authoritative." Brusendorff (p. 97) says in this connection: "Both these MSS, sometimes joined by Harl. 7334, have several readings in common with other All England representatives, especially with the Ellesmere group which they support in its important addition of A 3155 F. . . . . A careful collation of both with the eight printed MSS would be a real boon to the Chaucer student. . . . . Such a case as E 2230 . . . . definitely proves that the ancestor of the London Group had access to Chaucer's original MS."

[7] Brusendorff, *op. cit.*, p. 83. note.

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BM Addit. 35286 (A^3) and present the results of the comparison in the following table:

GENERAL PROLOGUE TO THE CANTERBURY TALES

Line	C_7	C_8	A^3
155	trow	trowe	trowe
156	grow	growe	growe
160	hong	heng	henge
161	that first was wryte a crouned A	. . . . first was wryte a crouned A	ther was first wryten a crowned a
163	large initial A	no break	no break
	Another Nonne with hir ther was	Another Nonne wyth her hath she	Another nonne wyth hir had she
	Ful fair of hewe and bright of faas	. . . .	. . . .
165	no break	large initial A	large initial A
	Which afore that tyme hadde he	. . . .	. . . .
166	An out ryder he loued venore	An out ryder that loued wel venorye	An out ryder that loued wel venerye
172	the	thys	the
	selle	celle	selle
174	somewhat streyt	somewhat old and streyt	old and somdele streyt
175	monk	monke	monke
	passe	pace	pace
117	pullet	pulled	pulled
179	that	. . . .	. . . .
182	I	he	he
184	stodye	studye	studie
185	up on	upon	upon
186	. . . .	his	his
*187	As austyn dide* but hou shal the Worlde be serued	As Austyn byddeth how shold the world be serued	As austyn bitt how shal the worlde be serued
190	hadde as mylk whit	had as swyft as foul in flyght	as swyft as fowle in flyght
192	thing	coste	coste
195	forto	to (metre)	for to
196	corious	curyous	curious
197	. . . .	A loue knot in the gretter ende ther was His heed was balled whyche shoon as glas	A loue knotte in the gretter ende ther was His heed was balled that shoone as any glas

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Line	C_7	C_8	A^3
199	be anoynt	ben anoynte	ben ennoynt
202	. . . .	a	a
204	feir	fayr	faire
206	rost	roost	roost
210	so wel can	can	can
212	. . . .	ful (metre)	. . . .
214	an	a	a
217	. . . .	eke	eke
219	. . . .	As sayd hym self more than a curat And of hys ordre he was licentiat Ful swetly herd he confession	As seide hym selfs more than a curat ffor of his ordere he was licentiat, fful swetly herd he confession
222	To them that had grete contricion And sayde hym self more than a curat And of his ordre he was licentiat	. . . .	. . .
225	. . . .	For	For
226	Whan that a man is wel I shryue	Is signe that a man is wel I shryue	Is sygne that a man is wel y-shryue
227	. . . .	for	for
228	Yf	He wyst	He wist
233	fossid	farsed	farsed
397	. . . .	nyce	nyce
399	At ful many a bataylle in that lond He faught and hadde the higher bond	Yf that he faught and had the hygher hond By water he sent hem hom to euery lond	Yf that he faught and had the herre hond By water he sent hem home to euery lond
401	tyde	tydes	tydes
402	beside	besides	besides
403	. . . .	Hys herberugh hys mone and hys lode-manage	His herberw and his monee and his lode-menage
404	hul in to	hulle to	hull to
405	For wyse he was though he wer ful of corage	. . . .	. . . .
406	quake	he shake	ben shake

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Line	C_7	C_8	A^3
*408	yngelond	gotelond	scotlond
411	of	in (misprint?)	of
416	hour be	houres by	houres by
417	accident	assendent	ascendent
418	image	images	image
423	he knew	y know	he knew
424	the sikman	to the sik man (metre)	the seke man
430	diascorid	dyscorydes	diascordes
	Platearius	Rufus	Ruphus
433	Anorwis	Auerroys	Averoys
	Constantyn	constantyn	constantyn
438	bybyll	byble	bible
440	whit	wyth	wyth
444	special	especyal	especyal
446	þ	that	that
448	hem	them	hem
	or	and	and
457	. . . .	moyst and	moyst and
465	Babiloyne	boloyne	Boloyne
467	wey	weye	weye
468	sey	seye	seye
469	ambeler	ambuler	ambulere
471	as	at (misprint?)	as
476	. . . .	olde	olde
479	and holy of werk	of holy thought & werk	of holy thought and werke
482	deuoutly	deuoutyly	deuoutely
489	. . . .	eke	. . . .
	sustenaunce	substaunce	substance
502	lowd	lewd man	lewdeman
513	ne hadde the maistrye	ne made it not myscarye	ne made it noght myscarye
516	to a sinfulman	to sinfulmen	to sinful men
517	But in his speche discreet and benigne	Ne of hys techynge daungerous ne dygne	Ne of his speche daungerous no digne
518	Ne of hes techyng daungerous ne digne	But in hys speche dyscrete and benygne	But in his teching discrete and benigne
526	He hadde no spiced conscience	ne made to hym a spyced conscyence	ne maked hym a spiced conscience

* Remarked by Miss Hammond, *Mod. Phil.* III, 1905–6, p. 170.

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Line	C_7	C_8	A^2
529	plowmā was his broder	plowman hys broder	plowman his brothere
547	for euer there	for oueral there	for oueral ther
549	....	brood	brood
552	wex	fox	fox
554	of	right of hys	right of his
559	as is	was as	was as
560	ioly hardeys	goliardeys	galiardeys
566	....	vs	vs
568	ensampyl	exemple	exemple
584	....	able	able
586	....	yet	yit
602	rerage	arerage	arerage
604	That coude his	That he ne knewe his	That he ne knew his
606	....	ful	ful
610	discretly	subtylly	sotilly
611	ayen	&-lene	to lene
624	.... cherubyn	fyre cherubyns	fuyre cherubyns
631	ichith or byte	wold clense and byte	wolde clanse and bite
632	....	hym	him
633	in	on	on
635	reed	stronge	straunge
640	degree	decree	decre
643	....	can	can
646	A	Ay	Ay
*648	noman	men not	a man noght
659	....	right	right
662	....	a	a
672	Ful lowde he song com hider lene grom	Ful lowde he songe come hyther loue to me	fful lowde he song come hider loue come to me
673	burdon	burdoun	bordoun
680	cold	jolyte	jolyte
681	on	in	in
685	His	A	A ....
686	A	His	His ....
690	moche	smothe	smothe
703	mone	moneye	moneye
704	thre	tweye	tweye
713	as he wel can	as he ful wel coude	as he ful wel coude

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Line	C_7	C_8	A_3
714	Therefore he song the merier than .	Therefore he songe the merierly and loude	Therefore he songe so meryly and loude
726	ne rekene nat	ne arette it not	ne rette it noght
734	so rudely	neuer so rudely	neuer so rudely
750	. . . .	wel	wel
763	be . . . . ly	by . . . . lye	by . . . . lye
767	my	a	a
769	. . . .	ward	ward
770	. . . .	you	yow
774	dom	dombe	dombe
786	avyse	a vys	auys
794	to	two	two
797	case	caas	cas
	solace	solaas	solas
803	I wil my self go with you and ryde	I wyl my self goodly with you ryde	I wol my self goodly with yow ryde
809	hertly	erly	erly
*812	to do so	that it be so	for to do so
816	wol	wolde	wol
818	the	hys	his
824	. . . .	to gydre	to gyder
825	a	. . . .	. . . .
838	. . . .	Now	Now
842	withdrawe	drawen	drawen
856	on the	our	oure

The result of these collations of the General Prologue is even more favorable to our suggestion. The entire Prologue shows only four readings, worthy of much attention, which A^3 does not supply. These I have marked with asterisks; the cause of some of the others I have suggested in brackets. The differences in these four cases, like those in the Pardoner's Tale already discussed, seem to indicate that another source very closely allied to this one *may* have been used, though most of them might be more easily explained.

Regarding the order of the tales in the two editions, Dr. Greg remarks:

> The order of the tales in C_7 is according to the usual grouping: $AB^1F^1E^2DE^1F^2G^1G^2CB^2HI$. This is found in H^6 and may therefore be presumed to be the original order of this branch of the extended Corpus group, disturbed in Tt^2. The order in C_8 does not appear to be that of any

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known MS and most likely Caxton merely took a hint from his source toward an improved order.

The order in C_8 is found to be: $AB^1E^2F^1F^2DE^1G^1G^2CB^2HI$. According to Dr. Greg's theory we should expect to find a suggestion for the change, in our manuscript source. Is this the case in A^3? The order in A^3 is: $AB^1DG^1E^1E^2F^1F^2CB^2HG^2I$. By comparing these side by side we can easily see what Caxton has done:

C_7 $AB^1F^1E^2\underline{DE^1}F^2G^1G^2CB^2HI$
C_8 $AB^1\underline{E^2F^1F^2}\underline{DE^1}G^1G^2CB^2HI$
A^3 $AB^1\underline{D[G]^1E^1}\underline{E^2F^1F^2}CB^2HG^2I$

The changes occur only in the tales between B^1 and G^1. Again, we find that the group DE^1 is left intact after F^1E^2. But where did he find any authority for the grouping $E^2F^1F^2$? In none of the manuscripts listed by Furnivall do we find this order unless preceded by E^1. What can we find from A^3? In this manuscript G^1 is obviously misplaced, but if it be put in the regular place we find the two groups DE^1 and $E^2F^1F^2$ remaining. Caxton may, we suggest, have decided to leave DE^1 in its later position as in C_7, and arranged the three remaining tales in the order that they are found in A^3. The fact that the C_8 order is unique is significant; to obtain this order from that given in A^3 require but one shift between the groups DE^1 and $E^2F^1F^2$, which shift is suggested by C_7. Above all, the order of A^3 in this respect is found nowhere save in Camb. Gg. 4. 27, Camb. Dd. 4. 24 and Harl. 7334, which follow Ellesmere in their order; and we have already found A^3 closely allied to the Ellesmere group, though it much more successfully fulfils our requirements in other respects.[8] A careful examination of the head- and end-links would probably be very illuminating

[8] Miss Hammond ("The Order of the *Canterbury Tales*," *Mod. Phil.* III, 159) gives a thorough comparison of the order in C_7 and C_8. She points out that "the MS back of Caxton II had its Merchant's Tale displaced, and its F fused. . . . ." A^3, fulfills these requirements. "The principal difference between the two Caxtons as regards order is in the F group. . . . . The manuscript loaned to Caxton for his second edition had received additions not in the earlier recension; the Franklin's Tale had been connected with that of the Squire, the link after the Monk's tale had been revised, and the Epilogue to the Nun's Priest's tale added. We may perhaps infer from these additions that the manuscript of Caxton II, while deriving as regards arrangement from the same archetype as the debased and careless Caxton I, was copied at a somewhat later date. That it belonged to the "A type" or Ellesmere group, as a whole, we have as yet no proof.

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at this point.[9] In fact without a study of their relation, a definite conclusion regarding the order of the tales is incomplete. Such as it is, however, the evidence strongly corroborates that which we found in the text itself.

With regard to the earlier history of our manuscript, I am able to add but little to the information offered by the *Catalogue of Additions to the MSS in the B.M.* (see the description of MS Addit. 35286). The following names appear in the MS, and we may presume that they are those of former owners: "Charles Agarde," "Gulihelmus Agard 1571," "George Hegynbothom of Marpull," "Rychard Normenton of Asheburye," "Mr Whythall," and "Roland Rudgleye" or Rudgleis. The MS later belonged to Benjamin Heywood Bright and afterwards passed into the Ashburnham collection (Appendix 125). Since these names may not stand in order of ownership we cannot be sure that the Agardes were the first to own it. However the date 1571, coupled with the supposition that it remained in the family for two generations at least, makes it likely that their possession of the manuscript preceded that by the other persons mentioned on later folios. I have investigated the history of the Agarde family, and have found that it dates at least from 1310, there being two branches of the family after that date, one in east Staffordshire about Tutbury and Sudbury, and the other just across the Dove River at Foston. In both branches of the family the name William occurs. One of them, without doubt the owner of the manuscript, as we see from a comparison of dates, lived in Dunstall, Staffordshire, on the edge of Needwood Forest, and evidently held some official position which connected him with Sir Humphrey Ferrers from 1580 to about 1600. About the same time a Charles Agarde of Osloston Derbyshire, was connected with the same Sir H. Ferrers, and the name occurs again in his grandson Charles Agard of Foston. I have also found a record of William Agard "scale-maister to thenchmen" of the Royal household of Henry VIII in 1525–26 (Egerton MS 2604). This man lived only about forty years after

[9] See Miss Hammond *Chaucer Bibliographical Manual* p. 170.

"The order ABDEFCBGHI is found in: Ellesmere, ... Add. 35286. . . . . The text is usually superior to that of other groups, and although Bradshaw viewed this type as due to some editorial supervision exercised after Chaucer's death, I would venture to differ from that opinion, and to regard the group as Chaucerian, because of the absence of spurious links and the ML endlink, features which it seems to me no copyist or imitator, only the author himself could have arranged."

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Caxton used the manuscript for his 1484 edition at the suggestion of the young man who obtained it from his father.

The third name in the manuscript is that of George Hegynbothom, who lived in Marple, in Cheshire, just on the border of Derbyshire. Rychard Normenton of Asheburye I have not been able to trace so far; but both the names of "Rugeley" and "Whitehall" are to be found in Staffordshire Pedigrees (Harl. 63. H. Soc. Pub.).

Without going any further into the identification of these various owners, it is clear that all, with the possible exception of Normenton, lived in that district of central England just along the border of Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and north to the border of Cheshire. The origin of the manuscript is thus traced to a fairly definite section of the country.

One other point worthy of attention in the catalogue description is the fact that at the present time the manuscript lacks from twenty-six to thirty leaves. What does this signify? Since complete leaves are missing we can be sure that they had been there at some time. This proves that the defects are not due to the carelessness of a scribe who left gaps in the text. Rather, it is to be supposed that during the course of its many changes of ownership these leaves were loosened from the manuscript and lost.[10] If, in addition, this *were* the copy used by Caxton, might not the hard usage which it no doubt suffered at that time have been responsible for the loss of some of its leaves and the weakening of others? The statement of Caxton's friend regarding the "moche love" which his father felt for the manuscript would suggest that up to that time it had been jealously guarded.

Without an examination of the entire manuscript this theory can by no means be proved. I have tested it from several points of view, and feel that the evidence strongly indicates a very close connection between the manuscript A^3 and Caxton's second edition. If the material which I have presented seems to warrant further examination from other points of view I shall feel gratified.

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[10] The omission of certain lines E. 11. 1510-11; C 11 41-3, 81-2, is also noted in the description. In C 11. 41-3 the scribe's eye has skipped from "Was she" is 1. 40 to "was she" in 1. 43. C. 81-2 is a parenthetic couplet which has been omitted.

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VI

CHAUCER'S CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF THE HUMBLE LOVER

IT IS evident that Chaucer's depiction of and attitude toward the lover were not always the same. In some of his works, notably his earlier, shorter poems, the conception of the lover conforms apparently in all particulars to the conventional pattern of the romantic lover of chivalry. In other works he shows a definite deviation from this concept. What the character of these deviations is, where they occur, and what deductions may be drawn from them, it is the purpose of this paper to indicate. At the outset of our inquiry two possible explanations of this change may be noted: first, the possibility that Chaucer's attitude changed as he grew older either in revolt against or in conformity to the standard ideal; secondly, the possibility that the changes in his attitude were the result of shifting moods instead of modifications produced by age and experience.

The character and conduct of the romantic lover were very clearly defined in English society, having been introduced without modification from France.[1] Regulations for the actions of the lover were not governed by the wishes or the interpretation of the individual in either country; they were definitely stated in the thirty-one articles that made up the code of the Cour d'Amour of Paris in the twelfth century.[2] Chief among these were the stipulations that no person might give himself to two loves, that love revealed rarely lasted and "les obstacles lui donnent du prix," that the lover grew pale at the sight of his beloved one, etc.[3] These rules were numerous and were elaborated in detail, but all emphasized the fact that service was the ideal of a lover's conduct, and humility

[1] Eleanor of Aquitaine (Alienor of Guienne) was the chief instrument in the introduction of the French love ideals into England. She had been one of the ladies presiding over the Cour d'Amour of Paris prior to her marriage to Henry Plantagenet of England.

[2] It must be borne in mind that these rules, however stereotyped in the fourteenth century, had their genesis in the sincere and ardent, though frequently exaggerated, love expressions of the earlier French poets. Cf. William G. Dodd, *Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower*, p. 21.

[3] LaRousse, *La Grande Dictionnaire Universal du XIX Siècle*. See "L'Amour dans l'histoire et dans la litterature."

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his highest virtue. The aim of the humble lover, briefly, was "loyalement servir une dame."[4]

In order that definite and correct conclusions may be drawn in this study, it is necessary to consider Chaucer's works singly and in chronological order as nearly as it is possible in view of the fact that exact dates are not available for many of his works, and any chronology must of necessity be largely conjectural.[5] If his works when examined chronologically fail to show increasing deviation from the accepted standards we should be justified in concluding that Chaucer's rebellion against the formal code was prompted merely by the impulse and mood of the moment.

In the *Romaunt of the Rose*, Chaucer's first work that remains to us,[6] Chaucer consistently follows the formal concept of the humble lover throughout. In Fragment A, known to be Chaucer's work beyond a doubt,[7] the theme and treatment are strictly those of conventional love, built about the French devices of the love vision and the court of love. Two passages[8] in this portion make definite statements concerning the lover. In the first the suitors of Richesse

> . . . . besy weren hir to serve;
> For that they wolde hir love deserve,
> They cleped hir 'Lady,' grete and smalle.

The second occurs in the story of Narcissus. Echo asks that Narcissus "shulde . . . . fele in every veyne what sorowe trewe lovers maken," a plea that is granted later when Narcissus dies because of unrequited love. Fragment B, in dealing at length with the conduct and character of the humble romantic lover, is wholly conventional. The instructions of the God of Love to the dreamer are nothing more nor less than an amplification of the articles in the code of the Cour d'Amour. The subsequent experiences of the dreamer are also in accord with the code, and are carried out in all formality with much detail and repetition. While Fragment C is concerned with a dialog between Love and other persons of the allegory, it contains no lines that have a direct bearing on the case

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] For the chronology followed throughout this study, see Robert Dudley French, *A Chaucer Handbook*, pp. 75–132 and 384–5.

[6] Writtten before 1370. See French, *A Chaucer Handbook*, p. 384.

[7] The three fragments are considered here, although there is considerable doubt as to the authenticity of Fragments B and C.

[8] *Romaunt of the Rose*, Fg. A, ll. 1045–47; 1496–7.

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of the lover; however, the personification of Love is in itself conventional.

The *Compleynt Unto Pite*, the earliest[9] of Chaucer's numerous love poems, follows the form of the amorous French "compleynt." It is couched in the formal phrases of love, in which the lover humbly seeks his lady's mercy, and relief from his woes.

In the *Book of the Duchesse*[10] we see two lovers: he who dreams and sighs in vain, and he who has loved and lost. Both are conventional, particularly the latter. In the knight as a husband we are not interested, since, strictly speaking, chivalric love had nothing to do with marriage. Courtly love "essaya même d'en faire une sorte d'institution a cotè du marriage et même contre le mariage. . . . . Selon le code des Cours d'Amour, l'amour était impossible dans le mariage, car dans l'amour tout devait être de grace et de faveur tandis que dans le mariage tout était de droit."[11] All passages concerning the knight as a lover follow the code. He tells of his devotion to his "lady dere" and his "humblenesse" from the time he first saw her. At first he dared not tell her of his woe, but at last, lest he die, he revealed his love, swearing to serve and love her always; he

> . . . . ne wilned thing but good,
> And worship, and to kepe hir name
> Over al thing, and drede hir shame,
> And was so besy hir to serve[12]

His character and actions follow the accepted pattern throughout.

The *Compleynt of Mars* and *Compleint to His Lady*[13] deviate neither in subject matter nor in form from the conventional pattern of the French complaint. Many significant passages occur in both poems, of which the following are typical:

> 'For this day in hir servise shal I dye;'. . . .
> 'Hir love I best, and shal, whyl I may dure,
> Bet than my-self an hundred thousand deel' . . . .

[9] Dated "1367–70?" It "cannot be dated with any certainty, but it may confidently be assigned to the earlier years of Chaucer's career as a poet." French, *A Chaucer Handbook*, p. 85.

[10] Known date, 1369–70. See French, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

[11] La Rousse, *La Grande Dictionnaire, loc. cit.*

[12] *Book of the Duchesse*, ll. 1262–65.

[13] Dated respectively ca. 1374 and "1374, or soon after." French, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 and 97.

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'Of alle servants, bothe good and badde;
And leest worthy of alle hem, I am he'[14]

The lover asks only to serve—the words "servise" or "serve" occur every few lines—and his humility is not so hardy as to desire that she love him. In both poems thought and expression are wholly conventional.

The *Hous of Fame*[15] has a more direct bearing upon this study than any work thus far considered. Hitherto we have been forced to draw our conclusions entirely from interpretation. Hence of utmost import is the conclusive confirmation, in the eagle's explanation to Chaucer of their journey, of our findings concerning Chaucer's conception of the conventional lover up to this time.

. . . thou so longe trewely
Hast served so ententifly
His blinde nevew Cupido,
And fair Venus (goddesse) also, ...
In thy studie so thou wrytest,
And ever-mo of love endytest, ...
Of Love, and of his servants eke . . . .[16]

Thus from Chaucer's own words we know that he has followed, in personal allegiance and in writing, the precepts of conventional love, and has written always of humble lovers.

The next work chronologically that is concerned with the status of the lover is the *Parlement of Foules*.[17] This work is of unparallelled importance as it marks a departure from Chaucer's usual passive acceptance of the formal code. Here the non-conforming point of view is presented as well as the conventional. The royal tercels who seek the formel's favor are conventional in that they promise service throughout their lives, and mention the dire penalties they may suffer if they are ever false to the laws of the love code. The turtle dove also supports the ideal conception of the lover's conduct.

Thogh that his lady ever-more be straunge,
Yet let him serve hir ever, til he be deed.

[14] *Compleynt of Mars*, l. 189; *Compleint to His Lady*, ll. 34–5; ll. 72–3.

[15] Time of writing uncertain, but a "date between 1374–82 may be accepted with some confidence" French, p. 123.

[16] *The Hous of Fame*, Bk. II, ll. 615–18, 633–4, 625.

[17] Written in 1382. See French, p. 384.

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The water fowl, however, grow impatient with these long drawn out and courtly protestations and frankly rebel:

> 'But she wol love him, lat him love another!' . . . .
> 'That men shulde alwey loven, causeles,
> Who can a reson finde or wit in that?
> Daunceth he mury that is mirtheles? . . . .
> There been mo sterres, god wot, than a paire!' . . . .
> 'Lat ech of hem be soleyn al hir lyve,
> This is my reed, sin they may not acorde."[18]

This dispute between the water fowl and the other birds is nothing more nor less than an argument for and against the prescribed conduct of the romantic lover. It is obvious that the dispute is used by Chaucer as an artistic devise to heighten the contrast between the chivalric conception of love and the opposite conception as expressed by the water fowl, thus honoring yet more Anne of Bohemia, in whose honor most scholors believe the poem was written. However, Chaucer himself may have been impatient with the precepts of the code. There is no way of estimating how much of the rebellious sentiment here expressed is Chaucer's own; but even if Chaucer used these passages merely as contrast to enhance the ultimate victory of courtly love, it is a significant fact that nowhere in his writing before this time has he presented the adverse viewpoint even as a literary device. Contemporary readers of Chaucer, though avowedly adhering to the romantic code, could not but be aware of the common sense advice of the goose, "But she wol love him, lat him love another!" It is evident that when Chaucer wrote the *Parlement of Foules* he, if not actually criticizing the standard code, was conscious of its artificiality to the extent that he dared set aside literary and social convention to present the non-conforming point of view.

In *Troilus and Criseyde*[19] there are two lovers, both of whom follow the code in their wooing of Criseyde, but who are distinct in personality and differentiated in point of time as well as in point of circumstance. Of the many passages which describe the abject state of Troilus, the following are typical:

> 'For I, that God of Loves servaunts serve,
> Ne dar to Love, for myn unlyklinesse; . . . .

[18] *Parlement of Foules*, ll. 584–5, 567, 590–2, 595, 607–8.
[19] Written 1382–5. See French, p. 385.

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My dere herte, allas! myn hele and hewe
And lyf is lost, but ye wole on me rewe' . . . .
For man may love, of possibilitee,
A womman so, his herte may to-breste,
And she nought love ayein, but-if hir leste.'[20]

Altho Diomede is more restrained than Troilus, giving the impression of stronger character, he too acts the part of the conventional lover.

While the actions of Troilus and Diomede are entirely in keeping with the Code d'Amour, those of Pandarus and Criseyde are not. Pandarus in his impatience with the prolonged grief of Troilus may or may not betray commensurate impatience on the part of Chaucer; at any event, his rebellious statements are worthy of notice.

'Hastow not lived many a yeer biforn
With-outen hir, ...
Artow for hir and for non other born?
. . . . in the dees right as ther fallen chaunces,
Right so in love, ther come and goon plesaunces.'[21]

Here, as in the *Parlement of Foules*, the unconventional admonitions may vary in import according to the interpretation of the individual reader. However, this fact is of utmost significance: both the *Parlement of Foules* and *Troilus and Criseyde* are known almost certainly to have been written consecutively within a period of a few years (1382–85), and no one of Chaucer's works previous to this period goes so far as even to present the converse to the accepted concept of the humble lover. Moreover, the deviation is more marked and less easily explained in the later work, *Troilus and Criseyde*. Furthermore, the interpretation of Criseyde was in itself, by Chaucer's own confession, heretical to love. How Criseyde is concerned with Chaucer's increasing nonconformity to the standards of conventional love may best be seen by examining the next work, *The Legend of Good Women*.

If we look for yet more marked revolt in the *Legend of Good Women*,[22] we may at first be disappointed. The Prologue returns to the customary springtime pastoral setting, dream-vision, and other

[20] *Troilus and Criseyde*, Bk. I, ll. 15–6, 461–2; Bk. II, ll. 607–9.
[21] *Ibid.*, IV, ll. 1093–1100.
[22] 1385–95. Prologue, B-text, written probably in 1385–6—French, p. 385.

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French devices which the author consistently used in his works previous to the writing of the *Parlement of Foules*. Here the author represents himself as a humble lover of the daisy, paying tribute to her in the phraseology of courtly love. He is a penitent being tried before the court of love for infidelity in writing of the false Criseyde and in transcribing a work containing the caustic sayings of Jean de Meun (i.e., *Le Roman de la Rose*), thus proving himself heretical to love and effecting the withdrawal of popular support from the Code d'Amour. He promises to renew allegiance to Love from this time on, setting himself the task of writing the legends as penance for his recent dereliction. In spite of his avowed intention of renewing allegiance to courtly love in the *Legend of Good Women*, it is evident that, before many of the legends had been completed, Chaucer once again grew impatient with conventional standards of the lover's conduct. Accounts of the lovers' wooing are soon cut to a minimum and as early as the story of Hypsipyle and Medea is omitted altogether:

> As wolde god I leiser hadde, and tyme,
> By proces al his wowing for to ryme . . . .
> Ye gete no more of me, but ye wil rede
> Th' original, that telleth al the cas.[23]

Obviously "the poet was growing a little weary of the lamentations and reproaches of Cupid's saints,"[24] to say the least.

Merciles Beaute[25] is one of the most delightful of Chaucer's shorter poems. Though conforming to the French pattern in phraseology in the first two roundels, and in form throughout, it does not long leave the reader uninformed concerning the author's true feeling.

> Sin I fro Love escaped am so fat,
> I never thenk to ben in his prison lene;
> Sin I am free, I counte him not a bene . . . .
> Love hath my name y-strike out of his sclat,
> And he is strike out of my bokes clene
> For ever-mo; ther is non other mene.

This poem speaks for itself. Here is evidenced a complete break with the romantic lover and his conventional code of conduct;

[23] *Legend of Good Women*, VI, ll. 1552–3, 1557–8.
[24] French, p. 130.
[25] 1390–1393? French, p. 104.

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Chaucer takes him by the hand and frolics gaily. He is freed from homage and does not dissemble his joy at the release. The significance of the poem can hardly be overestimated. The period in which Chaucer wrote was one of extreme conventionality, not alone in regard to standards of conduct, of which the love code is a prominent example. Originality of any sort was frowned upon, but especially originality in literature. Even writers who were well established took care to follow precedent in thought and expression. A person might permit himself a sly smile aside at the conduct of a lover, but to rebel openly and in print was nothing less than heresy. Since "we are preposterous when we laugh at a hero for his love-madness,"[26] how great is the significance of a contemporary writer's growing weary of, and laughing at, the medieval lover!

Rosemounde[27] is written in the same light-hearted vein. Its satirical humor directed at the agonized rapture of the lover is delightful.

> For thogh I wepe of teres ful a tyne,
> Yet may that wo myn herte nat confounde; . . . .
> Nas never pyk walwed in galauntyne
> As I in love am walwed and y-wounde; . . . .
> I brenne ay in an amorous plesaunce.

Chaucer indulges in laughter at the code which he had supported in all sincerity in his youth.

The *Envoy to Scogan* and the *Compleint to His Empty Purse*[28] are the only two poems not hitherto discussed that can be dated with any degree of confidence. In the former Chaucer tells his friend that recent heavy rains were due to tears that Venus shed over Scogan's infidelity toward love. He declares himself to be too old to write love poems, including himself among those that "ben hore and rounde of shape." Chaucer chides his friend in a light and playful manner for his defiance of the code of love, showing again that he had ceased to take the rules of the Cour d'Amour seriously. There is nothing concerning the lover in the "compleint," but the fact that it is written in the words of a lover to

[26] Kittredge, *Chaucer and His Poetry*, p. 124.

[27] 1390–1393? "This poem, like the *Merciles Beaute*, must belong to a period when Chaucer had become thoroughly emancipated from the school of love-poetry represented by his more conventional 'compleynts'". French, p. 105, 106.

[28] Dated respectively 1393? and 1399. See French, pp. 109 and 113.

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his lady is significant; it shows that the author had come to take the conventions of love so lightly that he could employ its phrases in the fashion of a parody.

Up to this time no mention has been made of the *Canterbury Tales*, partly because their respective dates of writing can be estimated only generally, by period, and almost entirely by conjecture; partly because they are so markedly in a class by themselves that it is impossible to consider them amid other works without confusion. The *Knyghtes Tale*,[29] a revision of the earlier *Palamon and Arcite*, is the first of the tales to deal with the chivalric lover. Palamon and Arcite are the most ideal pair of Chaucer's romantic lovers; both follow the conventional pattern so closely, especially in the earlier portion of the narrative, that they might be two patterns cut from the same stencil. Palamon, on first seeing Emelya, drew back and "cried 'A' as though he stongen were unto the herte," and as the humble lover swore

> 'To love my lady, whom I love and serve
> And evere shal, til that myn herte sterve.'[30]

Like the knight in the *Book of the Duchesse*, he loses no opportunity to declare that he must die for his lady. Arcite displays the same qualities—her beauty "slays" him and unless he has her mercy "I nam but dead, ther is namoore to seye." His humility and self abasement know no bounds. The frequent coupling of the words "love" and "serve" is noticeable throughout the tale.

The *Knyghtes Tale*, which by reason both of subject and of teller one would expect to conform to the chivalric code, indicates, on the contrary, strong revolt against that code. The beginning of the *secunda pars* is concerned with a detailed and gruesome description of the pain and woe of "the woful lover, daun Arcite." At first glance this recital might appear to be a most sincere and sympathetic rendering of the humble lover concept. But what happens? One can almost see Chaucer shrug his shoulders in the next three lines:

> What sholde I al day of his wo indite?
> Whan he endured hadde a yeer or two
> This crueel torment, and this peyne and woo—

[29] Written before 1387. French, p. 385.
[30] *Knyghtes Tale*, ll. 1143–4.

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Chaucer, patently grown weary of Arcite and choosing to spend no more time either on him or on his plight, peremptorily disposes of him in three lines, and proceeds with the story. Shortly another passage rings false to the chivalric note. The court demurs at the sentence pronounced upon Palamon and Arcite:

> For gentilmen they were of greet estaat,
> And no thyng but for love was this debaat.[33]

"No thyng but for love"! Yet chivalry was avowedly the life of the people and "L'amour etait le principe de la chevalrie."[34] Chaucer slyly suggests not only that the love code was not the core of existence, but also that allegiance to the code was merely a popular pose. Further revolt is indicated in the words of Theseus at witnessing the tilt between Palamon and Arcite in the wood:[35]

> 'And yet hath love, maugree hir eyen two,
> Ybroght hem hyder bothe for to dye!
> Now looketh, is nat that an heigh folye?
> Who may been a fole, but if he love?
> Bihoold, for Goddes sake that sit above,
> Se how they blede! Be they noght wel arrayed?
> Thus hath hir lord, the God of Love, ypayed
> Hir wages and hir fees for hir servyse!' . . . .

He drops his playful scoffing momentarily—

> And yet they wenen for to been ful wyse,
> That serven love, for aught that may bifalle—

but this mood passes quickly. He enjoys the plight of the lovers—ridiculous in his eyes—too much not to make the most of it. His ironic remarks are tempered at the last when he recalls half forgotten memories of his own youthful love affairs. Later Theseus again emphasizes the fact that he does not support the theories of romantic love when he tells Palamon and Arcite that they know they both may not have Emelye, though they be ever so jealous, angry, or fight forevermore.

Chaucer returns to the humble lover pattern, apparently in all sincerity, when Arcite dies—

[33] Previous two quotations, *Knyghtes Tale*, ll. 1380–2, 1753–4.
[34] LaRousse, *loc. cit.*
[35] *Knyghtes Tale*, ll. 1796–1817.

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> 'To yow, my lady, that I love moost,
> But I biquethe the servyce of my goost
> To yow aboven every creature'—

and when Palamon's faithful service is advanced and allowed as reason for the bestowal of the lady's favor:

> 'That gentil Palamon they owene knyght,
> That serveth yow with wille, herte, and myght,
> And evere hath doon, syn that ye first hym knewe.'[36]

Like the *Parlement of Foules*, the *Knyghtes Tale* both begins and ends on the conventional note, regardless of revolt within the story itself.

The *Knyghtes Tale* is similar to other works previously discussed in this study. The common sense attitude of Theseus is much the same as that of Pandarus in *Troilus and Criseyde*, but here the difficulty of estimating how much of the sentiment expressed belongs to the story character, how much to the author himself, is made more complex by the presence of the knight, supposed teller of the story. However Chaucer may have intended the characterization here, he has drawn himself more clearly than either the knight or Theseus. Similar mention of his own youthful love affairs occurs in other works, while the odd combination of satire, human sympathy, ridicule and wistful regret is intrinsically Chaucer's own.

In the *Squieres Tale*,[37] the most fascinating story never told, we learn in the opening lines of the prologue what type of tale Chaucer intended it to be.

> 'Squier, come neer, if it your wille be,
> And sey somwhat of love, ... '

True to the character of the squire, the tale is one of purely romantic love. The falcon's false lover imitated the usual conduct of the humble lover; he feined to serve her,

> Fil on hise knees, with so devout humblesse,
> With so heigh reverence, and as by his cheere
> So lyk a gentil lovere of manere, ...[38]

[36] *Ibid.*, ll. 2767–9, ll. 3077–9.
[37] 1392–4. See French, p. 386.
[38] *Squieres Tale*, ll. 544–6.

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that at last she loved him. The strange knight also "most han knowen Love and his servyse." The conduct of both the false and the true lover is ideal. In tone and in avowed intention to present a tale of love, the *Squieres Tale* is similar to no other work work so much as to the prologue to the *Legend of Good Women.*

The *Frankeleyns Tale*[39] is the only other of the *Canterbury Tales* to deal with the rôle of the lover.[40] Here again there are two lovers, in this case Aurelius and Arveragus. With the latter we are concerned only during his courtship of Dorigen, up to the time of their marriage. The tale begins with his wooing of Dorigen:

> In Armorik, that called is Britayne,
> Ther was a knyght that loved and dide his payne
> To serve a lady in his beste wise;
> And many a labour, many a greet emprise,
> He for his lady wroughte, er she were wonne.[41]

At first he did not dare even to tell her of his pain and great distress, but at last "she for his worthinesse, and namely for his meke obeysaunce" had mercy on him; whereupon he promised to obey her always and follow her will in all things, "as any lovere to his lady shal."

The conduct of Aurelius is more conventional than that of Arveragus; indeed Aurelius is so conventional that he loses his individuality almost entirely, becoming a mere puppet, moved, as it were, by the code of love. He had loved Dorigen best above all others for two years and more, never daring to reveal to her his unhappy state, and easing his pain by writing sonnets to her in secret. Not until some time after the departure of Arveragus does he summon up courage to speak to Dorigen. On learning that his suit indeed is hopeless he exclaims that he must then "dye of sodeyn deth horrible." The others continue their merrymaking,

> Save oonly wrecche Aurelius, allas!
> He to his hous is goon with sorweful herte;
> He seeth he may nat fro his deeth asterte.

[39] 1392–4. See French, p. 386

[40] In the *Nonne Preestes Tale* Pertelote and her "sustres" are repeatedly referred to as the "wyves" of Chauntecler, thus precluding Dodd's supposition that the tale is a case of Chaucer's employing the conventions of courtly love poetry for humorous purposes. Cf. Dodd, *"Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower," Nonnes Preestes Tale.*

[41] *Frankeleyns Tale,* ll. 729–33.

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After addressing a plea to Apollo he falls into a swoon. Up to this point in the narrative, whatever the reaction of the reader may be, the author apparently sympathizes with the distress of the lover. But these are the final lines of the episode:

> Dispeyred in this torment and this thoght
> Lete I this woful creature lye:
> Chese he for me wheither he wol lyve or dye.[42]

If it were not for the closing lines of the passage, the *Frankeleyns Tale* would be one of entirely conventional love. As it is, the same thing occurs here that happens when Chaucer disposes of Arcite so summarily, with the difference that here he drops the lover even more forcibly than before, plainly betraying his lack of sympathy and complete indifference.

There is a resumption of the formal pattern in several subsequent passages:

> Aurelius . . . . preyeth hym . . . .
> To bryngen hym out of his peynes smerte,
> Or with a swerd that he wolde slitte his herte" . . . .
> I woful wrecche, Aurelius, ...
> Al be that I unworthy be therto . . . [43]

But the mischief is done. During the remainder of the story we cannot help but feel, regardless of Chaucer's apparent sincerity, that Aurelius doth protest too much, and that he may "chese" for us whether he be woful or not. Those three lines effectively undermine the elements of idealized love as expressed in the remainder of the tale.

While the dates of the *Canterbury Tales* are at best uncertain, three of Chaucer's short poems have up to this time not been dated even conjecturally with any accuracy. *Womanly Noblesse*, *A Balade of Compleynt*, and *An Amorous Compleint*,[44] are all conventional in tone, form, and in depiction of the lover. These three minor poems bring to a close the list of Chaucer's works that have to do with the conduct of the lover.

It must not be thought that Chaucer's changing conceptions of the courtly lover can be traced exactly and consistently, as a graph

[42] Previous two quotations, *Frankeleyns Tale*, ll. 1020–2, 1084–6.

[43] *Ibid.*, ll. 1256–60, 1303, 1330.

[44] Considered as being probably genuine, but, with the possible exception of the first named, lacking in external evidence.

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upon a chart. Just as, in his work, "he may have had his moments of sudden expansion in youth or of dullness or compulsion in maturity,"[45] so in his attitude toward the lover, he may have had moments of rebellion in youth, of return to conformity with love ideals when he was older. However, growth of a tendency to rebel against the conventional concept of the humble lover can be traced clearly. In view of this fact, it may not be impossible to offer conjectural dates for those works which have not been convincingly dated. Thus it seems feasible to ascribe *Womanly Noblesse*, *Balade of Compleynt*, and *An Amorous Compleint* to a date contemporaneous with, or previous to, the writing of the *Hous of Fame*, at a time when no suggestion of revolt enters in. By reason of the findings of this study, it is possible that another item may be added to the long list of "the available evidence upon which a chronology of Chaucer's works may be based."[46]

In retrospect we see the *Romaunt of the Rose* as Chaucer's first work that is concerned with the lover. Although the French original contained satire directed against love as well as glorification of its ideals, Chaucer's transcription is entirely conventional. His writing consistently conforms to the code of the Cour d'Amour through *Compleynt Unto Pite*, *The Book of the Duchesse*, *The Compleynt of Mars*, *A Compleint to His Lady*, and the *Hous of Fame*. In the latter, indeed, the author represents himself as being rewarded for his long and faithful service to the God of Love. In the *Parlement of Foules* we find the first hint of revolt. While romantic love wins out against the realistic, the mere presentation of the common sense point of view is an innovation. There is considerable doubt as to whether or not the rebellious statements of Pandarus in *Troilus and Criseyde* are significant of personal rebellion on the part of the author; they may be simply skillful charaterization on the part of Pandarus. That writing of Criseyde and translating from the satirical *Roman de la Rose* was heretical to love Chaucer freely confesses, however. Although the *Legend of Good Women* was calculated to bring him back to courtly love poetry, Chaucer betrays increasing impatience with the code early in the course of the legends. Of the *Canterbury Tales* which depict the conduct of the lover, the incomplete *Squieres Tale* is the only one that is entirely conventional. The

[45] Hammond, *Chaucer, A Biographical Manual*, p. 70.
[46] *Ibid.*

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others, although they both begin and end on the conventional note, contain striking instances of Chaucer's impatience with the chivalric lover. All three were probably written at or before the time of the completion of the *Legend of Good Women*. Thereafter his failure to conform to popular standards is frank and undissembled. *Merciles Beaute*, *Rosamound*, the *Envoy to Scogan*, and the *Compleint to His Empty Purse* are as satirical as his early poems are amorous; he frankly rebels, engaging in frequent poetic frolics with the romantics of the lover. We may conclude that, except for a temporary renewal of allegiance to formal love standards in the *Legend of Good Women*, Chaucer's rebellion against the conventional concept of the humble lover developed, and increased in intensity, after the writing of the *Hous of Fame*.

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VII

THE ORIGIN OF THE LONG-BOW[1]

THERE is no doubt about the effectiveness of the long-bow in the hands of a skilful archer. There is no doubt that the skilful employment of the archers, armed with this formidable weapon, contributed largely to the English victories in the Hundred Years War. The long-bow, peculiarly adapted to the foot-soldier rather than the knight or the horseman, seems a fitting national weapon for a nation which, even in the Middle Ages, showed a more democratic temper than did the great Continental powers.

These things are commonplaces, familiar to the most casual reader of English history from his school days. But when we seek to advance beyond this safe and well-trodden ground, we find ourselves beset with sudden and unexpected difficulties. Instead of the well-established and familiar, we find uncertainty, a conflict of opinion, and, I fear we must admit, a conspicuous lack of clear thinking and exact statement. If we ask, for instance, where the English got their famous national weapon, we are met by doubtful or conflicting answers.

The long-bow, as the word is commonly defined, was a bow "drawn by hand and discharging a long feathered arrow" (the famous "cloth-yard shaft"). It was over five feet in length, or about the height of a man; it could shoot farther and was more effective than the shorter bows, and it is stated to have become "the national arm of England from the fourteenth century till the introduction of fire arms."[2]

How, when, and where did the English obtain this formidable weapon, which played so important a part in their history? The question has been variously answered.

Green holds that the English, that is the Anglo-Saxons, learned the use of the bow in war from the Normans. "The bow," he says, "identified as it became with English warfare, was the weapon

[1] The present paper was written by Dr. Pancoast just before his death on March 25, 1928. It has been prepared for the press by his friend, Percy V. D. Shelly.

[2] N.E.D. "Long-bow."

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not of Englishmen but of their Norman conquerors. It was the Norman arrow-flight that decided the day at Senlac."[3]

This passage, it may be remarked in passing, is not free from that inexactness which seems to beset so many of those who have treated this difficult subject, an unfortunate lack of precision which has tended to plunge the whole matter into confusion. In the first place, it is an exaggeration to say that the bow was not an English weapon, although it is true that the English gave it only a subordinate place and did not appreciate the value of the archery in military tactics. The Anglo-Saxons used the bow—i.e., a bow of some description—in hunting and even to some extent in war, and there were English archers, as the Bayeux tapestry shows, at Hastings. In the second place, the fact that William demonstrated at Hastings his appreciation of the value of the archers in military tactics throws no light on the origin of the long-bow, for, if Freeman is right, the bow used in that battle by the Norman archers was not the long-bow, but a shorter and less deadly weapon. Thus, assuming Freeman to be correct, the most that Hastings could have taught the English was the value of the bow in war, not the use of the bow.

Fletcher, perhaps Green's most popular successor, admits frankly that the origin of the long-bow is uncertain. He writes, "The English long-bow, the real origin of which is doubtful, first appears in legend as the weapon of Robin Hood and his friends."[4]

It is certainly interesting, if not significant, that the long-bow was associated in popular legend with a popular English hero. It is also worth noting that while "bow" is Anglo-Saxon in origin and indicates a knowledge of the weapon among the English from an indefinitely early time, the earliest instance of the use of the word "long-bow" recorded in the New English Dictionary occurs in one of the Robin Hood Ballads, or about 1500.[5]

Recent writers on the long-bow differ from Green about its origin and are most positive and specific where Fletcher is modestly uncertain. They tell us just where the English got the long-bow, and at least one of them is certain how and when it became the English national weapon. Mr. G. M. Trevelyan is an excellent exponent of what would seem to be the modern view. In his recent

[3] *History of the English People*, I. 421.
[4] *Introductory History of England*, I. 235.
[5] Ritson, II. xx. 75. "With a long bow they shot a fat doe."

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history of England he says without qualification that "the English borrowed from the Welsh the use of the long-bow." He seems to imply, although he does not precisely state, that the long-bow not only came from Wales, but that it originated in a comparatively small district on the Welsh border. "It was," he writes, "in the south-east corner of Wales, between the upper waters of the Wye and the Bristol Channel, that this famous weapon first emerged into local fame." He then goes on to speak of its use by the Welsh in the time of Henry II (1154–1189) and notes that eighty years later there were Welsh archers with De Montfort at Lewes (1264). He concludes, "It was Edward the First's experience in Welsh campaigning that determined him to adopt the long-bow as the special weapon of his infantry in his Scottish wars."[6] Trevelyan does not put this forth as a theory; he asserts it positively as an assured and undisputed historical fact.

W. Watkins Davies, in his little book on Wales, while he says nothing of Edward I's part in bringing the long-bow into England, apparently agrees with Trevelyan as to its Welsh origin. "The home of the long-bow," he writes, "was Wales. The weapon had been in use for a long time in Border wars, and its superiority to the cross-bow had been clearly demonstrated."[7]

Oman, like Fletcher, is more cautious than Trevelyan, but inclines to the theory that the long-bow was Welsh in origin. He writes, "Whence the English got their long-bow is not quite easy to decide; the Normans at Hastings—as the Bayeux tapestry clearly shows—still used the short four-foot bow, not the great six-foot weapon with its cloth-yard arrow. It was the short bow too that won the battle of the Standard. Probably the Anglo-Normans learnt to use the long-bow from the south Welsh, whose enormous bows and heavy arrows are celebrated by Giraldus Cambrensis in the last quarter of the twelfth century. . . . . At any rate the long-bow was well-known by the second half of the thirteenth century, though it was reserved for Edward I to exalt it as the great national weapon."[8]

Owen M. Edwards narrowly limits the region of Wales in which, he declares, the long-bow was supreme. "The home of the long-bow is the South-east corner of Wales, the well-wooded

[6] *History of England*, pp. 210-211.
[7] *Wales*. Home University Library, pp. 102-103.
[8] *Social England*, I. 411.

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rolling plain of Gwent and Morgannung." He adds, "The long-bow was gradually introduced into the English army: horsemen were taught to fight on foot or to wait their opportunity behind the archers and spearmen."[9]

Passing over minor differences and discrepancies, we find that a number of the more recent writers agree in the view that it is certain, or perhaps merely probable, that the knowledge and use of the long-bow spread to England from the south-eastern corner of Wales. Is this view historically established, as we would gather from Trevelyan? Is it merely probable, or plausible, or must we reject it altogether as based upon insecure foundations?

When we are first told that the long-bow originated in a definite and limited section of southeastern Wales, we can hardly help being impressed with the inherent singularity, not to say improbability, of such a claim. The bow ranks with the most ancient and widely distributed of weapons. It is or has been used by nearly all peoples. Bows have been fashioned for thousands of years; men have made them out of various materials and of various lengths, shapes, and sizes. The district in southeast Wales is a region some twenty to twenty-five miles long by some fifteen to twenty miles in width —a part, since 1535, of the English county of Monmouthshire. Its inhabitants were a mixed race, partly British and partly of the old pre-Celtic tribe of the Silures. When, therefore, it is asserted that it was reserved for this primitive and otherwise undistinguished people—few in number, as they must have been, and pent up in a tiny corner of Wales—when it is asserted that this people were somehow in possession of a bow superior in force and precision to any similar weapon known to the English, and presumably to any other people, we naturally ask for some satisfactory and convincing proof of such an improbable statement. To establish this theory of the origin of the long-bow it must be proved beyond a reasonable doubt:

1. That the long-bow was used in Wales before it became the English national weapon.

2. That the English learned the use of the long-bow from the Welsh.

These two propositions may be conveniently considered separately.

[9] *Wales.* Story of the Nations Series, p. 237 ff.

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I. *Did the Welsh use the long-bow before the English?* Evidently the chief authority for the statement that the long-bow originated in the southeastern corner of Wales is the historian, ecclesiastic, and courtier Gerald de Barri, or Giraldus Cambrensis, who died in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. In 1188 Gerald travelled through Wales with Archbishop Baldwin and recorded his observations in his *Itinerarium Cambriae*, a book which has proved a unique source of information as to the state of Wales at this period. Gerald alludes in several places to the Welsh archers, but it is on one passage in his *Itinerary* in particular that the view of the Welsh origin of the long-bow is admittedly based. In the course of his journey Gerald had left Abergavenny and gone into what was then the southeastern extremity of Wales—the district described by Trevelyan in the passage already quoted. Gerald concludes some reminiscences of the region with the following testimony to the warlike character of its people. "It seems worthy of remark that the people of what is called Venta (i.e., the district in question along the lower Severn) are more accustomed to war, and more expert in archery, than those of any other part of Wales." He then goes on to give several instances of the great penetrating force of the arrows they used, declaring that a soldier was wounded by an arrow "which passed through his thigh and the armour with which it was cased on both sides." After hearing of these exploits, he was naturally interested in the kind of bow used by these redoubtable archers. He evidently examined these bows with some care, for he describes them in detail. He adds, "Yet the bows used by this people are not made of horn, ivory, or yew, but of wild elm; unpolished, rude, and uncouth, but stout; not calculated to shoot an arrow to a great distance, but to inflict very severe wounds in close fight."[10] I quote from the standard translation, as it will serve our present purpose, although, as we shall see later, it is in one respect open to question.

There is absolutely nothing in this account to prove, or even to indicate, that the bows used by the Welsh archers at this time were long-bows. They may have been, but if anything, the presumption is rather the other way. Gerald begins by carefully noting the differences between these bows and others in use in England and elsewhere. The material is different; they are not made of yew, as the English bows presumably were, but elm from

[10] *Itin.*, chap. IV. p. 50. Dent's ed.

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the forests (*ex ulmellis silvestribus*), for the country about was thickly wooded. They are rough, even ugly weapons (*non politos, immo rudes prorsus et informes*), but they are stiff and strong (*rigidos tamen et fortes*). That is all. But the outstanding characteristic of the long-bow (as its name implies) was its unusual length, and the length of these bows is not mentioned. From this highly significant omission we must infer one of two things; either these bows were not long-bows, or else, as Gerald is noting the differences between the Welsh bows and the English, their length did not strike Gerald as extraordinary because the long-bow was in use among the English at that time. Whichever view we adopt, it is clear that we cannot rely upon Gerald to prove that the English borrowed the long-bow from the Welsh.

One other point remains to be noted, on which, however, we can speak less confidently. The concluding part of the passage in Gerald just quoted is somewhat obscure and has been variously understood. According to the translation of the standard (and so far as I know the only) English version of the *Itinerary*, Gerald expressly states that the Welsh bows were "not calculated to shoot an arrow to a great distance" (*non tantum ad eminus missilia mittenda, sed etiam ad graves cominus ictus percutiendo tolerandos*). If this is really Gerald's meaning, and if he was correct in his opinion, the bows used by the Welsh at this time were certainly not long-bows, for the ability to shoot an arrow to an unusual distance was a distinctive feature of these powerful weapons. Some scholars, however, are strongly of the opinion that Gerald merely means that the bows were not only capable of being used as offensive weapons with which to shoot arrows, but that they could also be made serviceable as defensive weapons in hand to hand fighting—perhaps to ward off the blows of sword, battle-axe, club, or some similar weapon. However this may be, Gerald does not attribute to these Welsh bows either of the two distinctive features of the long-bow: he does not comment on their unusual length, and he does not say that they were able to shoot for any exceptionally long distance, whatever the true meaning of the disputed passage may be.

We may, then, in summing up the evidence from Gerald and other sources, conclude with some assurance:

1. That the Welsh from an indefinitely early period and during the twelfth century and later, were excellent archers, and that they used the bow with effect in war as well, presumably, as in the hunt.

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That the inhabitants of the southeastern corner of Wales were especially notable for their use of the bow, and that their arrows had great penetrating power.

We may note further that the Earl of Pembroke, or "Strongbow," made use of Welsh archers in the invasion of Ireland under Henry II or about 1166. They also accompanied Henry II's Irish expedition of 1171.

2. These facts do not prove that the Welsh archers used the long-bow at this time, nor do they prove that it originated with the Welsh and was borrowed from them by the English. The contrary opinion, confidently put forth by numerous historians, is a pure assumption, which may or may not be true. It should be remembered that the Normans, like the Welsh, were skilful archers, and that they too employed the bow effectively in war, and yet the historians assure us that the bow employed by them at Hastings was the short bow.

3. Giraldus Cambrensis, our chief if not our only direct source of information on this matter, forces us to conclude that the bows used by the Welsh were probably not long-bows, but that if they were, bows of the same length were in almost contemporary use in England.

4. It therefore seems to be reasonably certain that whether the Welsh used the long-bow in Gerald's time or not, we are not justified in asserting that the English acquired it from the Welsh, either through Edward I or in any other way.

II. *Did the English learn the use of the long-bow from the Welsh?* The assumption that the English borrowed the long-bow from the Welsh seems to rest largely on the belief that the Welsh archers, or those in a certain district in Wales, were superior to their English contemporaries. There is no proof, so far as I am aware, that the long-bow was introduced from Wales; there is no agreement among historians as to how it was introduced, for while Trevelyan states positively that it was brought in by Edward I, others say that it gradually found its way from the Welsh into the English army. At the most we have not a fact but a more or less probable theory, and this theory when examined is seen to rest on none too secure foundations.

What are the facts so far as we can now ascertain? From such information as we possess (and we must remember that it is, after all, very scanty) we may be reasonably sure that the Welsh were excellent archers and that the English employed the Welsh bow-

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men in the invasion of Ireland. We must remember also that Gerald, our chief authority, while he praises the Welsh archers, says nothing in disparagement of the English. He is, apparently, only surprised that such excellent results could be attained with bows so rude and unprepossessing in appearance. It seems, then, pertinent to inquire into the state of archery among the English before the long-bow won its conspicuous success as the national weapon, before we accept the theory of the English archers' indebtedness to the Welsh.

The people of the southeast corner of Wales enjoyed no monopoly in the use of the bow. The Welsh used it in common with the English, the Normans, the Scandinavians, and innumerable other peoples. It is true that the English had less idea of the tactical value of the bow in battle than William showed at Hastings, but it would be a mistake to infer from this that the Anglo-Saxons did not rely on the bow in hunting or that they may not have been expert marksmen. This distinction is an important one, and it is borne out by the facts. A glance at the place of the archery in English military history from Hastings to Creçy will show us how probable it is that the extent to which the archers were made use of in battle depended far more upon the generalship of the leader than on the kind of bow used or the popularity of the weapon among the people. It would be absurd to suppose that archery suddenly declined among the Normans after the death of William the Conqueror, simply because, though William won the day by the skilful use of his archers at Hastings, William II failed to employ his father's tactics at the battle of the Standard. Indeed, while the Normans showed their mettle as archers in 1066 their descendants having been shown the way refused to walk in it until the tactical value of the archers was again recognized by Edward I, more than two centuries later. Edward I made signal use of his archers against the Welsh in 1282 and 1295, repeating the same tactics against the Scots at Falkirk in 1298, and yet, in spite of the brilliant example of his father, Edward II failed to use his archers to advantage at Bannockburn in 1314. The English defeat, in a word, proved nothing more than lack of generalship; it was due neither to the absence of the archers nor to their want of skill. On the other hand, in Edward III's reign we reach the age of the archer's conspicuous triumphs. The battles of Dupplin (1332) and Halidon Hill (1333) showed what could be accomplished by the archers when they were skilfully commanded

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by a general who understood their true function. Edward III, using the same tactics, won the great victories of the Hundred Years War, taught Europe the value of the archer, and established, as it is said, the triumph of the long-bow in warfare.

Even this brief summary of the facts impels us to the conclusion that the so-called triumph of the long-bow and the "gray-goose shaft," of which we have heard so much, has been too often misunderstood. We are apt to overlook the fact that it was not alone the kind of bow, or the skill of the archer which counted (important as these doubtless were); it was also in large measure the kind of general. The triumph of the long-bow was largely the adoption of a system of tactics which gave to the archers a well-considered and important part in the scheme of battle. William won at Hastings although his archers are generally believed to have used the short, four-foot bow; Edward II lost at Bannockburn, although his archers were presumably furnished with the formidable long-bow. But William used his archery in a masterly way, while the generalship of Edward II, at least so far as his archery was concerned, was notoriously bad.

In any inquiry into the practise of archery among the Anglo-Saxons—and by this I mean the distinctively English population before and after the Conquest—we shall get nearer the truth by observing the distinction between the use of the bow in hunting and the recognition of its possible place in military tactics. The fact that the Anglo-Saxons did not, as has been said, give the archers a leading part in the scheme of battle does not of itself prove that the bow was not popular among them, or that they lacked skill in its use.

There are frequent references to the bow in Old English literature; indeed the word "bow" itself comes to us from the Anglo-Saxons. It is superfluous to dwell on the fact that bows and arrows were in familiar use among the English from an indefinitely early time. One point, however, is worth noting. An Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the tenth century contains a picture of two archers (Cott. MS Claud. B. IV). The first represents Esau going out to hunt, the second Ishmael in the desert after his expulsion from the home of Abraham. These pictures do more than bear witness to the Anglo-Saxons' knowledge of the bow. The bows carried by the two archers are of a markedly different shape and (if we can rely on the drawing) of a different length in proportion to the size of the hunter. Judging from these contemporary records, the

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English bows were not all of one type or pattern. The picture certainly suggests the notion that the English had some short bow (say for one kind of game) and others longer and more powerful—perhaps for war or for shooting larger animals. These larger bows may not have been what are historically known as long-bows, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that out of these longer and stronger bows the long-bow of later times may have naturally developed. This is, of course, pure conjecture, but in the absence of direct evidence, it is at least as probable as the theory that the English borrowed the long-bow from the Welsh.

Trevelyan's positive statements in regard to Edward I's share in the "borrowing" of the long-bow from the Welsh seem even more questionable than the less specific declaration of its Welsh origin. The importance of the bow in war was recognized by the English government when Edward was a boy of thirteen and some twenty-five years before his first Welsh campaign. In the Assize of Arms of Henry III in 1252 all men with more than 40s and less than 100s in land, and burgesses with chattels worth more than nine and twenty marks were commanded to take the field with *bows and arrows*, whereas in the Assize of Arms in Henry II's reign in 1181 the poorer men were not specifically ordered to bring bows, but merely "swords, knives, and any sort of smaller arms." If this has the significance that is commonly attributed to it, it shows that the bow was regarded by the authorities in 1252 as a more important weapon in war than it had been considered some seventy years earlier. We may conjecture, if we like, that the bow had become more important during these seventy intervening years because the long-bow had come into use in England during that time. But this is pure conjecture, as there is nothing to show the kind of bow called for by the Assize of Arms of 1252, and the short bow had already been used by the Normans. The direction in the earlier Assize "any sort of smaller arms" may have been intended to include bows, and the change in the command may have been due simply to a renewed appreciation of the military value of the archer. If, however, they were long-bows, the positive assertion of Trevelyan that the long-bow was borrowed from Wales by Edward I is utterly discredited.

Apart from this, Trevelyan's position seems highly insecure. Even if we regard it as a theory—and it is stated as an historical fact—it is not only unproved but improbable. Welsh, English, and Normans alike used the bow. It is assumed that the Normans used

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the short bow only, because William's archers are depicted in the Bayeux tapestry with bows that appear to be of this description. The Welsh and the English both may have used long-bows, or the long-bow may have been developed by either race at a comparatively late period. But even if we assume that the Welsh had the long-bow before the English (and there is no good ground for this assumption) it is extremely unlikely that it was "borrowed" from the Welsh by Edward I. We must remember that the two opposing races had been fighting along the border for hundreds of years before Edward's time. The Anglo-Saxons and the Normans had met the Welsh archers in innumerable battles and they had had ample time and opportunity to learn of the Welsh bowmen in war and in frequent raids and disputes of border warfare. Moreover, the English had fought side by side with the Welsh, for Strongbow made use of Welsh bowmen in the invasion of Ireland in Henry II's time (c. 1166). Again, the district which is spoken of as the "home of the long-bow" was a border region where the two hostile nations had been opposed since shortly after the Norman Conquest. At that time it was given over by William the Conqueror to certain nobles as Lords of the Marches, who held the lands which they conquered with the right of administering justice, and it was not until 1535 that the Lords of the Marches were abolished by Henry VIII, and Monmouth was made an English county. Thus, even if the knowledge of the long-bow came from this particular and limited area, it may have done so at any time during a period of 200 years before Edward I. The superiority of the long-bow could be as effectively demonstrated by a single battle or two, or by a few border skirmishes, as by the experiences of a formal and protracted campaign.

From all the evidence, then, scant though it is, it seems warrantable to draw the following conclusions:

1. That there is no proof, not even in Gerald Cambrensis, that the long-bow originated in the southeastern part of Wales.

2. There is no proof that the long-bow was used in any part of Wales before it was used in England. Both of these views are based upon an unwarranted reading of Gerald. Though the Welsh were excellent archers, there is nothing in Gerald's account to prove that the bows they used were long-bows.

3. There is nothing in the evidence that points to the improbability of the English having developed the long-bow in-

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dependently themselves. On the contrary, it is no more of a conjecture to hold that they invented the long-bow and acquired skill in its use as a logical result of their use of the short bow than to hold that they borrowed it from the Welsh.

4. Even if the English did learn the use of the long-bow from the Welsh, it is as likely that they did so before the time of Edward I as that they did so in that monarch's reign. Trevelyan's view that it was brought in by Edward I, as well as his positive statement that "the English borrowed from the Welsh the use of the long-bow," must be set aside, it would seem, as based upon insufficient evidence.

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VIII

CLAUDE FAUCHET AND HIS LIBRARY

GRÖBER, in his history of Romance philology, recognizes Fauchet as the man who founded the study of mediæval French literature "soweit es die ihm zugänglichen Hss. gestatteten."[1] England had to wait another two hundred years till Sharon Turner did her a like service with his *History of England from the Earliest Period to the Norman Conquest* (1795–1805).[2] Fauchet was also a political historian of the mediæval period, but in this field he had an illustrious predecessor, in the person of Jean Dutillet (d. 1570), lawyer and secretary to Henry II of France. This able man was commissioned by his king to investigate the *trésor des chartres*; the result was a six-volume report, *La France ancienne, du gouvernement des trois estats en l'ordre de la justice de France avec les changements qui sont arrivés*. This is the first modern history of a mediæval period (the Capetian dynasty), and Dutillet followed it with treatises on the Albigensian Crusade and the Gallican Church, which were published after his death.[3] Fauchet, following in Dutillet's footsteps, but on his own initiative, took as his province the first two dynasties of France. Before taking up the subject of his library it may be well to summarize what is known of Fauchet's life and work.[4]

[1] *Grundriss d. rom. Phil.*, Strassburg 1888, I, 28.

[2] *Speculum*, II, 201.

[3] *Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne*, Paris 1854, XII, 143 ff. Fauchet speaks of Dutillet and his brother as "L'Evesque et le Greffier, les plus sçavans en nos Antiquitez qui furent onques en France" and he adds "maistre Vincent de la Loupe, Lieutenant Criminel au Baillage de Chartres, et quelques autres doctes et sçavants personnages ont escrit de l'Origine desdicts Etats." (*Au Lecteur*, in the *Origines des dignitez et magistrats de France etc.* 2nd ed. 1606).

[4] The studies in which Fauchet has been discussed to any extent are quickly enumerated. The most complete is that of Simonet: *Le Président Fauchet sa vie et ses oeuvres*, in the *Revue des Droits français et étrangers* (1863). It is frequently lacking in detail. We shall have occasion to cite this at every hand. Another article of importance is Ernest Langlois' "Quelques Dissertations Inédites de Claude Fauchet" (*Etudes Romanes dédiées à Gaston Paris*, Paris 1891, pp. 97-112). For the sake of completeness we must mention Matzke's *The Roman du Châtelain de Couci and Fauchet's Chronique*, published in the *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliot*, Johns Hopkins Press, and Servois' ed. of *Guillaume de Dôle* (or *Roman de la Rose*), Paris, 1893, p. I n.1, p. XXII n.1, (*Soc. des A. T.*). The *Histoire Littéraire de la France* has occasional references to Fauchet: XX, 605; XXIII, 81, 86, 140,

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Claude Fauchet was born on July 3, 1530. At the age of twenty-four he made a journey to Italy in the suite of the Cardinal de Tournon (1554). It was he who brought news to the king from the Siege of Sienna in 1555. A few years later he was present at that fatal tourney where King Henry II met his death (1559). He was at first a councilor at the Châtelet. His appointment to a presidency in the *Cour des Monnayes* dates from the 29th of March 1569, and in July 1581 he became senior officer of that Court. When Henry III was driven from Paris in 1589 his loyal servitors fled to Tours and among them was Fauchet. He did not return to Paris till April 18, 1594. During this exile Fauchet suffered an irreparable loss through the seizure and dispersion of his books by the soldiers of the Duke de Mayenne. The volumes that he had struggled years to obtain were scattered to the four winds. His house at Orgerus, near Montfort-l'Amaury was pillaged. He was forced to sell his presidency in 1599, that he might pay his debts. Henry IV was slow in hearing his plea but finally made him royal historiographer. Fauchet died in 1601.[5]

The following is a chronological list of his writings:

1555–1556, MS Bibl. Nat. fr. 2472, *Veilles et Observations de plusieurs choses dignes de mémoire* (in Fauchet's hand).[6]

1579, *Les Antiquités, gauloises et françaises, contenant les choses advenues en Gaule depuis l'an du monde 3379, jusqu'a Clovis*, Paris, J. DePuys, in -4.

1581, *Recueil des Antiquitez gauloises et françoises*, Paris, J. DuPuys, in -4, 139 pp.[7]

Recueil de l'Origine de la Langue et Poesie Françoise, Ryme et Romans, Paris, Mamert Patisson, in -4.

After 1581, MS Vatican Reg. 734, *Du mot Marmouset—Des motz Feminie, des Caoursins—Pour le mot Bonnes et meschantes gens—Costume et Usage—Des cloches et clochers, Horloges et Cadrantz—Du mot Hapelourde.*[8]

141, 154, 158, 174, 185, 262; XXVI, 39, 40; XXVIII, 386. These refer, for the most part, to his discussions on the fabliaux. We are informed that a student of M. Jean Plattard, M. Espiner, now *lecteur d'anglais* at the University of Paris, is engaged in a thesis on Claude Fauchet, of which the first volume will be a biography, the second an edition of some of the works. Certain documents in the Archives Nationales (Z^{1b} 552-554, 556) contain information on Fauchet.

[5] This is a summary of the biographical sketch in Simonet, *op. cit.*, with some additions.

[6] Langlois, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

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1582, *Les Œuvres de Cornelius Tacitus, Chevalier Romain*, Paris, Abel L'Angelier, in -fol.[7]

1590, *De la ville de Paris et pourquoi les Rois l'ont choisi pour leur capital*, in -4 (reprinted 1607).

1599, *Les Antiquités gauloises et françoises, augmentées de trois livres contenans les choses advenues en Gaule et en France jusques en l'an 751 de Jésus-Christ, recuellies par M. le président Fauchet*, Paris, J. Périer.

1600, *Origine des Dignitez et Magistrats de France*, Paris, in -8. J. Périer, 2 parties en 1 vol.

Origine des chevaliers, armoiries et hérauts, Paris, in -8.

1601, *Fleurs de la maison de Charlemagne qui est la continuation des Antiquitez françoises*, Paris, J. Périer. For the years 751–840.

1602, (posthumously) *Déclin de la maison de Charlemagne.....* Paris, J. Périer. For the years 840–987.[7]

In 1610, two Paris publishing houses, David Le Clerc and Jean de Hugueville, issued Fauchet's complete works in a single quarto volume of 1400 pages with the title: *Ses Œuvres, revûes et corrigées en cette dernière édition, supplées et augmentées sur la copie, mémoires et papiers de l'auteur, de plusieurs passages et additions en divers endroits.* The additions consisted of a *Traité des libertés de l'église gallicane*, the treatise entitled *De la ville de Paris*, and another *Pour le couronnement du roy Henri IIII.* The works on political history and customs were republished in 1611 by P. Marceau of Geneva, for the Société Caldorienne. They formed a complete though ill-knit history of the Merovingian and Carolingian dynasties.

The present paper undertakes to present a list of manuscripts and printed books which were owned by Fauchet or were borrowed by him in the course of his researches in the history and literature of mediæval France. If we can credit his own statement,[8] Fauchet had succeeded, in spite of his poverty, in collecting some two thousand books and MSS. He gives an interesting account of a find which he made in or about the year 1578. Entering a print-shop, he noticed that the printers were using fragments of old parchment as pads for their "sticks." These proved to be portions of a MS of Chretien's *Perceval* and *Ivain*. Fauchet quotes some of the lines from these fragments and hopes "that those who have

[7] *Catalogue Général des Livres Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1897—; Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, 5th ed., Paris 1868-1880.

[8] Fauchet's *Antiquitez etc.*, L'Autheur au Lecteur.

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entire books of MSS may desire to keep them and not sell them to their loss."[9]

Some few of Fauchet's MSS, or those which had been lent to him, have been traced. A number of them appear to have passed from the pillagers to one Paul Petau: later (in 1659) into the hands of Queen Christine of Sweden, from whom in turn certain ones passed (after 1690) to the Library of the Vatican.[10] Following is a list of extant MSS which have been identified as formerly in Fauchet's library:

MS fr. 53 of the Royal Library of Stockholm, containing F. Villon's *Lais* and *Testament*, with twelve of his ballads and other lyrics.[11]

MS Is. Vossii codex Latinus oct. no. 60 of the University of Leyden, discovered in 1901 by Leite de Vasconcellos, presenting the unique copy of the Provençal *Chanson de Sainte-Foi d'Agen*.[12]

Vatican MS Reg. 1522, containing the *Roman de la Rose*, sixty-one jeux partis, and the *Tournoiement des Dames*.[13]

Vatican MS Reg. 1490, a collection of eighty *jeux partis*.

MS of the Cathedral Notre-Dame, côte 14, no. 7, containing *L'Ordene de Chevalerie* and *Les Enseignements du Roy Saint-Louis à ses enfants*.[14]

Vat. MS Reg. 1725, Chrétien de Troyes' *Lancelot* and *Yvain*, *Guillaume de Dôle*, *Méraugis de Portlesguez*.

MS B.N., fr. 24428, *L'Image du Monde*, *Volucraire of Omont*.[15]

MS B.N., fr. 5003, a 15th century chronicle from which Fauchet drew the account of Richard and his minstrel Blondel.[16]

MS B.N., fr. 1454, containing Wace's *Brut*.[17]

MS B.N., fr. 1593, containing *Les Vers de la Mort* of Hélinand.[18]

MS B.N. 7190, containing *Judas Machabée*.[14]

MS B.N. 1637, containing *Ciperis de Vigneveaux*.

[9] *Recueil de l'Origine* etc., 1st ed. (1581), p. 98ff.

[10] P. Jacob, *Traité des bibliothèques*, p. 552; L. Dorez in *Rev. des Bibliothèques* 1892, p. 129.

[11] Longnon-Foulet, *Oeuvres de François Villon* (Class. frc. du m.â., no. 2, 3rd ed.), Paris, 1923, p. vii.

[12] Thomas, *La Chanson de Sainte-Foi d'Agen* (Class. frç. du m.â., no. 45), Paris, 1925, p. xi.

[13] Simonet, p. 459.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 458, 459.

[15] E. Langlois, *La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde au m.â.*, Paris 1927, p. 148.

[16] Léopold Delisle, *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions* (1879) p. 99.

[17] Långfors, *Les Incipit de Poèmes français*, Paris 1917, p. 340.

[18] *Romania*, I, 365.

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Also in the Royal Library of Stockholm[19]:

MS V.u. 14, *Guillaume d'Orange.*

MS V.u. 22, *Tournoiement de l'Antichrist* of Huon de Méry, and some miscellaneous lyrics.

MS V.u. 16, *Athis et Prophilias.*

MS D. 1311, a Chronique anglo-normande.

MS D. 1281, *Chronique des ducs d'Orlêans.*

MS M. 305, *Travels of Marco Polo.*

From Etienne Pasquier he borrowed a MS (B.N. fr. 25405), containing the *Bible Guiot*, the *Fables* of Marie de France, the verses of Thibaut de Marli, and a translation of the *Rule of Saint Benedict.* Fauchet's MS of the *Guillaume de Dôle* was copied in part by Daremberg and Renan in Italy.[20] The present writers are inclined to believe that Fauchet may have had in his possession MS B.N., fr. 837. This MS contains a series of fabliaux mentioned by Fauchet, in combination with the *Caton* of Jehan de Paris. We have had no opportunity of examining the MS.

This brings us to a list of the works cited by Fauchet. Not all of them belonged to him personally; indeed he frequently names the library from which he had borrowed. There are nothing like two thousand volumes here. Possibly he exaggerated, for even Montaigne, who was infinitely more comfortable financially, did not claim to have more than a thousand.[21] The list at all events is interesting in the testimony which it affords that our first mediævalist did not begin his work under too inauspicious circumstances. In cases where the identification is not obvious from Fauchet's citation we give his own words.[22]

[19] See George Stephens, *Förteckning över de förnämsta brittiska och fransyska handskrifterna i.K. Bibliotheket i Stockholm*, 1847. I wish to thank Dr. O. Wieselgren of the Royal Library at Stockholm for his cooperation.

[20] *Archives des missions scientifiques* (1850), p. 249.

[21] Villey, *Les Sources et l'évolution des Essais de Montaigne*, Paris, p. 271.

[22] The MSS and books cited by Fauchet were noted down by Mr. Radoff. For the *Antiquitez* I also had at hand some slips prepared by Professor A. H. Schutz of the State University of Ohio. It was their intention at first to list every poem and prose work cited by Fauchet. This task became increasingly voluminous as time wore on. It did not even promise an accurate account of Fauchet's library for many of the writers he cites but once were only names to him. He had seen them referred to elsewhere. Accordingly a number of the minor citations from the *Antiquitez* and the *Origines* have been omitted. More accuracy has been attempted for the *Recueil de l'Origine* etc. which is of more literary importance. Several of his authorities are cited by Fauchet no less than ninety or a hundred times; e.g. Gregory of Tours. The majority occur six or seven times. In view of this it has seemed

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A. LITERATURE

I. Chansons de Geste

Renaut de Montauban, Doon de Nantueil, Garnier de Nantueil, Aie d'Avignon, Gui de Nantueil, all combined in a single MS.[23]

Aiquin (Fauchet: *Le Roman de la conqueste de Bretaigne.*)

Auberi le Bourgignon.

Berthe aus grans pies, by Adenés li Rois.

Ciperis de Vignevaux, a 14th century poem.

Chanson d'Antioche, Conqueste de Jerusalem, Les Chétifs, Chevalier au Cygne, Enfances de Godefroi. These form one complete poem in some MSS which is doubtless what Fauchet means by the *Roman de la Conqueste d'outre-mer.*[24]

Gautier d'Avignon (?).[25]

Girart de Frete.[26]

Judas Machabee, by Gautier de Belleperche and Pierrot du Ries.

Pseudo-Turpin, translated into French by Pierre, c. 1205. (Fauchet: *La Vie de Charles le Grand mise en Francais avant l'an mil deux cens, à la requeste d'Yolande Comtesse de Sainct-Paul.*[27])

Pseudo-Turpin, in the Latin original.

Raoul de Cambrai.

Guillaume d'Orange.

II. Romances

Roman de Troyes.

Roman d'Alexandre, twelve syllable version of Alexandre de Bernai and Lambert li Tors (*Fauchet:* le Cors).

Roman d'Alexandre by Simon: a completion of Alberich's version, at the close of the 12th century.

Alexandreis, by Gautier de Chastillon.

Roman du Paon, which he borrowed from the *Bibliothèque du Roi.*[28]

Chrétien de Troye's Roman de la Charette, Yvain, Perceval.

Méraugis de Portlesguez by Raoul de Houdenc.

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cumbersome to give page references, save in those cases where the identification is doubtful. Fauchet's spelling of proper names has been corrected. The *Recueil etc.* is always cited from the edition of 1581; the *Origines des Dignitez* and the *Origine des Chevaliers*, are cited from the combined second edition of 1606. The other works are referred to in Langlois' article or in the version of 1610.—U.T.H.

[23] *Recueil*, pp. 109, 110.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 36; MSS: B. N. fr. 12558, 1621: Arsénal, 165 Belles-Lettres.

[25] *Dignitez*, p. 48.

[26] For this epic see F. Lot's article on *Girard de Roussillon* in *Romania* LII, 274 ff.

[27] *Dignitez*, p. 24. The identification is clear from the *Grundriss*, II[1] 719.

[28] *Recueil*, p. 88.

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Guillaume de Dôle.[29]
Cléomades, by Adenés li Rois.
Meliadus, by Girardins d'Amiens.
Roman des oiseaux (?).
Roman de Gares de la Vigne (?).[30]
L'Histoire du tres vaillant, noble et excellent chevalier, Tristan, fils du roi Meliadus de Loennois (redigée par Luce, chevalier, seigneur du chasteau de Gast), Rouen, Jehan le Bourgeois, 1489; (Fauchet: *Le Roman de Tristan de Loennois*).[31]
Lancelot du Lac . . . . Paris, Anthoine Verard, 1494 (two editions in this year), 1513, 1529, 1533; there is another edition by Philebert le Noir, without date (probably between 1520 and 1533). It is of course impossible to learn the date of the copy owned by Fauchet.[31]
Le Livre de Merlin, qui est le premier de la table-ronde, avec les prophéties, probably the edition Philippe le Noir, Paris 1528.
C'est l'histoire du Sainct Gréaal, Paris, Philippe le Noir, 1523.[30]

III. Fabliaux

De l'Anel qui faisoit les vis grans et roidis (no. 3),[32] by Haiseau.
Trois aveugles de Compiegne (no. 7).
Boivins de Provins (no. 11).
Les trois Bossus menestrels, by Durand (no. 12).
Boucher d'Abbeville, by Eustache d'Amiens (no. 13).
La Bourse pleine de sens, by Jehan li Galois d'Aubepierre (no. 15).
Les Deux chevaux, by Jean Bedel (no. 35).
Le Chevalier à la robe vermeille (no. 29).
Les Trois dames de Paris (no. 43).
La Dame qui fist trois tors entor le mostier, by Rutebeuf (no. 46).
La Male Honte, by Huon le Roi de Cambrai (no. 81).
Sire Hain et dame Anieuse, by Huon Piaucele (no. 127).
Le Vair Palefroi, by Huon le Roi de Cambrai (no. 133).
Li diz dou secretain, by Jean le Chapelain (no. 121).
Le chevalier qui faisoit parler les cons et les culs, by Garin (no. 30).
Niceroles, by Le Clerc de Voudoi.
Jouglet, by Colin Malet (no. 76).
La Pucelle qui voloit voler en l'air, ascribed wrongly to Rutebeuf by Fauchet[33] (no. 114).

[29] *Dignitez*, p. 28. Fauchet was the first to use this name and not *Roman de la Rose*, to avoid confusion with the romance of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung; cf. Voretsch, *Einführung in d. Studium d. altfr. Literatur*, 2nd ed., p. 388.

[30] *Dignitez*, p. 38.

[31] That these romances were printed and not in MS is expressly stated by Fauchet, *Recueil*, p. 99.

[32] Numbers in parentheses refer to Bédier's list of fabliaux in his *Les Fabliaux*, 4th ed., Paris 1925, pp. 436-440.

[33] *Recueil*, p. 162.

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IV. Lyric Poetry

Alain Chartier.
Jean Froissart.
Guillaume Machaut.
François Villon.
Walter Mapes, Latin verse.
Theodelet, Ecloga.
Jehan Bodel, Congé.[34]
Venantius Fortunatus.

In a MS borrowed from the Library of Henri de Mesmes, chevalier, sire de Roissy, Fauchet tells us that he read the chansons of 64 poets. He possessed poems of many of these in the various MSS that belonged to him personally, but he chose to cite their names from this one which had been borrowed. They are: Thibaut, roi de Navarre—Gace Brulez—le Chastelain de Coucy—Blondel de Nesle—Perrin d'Angecourt—Thierri de Soissons Thibaut de Blaison—Gautier d'Argies—Moniot d'Arras—Guillebert de Berneville—Richart de Semilli—leVidame de Chartres—Robert de Blois—Raoul de Ferrieres—Robert de Reims—Jehan Moniot—Oede de la Corroirie—Jehan Erart—Raoul de Beauvais—Gautier d'Espinaus—Jehan de Chison (or Jacques de Cysoing? Fauchet has *Jaques de Chison*)—Gautier de Soignies—Simon d'Autie—Richart de Fournival—Jehan de Maisons—li Quens de Bretagne—Robert du Chastel—Lambert Ferri—Jehan le Cuvelier—Eustache le peintre—Mahieu de Gand—Robert Mauvoison—Thomas Erier—Carasaus d'Arras—Auboin de Sezanne—Jehan Frumiaux de l'Isle—Guillaume Veau—li Quens d'Anjou—Roger d'Andeli—li Quens de la Marche—Renaut de Sableuil—Oudart de Lacegni—Baude au Grenon—le Tresorier de l'Isle—Gilles des Vieux-maisons—Brunel de Tours—Colin Muset—Jacques de Hesdin—le Duc de Brabant[34a]—Colart li bouteillers—Jehan le taboureur—Gilles le Vinier—Pierre de Craon—le Chanoine de Saint-Quentin—Baudouin des Autels—Chardon de Croiselles—Sauvage d'Arras—Robert de Memberolles—Phelipot Paon—Hugues de Berzé—Rogeret de Cambrai. These do not make quite 64. Fauchet had several repeats.[35]

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[34a] Fauchet was the first to identify this poet with Henry III of Brabant (1247–1261); cf. *Mélanges Alfred Jeanroy*, Paris, 1928, p. 525, n. 2, (Max Prinet).

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 116 ff.

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From M. Matherel, advocat en Parlement, he borrowed another *chansonnier*, a collection of jeux partis. These are the poets there represented: Thomas Erier? (Fauchet: *Frere*)—Guillaume le Vinier—Adam de Givenchy—Andrieu Contredit—Jacques Bretel (Fauchet has *Jehan Bretel*)—Mapolis—Gaimar de Villiers—Jehan de Grevilliers—Robin de Compiegne—Pierrot de Neele—Sainte des Pres—Girardin de Boulogne—Hue li Marroniers.[36]

Of Rutebeuf Fauchet mentions: the Dit de maistre Guillaume de Saint-Amour, Complainte de Sainte Eglise pour Guillaume de Saint-Amour, Complainte d'Outremer, Complainte de Constantinoble, Complainte de Jofroi de Sergines, Nouvelle complainte d'outremer, Desputizon dou croisié et dou descroisié, Complainte de messire Anseau de l'Isle-Adam, Dit d'ypocrisie, Chanson des ordres. (For fabliaux and the Vie de Elisabel see elsewhere.) It is extremely probable that Fauchet knew more of Rutebeuf's poems, but these alone are specifically mentioned.

V. Allegory

Songe d'Enfer, Raoûl de Houdenc.
Tournoiement Antecrist, by Huon de Méry.[37]
Roman de la Rose, of Guillaume Lorris and Jehan Clopinel de Meun.

VI. Moral and Satire

Renart le novel, of Jacquemart Gielée de l'Isle.
Evangile des femmes.
Roman de Fauvel.
Bible de Guiot de Provins.
Les Vers de la mort, by Hélinand.
"Por chatoier les orguilloz."
A satire by Renault d'Audon.
L'Estoire, li Romans de monseignor Thibault de Mailli (Marli).[38]
A Latin satire by Wichard de Lyon.

VII. Miscellaneous

Art d'Amours, by Guiart.
Brut, Wace.
Caton, Jehan de Paris.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 183

[37] This was a great favorite with Fauchet; he cites it again and again. It is interesting to note that it was one of the five secular books in the possession of Louis le Hutin in 1285; cf. Franklin, *Ecoles et Collèges*, Paris 1892, p. 147.

[38] *Recueil*, p. 179.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 93. Långfors in *Les Incipit*, 1, refers to this as a poème de *Thibaud de Marly*, with no other title.

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Chanson de Sainte-Foi d'Agen.[39]
Coustumiers de Paris, Orleans etc.
Cris de la ville de Paris, Guillaume de la Villeneuve.
Le Plaisant jeu du dodechedron de fortune . . . . , Jehan de Meun (?), (Paris, le Magnier, 1560; Bonfons, 1577).[40]
Dolopathos, by Herbert.
De contemptu mundi, Bernart de Cluny.
Descrissions des religions, Huon le Roi de Cambrai.
Evangelsbuch, by Otfrid.
Fables, Marie de France.[41]
Honte et Puterie, Richart de l'Isle.
Image du Monde, Gautier de Metz.
Jeu de la Feuillée, Adam le Bossu.
Jugement d'Amours (13th century).
Liber de schemate et tropo etc., by the Venerable Bede.
Livre de la Consolation fait en Latin par Boece et mis en françois par Jehan de Meun.
Maria Egyptiaca, by Hildebert de Tours.
Pantheon, by Golfrichis de Viterbo.
Sompnium Prioris de Sallono, by Honoré Bonet.
Speculum naturale, historiale, doctrinale, of Vincent of Beauvais.
Suidas.
Vie de Elisabel (of Thuringia), by Rutebeuf.
Vie de Sainte-Christine, by Gautier de Coincy.
Yves de Chartres, Correspondence.

VIII. Early Italian

Boccaccio: Decamerone (complete), perhaps the translation from the Latin version into French, made by Laurens and first published in 1485. A rendering into French from the original Italian was made by Antoine le Maçon and published by Rosset, Paris, 1548; also by Rouille in Lyon, 1558, 1560, 1580, and by de Harsy, Paris (1569). Fauchet knew Italian; but these French editions were so current at this time that he might well have possessed one[42]; Il Corbaccio
Dante: De vulgari eloquentia.
Petrarch, Canzoniere, of which there were many printed editions in France and Italy.
Poliziano.

[39] Fauchet avers that this MS was lent him by le sieur Pithou; *Recueil*, p. 67.

[40] *Recueil*, p. 203.

[41] Fauchet is the very first to designate this lady as Marie de France, in *Recueil*, p. 163. She states in the *Epilogus* to her *Fables* (v.4): *Marie ai num si sui de France*; that is, she was born in the Isle de France. This title, granted by Fauchet, has confused some into the belief that the poetess must have been of royal birth.

[42] All printed editions are cited after Brunet, *op. cit.*

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Pontano, Urania, and perhaps Amorum lib. II. Many editions.
Sannazaro, Opera Omnia, Venice, Aldus Manutius 1535 (?).
Giovanni Villani, Storia etc., Florence, Giunti, 1587.

IX. CONTEMPORARIES IN FRANCE, ITALY, AND GERMANY

(There must have been a great number of these in Fauchet's Library, but below are those he frequently quoted in relation to his mediaeval studies.)

Pierre Fabri, Le grant et vray art de pleine rhetorique etc., Rouen, Sim, Gruel, 1521.
Geoffroi Tory: Champfleury, 1529.
Jean de Nostredame: Vies des plus célèbres et anciens poètes provençaux, Lyon 1575.
Francisco Cardinal Alciati, Consegli sopra matteria di duelli (not printed).
Giambattista Giraldi Cinzio, Discorsi intorno al comporre dei romanzi etc., Venice, Gabriel Giolito, 1554.
Luigi Castelvetro.
Beatus Rhenanus (Reinauer), edition of Tacitus, published in 1519; Missa Divi Johannis Chrysostomi.

B. *HISTORY*

(Numbers in parenthesis in this section refer to Molinier's *Sources de l'Histoire de France*, 5 vols., Paris 1901–1904)

Aimoin de Fleury-sur-Loire, Historia Francorum (201).
Chronicle of Fredegarius (197).
Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum. (196).
Lex Ripuaria.
Chronicon of Idatius Lemicus (621).
Capitularis of Pepin the Short.
Eginhard, Vita Karoli (648).
Annales regii (Fauchet: *Annales Latines de Pépin et Charlemagne*) (745).
La Vie de Louys le Debonnaire, escrit à la relation du très noble moine Adémar (749). This is no longer extant.
Nithard (Fauchet: *Gnithard*), Historiarum libri IV. (750).[43]
Walfridus Strabo, De ecclesiasticarum rerum exordiis et incrementis (790).
Hincmar of Reims (859).
Adon de Vienne, Breviarium chronicorum de sex aestatibus mundi ab Adamo ad ann. 869 (806).
Loup de Ferrières, Lettres (857), edition of Papire Masson, Paris 1588.
Héric d'Auxerre, New version of the life of Saint-Germain by Constantinus (833). (Fauchet mistook this name for Heinric.[44])

[43] Borrowed from the Library of Sainte-Magloire at Paris, *Antiquitez*, ch. 6.
[44] *Antiquitez*, ch. 19; *Recueil*, p. 64.

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Abbo of Saint-Germain des Prés, De bellis Parisiacae urbis (864).
Réginon de Prüm, Chronicon (889).
Flodoard, Annales (932).
Luitprand of Cremona, Antapodosis; perhaps also De rebus gestis Ottonis imperatoris.
Raoul Glaber, Historiarium Libri Quinque (957).
Ademarus Cabannensis of Saint-Cybard d'Angoulême, Chronicle (958). (Fauchet refers to this as the *Annales de Cibar d'Angoulesme.*)
Fulbert of Chartres, Letters collected by Sigon (987).
Helgaud de Fleury, Epitoma vitae Roberti regis, ex alterius monachi scriptis (961). There is only one MS of this; in the Vatican. Is it Fauchet's?
Notae S. Germani Parisiensis (1031). (Irmenon's inventory of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.)[45]
S. Albini Andegavensis translatio (1284). Fauchet has: *un livre de l'Abbaye de S. Aubin d'Angers et qui semble estre en proces verbal.*
Cartulaire de Saint-Maurice d'Angers (1279?).
Chronicon S. Martini Turonensis (1315). Fauchet has: *une chronique composée par un chanoine de Saint-Martin de Tours.*[46]
Annales S. Albini Andegavensis (1282).
Annales Lemovicenses (1458).
Odorannus, Spicilegium Romanum (1374).
Jean de Marmoutier, Gesta consulum Andegavensium (1303).
Chronicon S. Benigni Divionensis (1359).
Chronicum Aquitanicum (1434).
Cartulary of Louis VII.
Teulfe, Chronicon Mauriniacense (1857).
La Chronique de Normandie (1978).
Eudes de Cluny, Collationes (2010).
Otto de Freisingen, Gesta Friderici imperatoris (2201).
Robert de Saint-Remi, Hiersolymitana expeditio (2118).
Guillaume de Tyr, Historia Hiersolymitana (2187), Fauchet: *Guillaume de Sur.* Fauchet probably owned the edition of Poussenet, Bâle 1549.
Marianus Scotus, Chronicon (2189).
Sigebert de Gembloux, Chronicon (2193); edition Guillaume Petit, Paris 1513, or that of Schardius, Frankfort 1566.
Rigord de Saint-Denis, Gesta Philippi Augusti (2211).
Guillaume le Breton, Philippis (2212).
Guntherus Parisiensis, Ligurinus (2368).
Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, De factis et triumphis memorabilibus nobilis viri domini S., comitis de Monteforti (2432). Perhaps Fauchet knew the French translation of Arnaud Sorbin which was published at Paris in 1585.

[45] *Antiquitez*, ch. 8.
[46] *Ibid.*, ch. 10.

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Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims (2528).
Guillaume de Nangis, Chronique Abrégéé (2536).
Joinville, La Vie de Saint-Louis (2537).
Cartulary of Philippe le Bel.
Matthieu Paris, Historia minor (2730).
Froissart, Chronique (3094).
Enguerrand de Monstrelet, Chroniques (3946).
Jacob Winfeling, Life of Dietheric of Isenburg (Fauchet: *Iaques Voinseling Autheur de la vie de Dretheric Archevesque de Mayence*).
Bartholomew Platina, Opus de vitis ac gestis summorum pontificum (4099).
Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris (4149).
Philippe de Commines, Mémoires (4663). Fauchet probably owned the edition of Denis Sauvage, Paris 1552, 1559, although there were ten others that were earlier.
Nicole Gilles, Annales et Croniques de France (4669); many editions from 1492 to 1621.
Johannes Trithemnius (Fauchet: *Tritheme*), Annales Hirsaugienses (4786), (Fauchet: *Chronique de Hirsange*).[47]
Journal d'un curé de S. Michel d'Angers (?) (15th century).
Fr. Pithou, Traité de la grandeur, Droits, prééminences et prérogatives des rois et du royaume de France, Paris 1596.
Robert Gaguin, Compendium de origine et gestis Francorum (4668).
Bertrand d'Argentré, Histoire de Bretagne, Paris 1588 (5425).
La Grande Chronique de Saint-Denis.
Paolo Emilio di Verona, De rebus gestis Francorum libri decem, published in 1548.
Don Luis de Avila y Zúñiga, Commentaire du seigneur . . . . contenant la guerre d'Allemagne faicte par l'empereur Charles V. es années 1546 et 1547; translation from the Spanish by Gil Boilleau de Bouillon; published at Paris in 1551.
Flavio Biondo (1388–1463), De origine et de gestis Venetorum.
Jean Dutillet, Chronique des rois de France puis Pharamond jusques au roy Henri II, Paris 1549.
Saint Onufrio Pauvinio, a continuation of Platina's Opus de vitis ac gestis summorum pontificium.
Giovanni Battista Pigna (Fauchet: *Pigra*), Historia dei principi di Este, etc., Ferrara 1570.

Fauchet used the works of the following ancient writers, of which nearly all must have been in printed editions: Agathias of Myrrhina, Ammianus Marcellinus, Appian of Alexandria, Arator,[48] Aristotle, Aulus Gellius, Aurelius Victor, Berosus, Julius Caesar, Cassiodorus, Cicero,

[47] *Ibid.*, ch. 12.
[48] (fl. c. 540). He wrote the *De Actibus Apostolorum.*

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Claudian, Claudius Ptolomaeus, Diomedes the Grammarian, Diodorus Siculus, Eusebius, Sulpicius Galba, Herodotus, Eutropius the Historian, Horace, Josephus, Justinius, Juvencus, Lucan, Lucian, Orosius, Pausanias, Pliny the Elder, Pliny the Younger, Plutarch, Polybius, Procopius, Prudentius, Quintilian, Tyrannius Rufinus, Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Prosper, Sallust, Sedulius, Sidonius Apollinaris, Silius Italicus, Stephanus of Alexandria (fl. 600 A. D.), Suetonius, Alexander Severus, Tacitus, Terentianus Maurus, Tibullus, Titus Livius, Varro, Marius Victorinus, Virgil, Vitruvius Pollio, Xenophon, Zosimus.

"De tous les anciens poëtes françoys, quasi un seul, Guillaume du Lauris et Jan de Meun, sont dignes d'estre leuz. . . . . "[49] This opinion, here quoted from Du Bellay, was supreme in the second half of the 16th century. A hundred years later Villon was substituted for the *Roman de la Rose*.[50] The great exception, Claude Fauchet, was in spite of his environment no mean master of his trade. Those of us who call ourselves mediævalists today must glance with respect at his bibliography. It is worthy of note that we do not find there the Divine Comedy. Aside from the Italian original, which Fauchet could certainly read, there were several early French versions[51]; also the Balthazard Grangier translation published in 1596–97.[52] Aside from this item it would appear that Fauchet exercised little discrimination in his use of mediæval materials. He doubtless utilized all that was available to him. The chronicles, the didactic works, and the lyric had a vogue clear through the 14th and 15th centuries. What wonder that there were more of them in the possession of Fauchet than there were of romances and chansons de geste, *genres* which disappeared from popularity with the middle of the 14th century and earlier.

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[49] *Deffense et Illustration de la Langue Françoyse*, ed. Chamard, Paris 1904, p. 174.

[50] Boileau, *L'Art Poëtique*, Premier chant, vv. 117-118.

[51] C. Morel, *Les Plus Anciennes Traductions Françaises de la Divine Comédie*, 2 parts, Paris, Welter, 1897.

[52] 3 vols., Paris 1596-97, in-12.

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IX

ON *LA SELVA CONFUSA* ATTRIBUTED TO CALDERON

LA SELVA confusa was made readily accessible to students of the Spanish drama twenty years ago by Professor Northup,who edited it from the Madrid MS.[1] As the editor was well aware, the play had long been listed as having been printed in Barcelona in 1633 in a *Parte XXVII* of Lope de Vega (commonly referred to as one of the "extravagantes"), though no copy either complete or fragmentary of such a volume could be located at the time he prepared his edition.[2] Doubting whether the reported inclusion of the play in the aforesaid *parte* of 1633 could be regarded as having any authority,[3] Northup attributed *La selva confusa* to Calderon on the ground that "it is so characteristically Calderonian from beginning to end that no other author could have written it"[4]—an opinion in which he was supported by Schack and Rennert.[5] His most important argument, however, lay in his conviction, shared by other experts, that the Madrid MS, to which Calderon's name is signed, was written by the dramatist's own hand.

Since Northup's edition of this play was published, a perfect copy of the *Parte XXVII "extravagante"* of Lope de Vega has been

[1] George Tyler Northup, "*La selva confusa* de Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca," *Revue Hispanique*, XXI (1909), pp. 168-338. (Not having a copy of the reprint at hand, I am obliged always to refer to the page numbers of the *Revue*.)

[2] By fragmentary copy reference is here made, of course, to the so-called Osuna volume 133, which, together with its companions 131 and 132, was briefly described by Schack in his *Nachträge* (1854), pp. 41-43, and was used by Menéndez y Pelayo in the preparation of vols. IX and X (1899) of the Academy's edition of Lope de Vega, but has since disappeared along with the others. On these Osuna volumes and their relation to the "partes extravagantes" of Lope, see H. A. Rennert, "Notes on some Comedias of Lope de Vega," *M L R*, I, pp. 96-110: cf. pp. 98-103.

[3] He stated, however (p. 170), that he might have occasion to change his mind on this question if he were ever "allowed to consult" the missing Osuna volumes; but I have not learned that he has yet turned his attention to this matter again.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

[5] The latter somewhat hesitant: cf. Northup, p. 173, continued footnote. But in his "Bibliography of the Dramatic Works of Lope de Vega," *Revue Hispanique*, XXXIII (1915), p. 241, Rennert appears definitely convinced that the play is Calderon's. He retains the title in his catalogue of Lope's comedias only because, apparently, he could not overlook Schack's statement that the play existed as of Lope in an "alter sehr seltener Druck."

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discovered in the city in which it was issued.[6] In view of this discovery it seems advisable to reconsider the question of authorship of *La selva confusa* and to examine the play with a view to determining what importance it may have with respect to either of the two illustrious names with which it is associated.

With our present knowledge it seems unsafe to attempt to establish Calderon's authorship of a given play on the basis of style alone, inasmuch as there does not yet exist a thoroughly scientific and abundantly documented study of Calderon's style, manner and technique (if, indeed, he had a technique of his own). After several readings of *La selva confusa* I have come to the conclusion that it would be a relatively simple matter to demonstrate, by arguments quite similar to those used by Northup, that with the exception of certain passages which I shall detach further on, the entire work is in the manner of Lope. But a demonstration of this sort would not be conclusive, nor any more convincing probably than Northup's argumentation in favor of Calderon. For it must not be forgotten that few if any of the dramatists down to 1635 were in their respective débuts little more than servile imitators of the great Lope, even in matters of style[7]; and consequently a third investigator by employing the same methods could with equal plausibility assign *La selva confusa* to any one of several dramatists.[8] The problem must be attacked from another angle.

Though a certain number of facts in the case are already known and have been duly noted by Northup and others, not all of them have been scrutinized in the light of recent investigations and discoveries. The recovery of the *parte* of 1633 containing the play not only aids in clarifying some of these points, but also makes possible the presentation of some important new facts. All of these, the new and the old, must be stated or restated here and their bearing on the case examined in detail. They may be conveniently grouped under six separate topics.

[6] For an account of the finding of this volume, together with a brief description of it, see my article "Lope de Vega's *Parte XXVII extravagante*," *R R*, XV, pp. 100-104.

[7] So true is this that Menéndez y Pelayo (Academy ed. of Lope de Vega, XIII, p. CXVIII) had to admit his inability at times to distinguish the style of Mira de Amescua from that of Lope de Vega.

[8] A clue to such an undertaking is furnished by Northup himself, who in his introduction and some of his footnotes points to Tirso de Molina.

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1. There is no longer any doubt about the *Parte XXVII* published in Barcelona in 1633[9]: it exists. The title-page (i.e., first page) of the sixth play is as follows: "LA SELVA CONFVSA./ COMEDIA/FAMOSA./DE LOPE DE VEGA CARPIO./Representola Manuel Vallejo./Hablan en ella . . . . " etc. At the bottom of the page are the first eight lines of the text. It is the same play as the one which Northup published from the Madrid MS, with certain differences which will be pointed out in the latter part of this study.

In commenting upon the MS of *La selva confusa* Schack (*Nachträge*, p. 87) remarked that in the Osuna library there was "an old impression, very rare," of the play with attribution to Lope de Vega. Was this another edition, now unknown? It seems almost certain that it was not. Schack himself (*op. cit.*, pp. 41–42) had already briefly described the now missing Osuna "tomo 133," calling special attention to the fact that the last seven plays of which the volume was composed formed a single block with consecutive pagination; from his description it is evident that this block was identical with the main section of the *Parte XXVII* "*extravagante*," i.e., nos. 9 plus 3 to 8.[10] The old impression of *La selva confusa* to which he later referred being beyond a doubt the one contained in the Osuna volume which he had described earlier, although it is strange that he did not so specify by means of a cross-reference,[11] it can hardly have been anything else but another copy of the edition contained in the *Parte XXVII* which

[9] Restori (*Saggi de bibliografia teatrale spagnuola*, Geneva, 1927, p. 55, note 16) seems inclined to entertain a doubt as to the genuineness of the title-page and preliminaries of this volume, and consequently, I infer, as to the date. I have attempted to dispel this doubt in *R R*, XIX, p. 256.

[10] It must be assumed that Schack's "Seite 1 bis Seite 146" is the equivalent of "fols. 1–146." I am puzzled, however, by Schack's mention of two parts to *Lanza por lanza de Luis Almanza*. In the Barcelona copy there is nothing to indicate that there was a second part, nor, if such a play was ever printed, is there any room for it as an organic part of the volume. If it really was in the Osuna fragment in Schack's time (it was not there when Menéndez y Pelayo used the volume), it must have been a *suelta* inserted after the first part, since, as I point out in footnote 14, this part of the volume is so made as to be divisible into *desglosadas*.

[11] Perhaps it is not so strange, after all. The gathering of the notes which comprise the *Nachträge* extended over a number of years, during which time Schack was primarily interested in other matters (cf. "Vorbemerkung," p. III). It is probable that the two notes in which *La selva confusa* is mentioned were made at widely separated moments: hence the author's failure to investigate the relation of the MS to the printed edition.

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we now have. This latter, therefore, furnishes us the only early edition of which there is any record.[12]

This edition, it has been seen, attributes the play, like all the others in the volume, to Lope de Vega, and also conveys the information that the play was acted by the company of Manuel Vallejo.[13] Unfortunately, the mere existence of an edition of a given play with attribution to Lope, even though printed during his lifetime, is no proof that he was its author; nevertheless, the *attribution in this case is deserving of some consideration*, in view of the claim made in the *dedicatoria* of the entire volume that "Estas Doze Comedias . . . . se han trasladado de sus mejores originales."[14]

[12] Cotarelo y Mori, in *Ensayo sobre la vida y obras de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, Parte primera, Madrid, 1924 (reprinted from *B R A E*, VIII–X), states (*B R A E*, IX, p. 36, footnote 1) that there is an anonymous *suelta* of the play dated 1791; but this statement, as I have learned by correspondence with Señor Cotarelo, is due to an erroneous interpretation of Northup's notice (*op. cit.*, p. 169) of a *suelta* of *Troya abrasada*.

[13] From sources readily at hand concerning Vallejo I do not find that the simple fact that this *autor's* company acted the play aids in the solution of the problem of authorship; but see the discussion of the relation between the MS and the edition of 1633 further on in this article.

[14] In this connection an attempt must be made to explain the irregular structure of the volume and to formulate an opinion as to the reliability of the above mentioned statement in the anonymous *dedicatoria*. The table of contents printed on the same page as the *dedicatoria* is ample proof that in the Barcelona copy of the volume (notice that La Barrera's list, taken from Fajardo, gives an entirely different order) the plays are in the order in which it was finally decided by the printer, with or without the consent of the compiler (i.e., the anonymous signer of the *dedicatoria*), that the book should be issued. From a second and recent examination of the volume, however, I am convinced that the ninth play, *El Médico de su honra*, with its folios numbered 1–20 and its signatures A, B, C, was set up by the printer to be the first in the collection, followed by the present nos. 3–8 (fols. 21–146, signatures D-X). Why this play, constituting like each of nos. 3–8 a perfect *desglosada*, was transferred to its present position as no. 9, is more than I can explain. Its place at the beginning of the volume was taken by *two* others, *Por la puente, Juana* and *Celos con celos se curan*, both probably printed by the same printer as nos. 3–9, or by one with whom he had some business connection, since they have the same uncommon head-band as nos. 4 and 9; neither of the two chosen could be inserted alone for the reason that they could not be separated, since the second begins on the verso of the folio on whose recto the first ends. (Did these two plays form the beginning of a *parte* never finished?) The last three plays in the volume are *sueltas* (taken from an existing stock or specially printed for this purpose?), the first two of them having the same head-band as nos. 1, 2, 4 and 9. (In the original plan it may have been the intention, inspired by the need to

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2. We have a reliable record, references for which are given by Northup (p. 172), that a play entitled *La selva confusa* was acted privately before the court of Philip IV in Madrid on July 21, 1623, by the company of Juan Acacio Bernal.

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economize, to complete the volume with five such *sueltas*. Possibly the other two originally selected tentatively for this purpose were *La madrasta más honrada* and *Los novios de Hornachuelos*, listed by Schack as the second and third plays of the mysterious "tomo 133," in which case the Osuna volume would seem to be, not a fragment of a once complete copy of the *Parte XXVII "extravagante,"* but material for a copy never completed.) In view, then, of the irregularities which characterize nos. 1, 2, 10, 11 and 12, it seems permissible to doubt whether they are part of the material gathered by the compiler in manuscript. But for that part of the volume which has consecutive signatures, i.e., nos. 9 plus 3–8 (*La selva confusa* being one of them), the statement quoted above from the *dedicatoria* regarding the source of the texts may well be true, to the best of the compiler's knowledge; and it may be well to take this into consideration in connection with the question of *ultimate* authorship of *El sastre del Campillo*, up to now unanimously accorded to Belmonte, as well as of *Allá darás, rayo* and *Julián Romero*, both hitherto considered doubtful Lope plays.

It may not be amiss, while we are on the subject of this *Parte XXVII*, to draw attention to the fact that Fajardo, on whose sole authority the volume was mentioned by bibliographers for so long a time and with so much reserve, has been found to be right in vouching for this particular "extravagante," save that his list of contents as reproduced by La Barrera and others does not correspond exactly with what we find in the perfect Barcelona copy. Since we now know that he was right in this case, there seems to be no longer any reason for doubting that the other two "partes extravagantes" for which he vouches, namely *Parte XXVI* and *Parte XXVIII*, also existed in his time. The existence of the *Parte XXVI* is attested, as we know, by Lope himself (cf. La Barrera, p. 682): it was probably a mere "tomo colecticio," for which a title-page must have been printed more than once, since the copy which Fajardo recorded bore the date 1645, and hence was not the "edition" known to Lope. (Cf. the case of the *Parte treinta de Comedias famosas de varios Autores*, which was issued at least four times, as follows: Saragossa, 1636; Saragossa, 1638 [copy in the Mazarine Library, Paris]; Seville, 1638; Saragossa, 1639; there is reason to believe that in the last three of these "editions" only the title-page was new [cf. Restori, *op. cit.*, p. 56, note 20].) For the *Parte XXVIII* (1639), it looks as if some Saragossa bookseller took over a certain number of copies of the *Parte veinte y ocho de Comedias de varios Autores*, Huesca, 1634 (on the irregular structure of this volume, see Restori, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–17; also, *R R*, XIX, pp. 254–255) and replaced most of the non-Lope plays which it contained with Lope *sueltas*, giving them a new title-page but using the same serial number. (Notice that on the title-page of the Huesca volume the name of Lope de Vega does not appear. Perhaps the success of four recent volumes, namely *Doze Com. de L. de V. C.* [*y otros aut.*], Guesca, 1634, and the three most recent regular *partes* of Lope's series [*XXI*, 1635; *XXII*, 1635; *XXIII*, 1638], as well as some of the other regular and irregular Lope *partes* which preceded these, on the title-pages of all of which his magic name was prominent, seemed to the Saragossa bookseller a

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There is every reason to believe that the play produced on this occasion was the one which we are studying, none other by the same title being known to exist or to have existed. The record furnishes no indication as to the author of the play.[15] Calderon was then only twenty-three and a half years old. His latest biographer, Cotarelo y Mori, points out (*BRAE*, IX, pp. 35–38) that there are no grounds for assigning any of Calderon's dramatic works to a period prior to this year 1623, citing as the earliest, in his opinion, *Amor, honor y poder*,[16] likewise acted at court on June 29 of the same year, and *La selva confusa*. The chances are extremely small, it seems to me, that the young and inexperienced Calderon wrote an entirely new play and succeeded in getting it acted at court only twenty-four days after the presentation of *his version* of *Amor, honor y poder*.[17]

3. *La selva confusa* is not included in the list of genuine plays which Calderon himself drew up for the Duke of Veragua,[18] nor is it mentioned in either of the two lists of spurious plays compiled by

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sufficient reason for converting the *Parte XXVIII de varios* into a *Parte XXVIII de Lope de Vega*, in order to do which he was obliged to change not only the title-page of the volume, but also the first pages of some of the plays themselves.) The last existing copies of these two "partes extravagantes" may have been broken up shortly after Fajardo's time, sacrificed to the demand for *sueltas*. In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the two Osuna volumes 131 and 132 are of no more importance in connection with the *Parte XXVI "extravagante"* than any other collection, bound or not, containing one or more *sueltas* of the plays mentioned by Fajardo as composing this *parte*, so that there is no reason for listing the *entire* contents of the two Osuna volumes in a bibliography of Lope de Vega.

[15] Perhaps no name of author was even associated with the performance. Was the select audience at all interested in who wrote the play?

[16] In another study I propose to show that this play is probably not an original creation of Calderon's.

[17] Of course it may be objected that he could have written it some time before the other play; but such a supposition would necessitate admitting that he wrote *La selva confusa* at a still earlier age.—Significant as showing that Calderon can hardly have attracted much attention at court as a playwright up to within a few months at least before June, 1623, are the facts on which Cotarelo (*B R A E*, IX, p. 37, continued footnote) bases the following observation: "Entre los meses de octubre de 1622 y febrero de 1623 se representaron, según otros datos, en Palacio 45 comedias de varios autores que entonces escribían, como Lope, Tirso, Vélez, Alarcón, etc., y ninguna de ellas pertenece a CALDERÓN, cosa extraña si ya entonces fuese DON PEDRO algo más que un modesto principiante."

[18] This list is in the "prólogo" to the *Obelisco funebre*, etc., of Gaspar Agustín de Lara, Madrid, 1684 (cf. *B A E*, VII [*Comedias . . . . de Calderon . . . .*, I], pp. XLI-XLII).

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Calderon and Vera Tassis respectively.[19] Thus the play does not appear to have been claimed by Calderon himself, or to have been attributed to him in an edition or other printed document during his lifetime or within the first few years which followed his death.[20]

4. In the *Peregrino* of 1604, Lope de Vega laid claim to a play entitled *El desdichado*—a play not yet identified. It is to be noted, however, that throughout a little more than the first half of *La selva confusa* Fadrique, the leading character, is referred to no fewer than fourteen times as the "desdichado."[21] On the other hand, the term "selva" or its plural, as a designation for the exact spot where the greater part of the action takes place,[22] does not occur frequently until the second act is nearly ended (v. 1979), being thereafter used ten times in the last act,[23] while the exact expression "la selva confusa" comes in but once (v. 2586). "El desdichado,"

[19] The first is in the "prólogo" to the *Quarta parte*, Madrid, 1672 and 1674 (cf. *B R A E*, V, p. 543); the second is in the "advertencia" of the *Verdadera quinta parte*, Madrid, 1682 (cf. *B A E*, VII, pp. XXV-XXVI).

[20] Vera Tassis, in the last mentioned list, also includes eight plays "manuscritas" attributed to Calderon; but there is so little chance of Vera Tassis's having made an investigation among manuscripts (he does not claim to have searched for anything but printed plays) that the absence of *La selva confusa* from this list of only eight titles can not be taken to mean that he knew of the manuscript of this play and let it stand as of Calderon, all the more so as he did not announce any intention of printing it in one of the *Partes VI* to *X*.

[21] Ed. Northup, vv. 503, 554, [766], [803], 994, 1017, 1122, 1177, 1186, 1300, 1305, [1328], 1544, 1593; also, later, [CCLXXXVII]. (The bracketed figures correspond to lines which are not in the edition of 1633.)

[22] The term in the singular is certainly not accurately applied as a designation for the scene of action of this the greater part of the play. The *Diccionario de autoridades* defines "selva" as: "Lugar lleno de árboles, malezas, y matas, que le hacen naturalmente frondoso." But the scene of action here is a spot where Fadrique as a "jardinero" is working ("labrar la tierra") in the Duke of Mantua's gardens "murados de agua y jazmines," situated "entre el Rin y el Po" (cf. ed. Northup, vv. 628–635); but the woods ("selvas") have been cleared off to make way for a "poblado" (cf. vv. 1367–1368). The spot, close to or part of an "aldea" (vv. 1369, 1457, etc.), is fairly accurately described in vv. 368–375, XXXIV-XLV, 376–379, and there is no mention of trees or thickets here.

[23] Vv. 2360, 2512, 2586, 2658, 2790, 2792, DLXV, DCIV (not in the edition of 1633), 2933, 3025. It occurs also in v. 385 (not in the edition of 1633), but here the original reading in the MS was "aldea" (cf. Northup's note, p. 228). For further discussion of this word "selva" in the text see footnote 54. (In v. 291, for "la selba" the edition of 1633 has "las selbas," this latter being the correct use of the word in this opening scene.)

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therefore, would appear to be fully as appropriate a title for the play as "La selva confusa."[24]

It is well known that Lope de Vega, more than any of the other dramatists, was in the habit of writing the title frequently into the lines of his plays. Under the title of *El desdichado*, the present play would furnish another example of the use of this detail of Lope technique.[25]

5. Schack (*op. cit.* p. 87), inclining to the opinion that the play is Calderon's, says that "the piece is by no means written in Lope's style, as the verses at the very beginning show."[26] He then quotes, *from the manuscript*,[27] the first seven lines of the play, inviting the reader to agree with him on the basis of this brief sample of style!

Now it so happens that the last two of these seven lines, as well as the next four in the MS, plus the sixty-five lines which follow after the next ten in the MS,[28] are not in the edition of 1633. It is probable that Schack read on beyond the seven lines which he copied, perhaps at least three pages, which would take him to the end of this passage; but it is also probable that *at the time that he jotted down this note* he did not read the entire play, since he recalled that he had once had in his hands, and presumably read, the more convenient printed edition.[29] The opinion which he so summarily expressed regarding the style of the entire play seems therefore to have been based on a passage all but fifteen lines of which are not in the edition of 1633. If he had reconsulted

[24] There is just as great a probability that *La selva confusa* is *El desdichado* as there is, for example, that *Roma abrasada* is the *Nerón cruel* mentioned by Lope in the *Peregrino*.—Northup himself (p. 204, footnote on v. 503) seems to have had a suspicion that *La selva confusa* might be *El desdichado*.

[25] This has been noted particularly by Stiefel (*Zeitschrift*, XXXVI, p. 460), who makes use of it very briefly among his arguments in claiming that *La Española de Florenica* was written by Lope.

[26] Schack's words are: " . . . . das Stück ist durchaus nicht in Lope's Styl geschrieben, wie schon die Anfangsverse zeigen," etc. The translation quoted above is Rennert's (*Bibliography*, p. 241). Notice that by "durchaus" Schack by no means implied that he had formed his impression of the style from reading the play "throughout." Notice also the significant adverb "schon."

[27] Rennert (*loc. cit.*) has already corrected Northup's impression that Schack copied these seven verses from the printed edition which he had once seen. Cf. footnote 55 of present article.

[28] *I. e.*, ed. Northup, vv. 6–11 and 22-v.

[29] That he did not read the manuscript through seems to be further implied by his remark: " . . . . dennoch wird es sich der Mühe lohnen, das Manuscript näher zu untersuchen."

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the latter on this occasion, he might have formulated a different opinion.

I can not help wondering, also, whether in speaking of style Schack did not have somewhat in mind the versification of these opening lines—an aspect of the comedia which had received relatively little attention in his day. He can hardly have failed to be aware that Calderon frequently used this form of versification (*silva de consonantes*) at the beginning of a play,[30] but he may have been under the impression that Lope never so employed it. Lope, however, on several occasions in the course of his career as a dramatist, did make use of it in this way.[31] *La selva confusa* could therefore not be denied to Lope on the basis of the form of verse chosen for the opening lines.

6. In the manuscript of the play, represented by the Northup edition, the following scene, written in *tercetos*, occurs (vv. 736–804):

Fabricio, Duke of Milan, is dismissing Oton, envoy of the Duke of Mantua sent to negotiate the marriage of Flora, his master's daughter, to Filipo, son of Fabricio. Filipo enters attended by his two faithful but unscrupulous courtiers Carlos and Leonelo, all three believing that they have just caused the death of Fadrique, another son—an illegitimate one—of Fabricio and favorite of the people. Filipo tells a lie proposed by one of his courtiers to the effect that Fadrique, while hunting, has been accidentally thrown from his horse over a cliff into the river Po and killed. Fabricio is stricken with grief, but finds some consolation in being able to announce to Filipo that he has just completed arrangements for the latter's marriage to the beautiful Flora.

This scene is wanting in the edition of 1633, and for good reason. In the lines which are spoken by the few persons who

[30] This is the case with such familiar plays as *La vida es sueño*, *El mayor monstruo los celos* (after the music), etc.

[31] 1. *La amistad pagada*, 23 verses (prior to 1604, since it was printed in the *Parte I*); 2. *Los primeros mártires del Japón*, 26 verses (assigned to 1617); 3. *Amar, servir y esperar*, 70 verses ("La fecha se halla, probablemente, entre 1618–1623."—Rennert-Castro); 4. *La vida de San Pedro Nolasco*, 57 verses (1629); 5. *La carbonera*, 80 verses ("Es comedia de la vejez de Lope."—Rennert-Castro). Of these, Schack does not mention nos. 2, 3 and 4 in his *Geschichte;* he had examined no. 1 closely enough to find out what its subject matter is (*op. cit.*, II, p. 265); and he seems to have read no. 5 carefully, since he analyzed it (II, pp. 311–313), but could well have forgotten all about its versification long before writing his note on *La selva confusa* for the *Nachträge*.

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take part in it, there is not a single fact of which we are not duly apprised in the lines which immediately precede or follow it.[32] Fabricio does not appear again in the action, although we should expect him to be on hand at least in the final recognition scene when his son Fadrique, whose voluntary leap into the river Po had not resulted in his death, is finally identified in the person of the gardener employed on the grounds of the Duke of Mantua's temporary retreat.

It is inconceivable that Fabricio was included in the original conception of the action as a character destined to appear only in this one short scene, or that the scene itself, entirely superfluous, even entered into the author's draft of the plot. Therefore this scene has been introduced here by someone other than the author of the play, and hence the Madrid MS, of which it forms an integral part,[33] is not the *author's* original. Consequently, the MS is of no value in connection with the problem of authorship.

From a consideration of these six aspects of the question of authorship the only conclusions that can be drawn are: on the one hand, there is no proof that Calderon is the author of *La selva confusa;* on the other hand, there is no valid reason for rejecting the attribution to Lope de Vega.

In the discussion thus far I have purposely passed over one important question, namely that of the authenticity of the Madrid MS of *La selva confusa*, with a signature purporting to be Calderon's at the end.

Schack, for one (*Nachträge*, pp. 86–87), doubted the genuineness of the signature, stating in justification of his impression that he had compared it with some undoubtedly genuine ones: his judgment in this matter would therefore seem to be entitled to more consideration than his apparently hastily formed opinion on the question of authorship of the play.

The fact is, however, that it would be difficult not to accept rather the better substantiated authority of Paz y Melia, Northup and Cotarelo to the effect that the MS is a genuine autograph.

[32] Fadrique leaps from a cliff ("peña") before our very eyes (vv. 314–317), having already informed us that below flows the river Po (vv. 298–301). The lie is invented by Carlos in vv. 325–332. The marriage arrangements are first told to us by Flora (vv. 428–439) and are again mentioned later on in a conversation between Filipo and Carlos (vv 805–806, 829–840).

[33] It begins well down the page on fol. 13 *r*. and ends about the middle of fol. 14 *r*.

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Paz y Melia (*Catálogo*, etc.), who reports Calderon's handwriting in nearly a score of MSS of dramatic pieces in the Biblioteca Nacional, categorically affirms that the MS of *La selva confusa* is a signed autograph of Calderon's. Northup (p. 172) states that he carefully compared the signature with others "of undoubted genuineness," finding, as did "Paz y Melia and the other experts of the Biblioteca Nacional," that it was identical with them. Cotarelo (*BRAE*, IX, p. 36, footnote 1) goes a little further, informing us that the MS is in the handwriting which Calderon had learned at Morante's school and which he used in the early part of his career. Autograph, then, it probably is.

But what are the characteristics of this MS which have been noted? Northup says that it "either is a first draft or an early copy," adding immediately after that "Calderon would have called it a *borrador*." Between the second alternative in the first statement and the added observation there is inconsistency, for if it is a copy it is not a *borrador*, and vice versa. Cotarelo opines that it is a "copia de primitivo borrador," giving as his reason for this opinion the fact that it has few corrections. Both Northup and Cotarelo remark that it has no *censuras*, whence it may be deduced that it did not follow the normal course of an author's MS, namely of being submitted to the proper authorities before the play could be acted *in public*. But it did get into the hands of an *autor*, who proceeded as usual to make excisions amounting in this case to one sixth of the text of the play.[34]

To all appearances, therefore, the MS is a copy of something, though not necessarily of a "primitivo borrador,"[35] and a copy

[34] Cotarelo calls attention also to the absence of the words "Jhs. Maria Joseph" usually found in Calderon autographs. Did these three holy names constitute a sort of piõus invocation used by the poet only when he sought inspiration for composing, their absence from the present MS thus indicating that he sat down merely to copy?—Northup further remarks that there is no *reparto;* but this was a matter for the *autor* to attend to.

[35] A sufficient reason for believing that the MS is not a *borrador* is the one advanced by Cotarelo himself, as noted above, while on the other hand evidence that it is the product, in part at least, of the purely mechanical process of transferring a text from one MS to another is furnished by some of Northup's notes at the end of the first act. For example: 1. After v. 547 the scribe (as we shall call him for the present) wrote vv. 538–539 for the second time, then crossed them out on again finding his place in his original. 2. The first part of v. 616 is spoken by one character and the second by another. Having read these two halves as a single verse, the scribe first wrote them all on one line, but immediately after, presumably upon

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executed for a special purpose. Thus it appears for a second time that the MS is not an *author's* original, and the problem of the authorship of the play is still unsolved.

Indeed, a positive solution of the problem does not seem possible along these lines alone. But the way has been cleared for the formulation of a theory, and a very simple hypothesis may be offered:

La selva confusa, under the title of *El desdichado*, was written by Lope de Vega sometime prior to 1604, the year of publication of the first *Peregrino*. By 1623 the play had not got into print but was still preserved in one or more manuscripts, the property probably of a theatrical company, or perhaps of several such companies. In the early summer of that year the aspiring young dramatist Calderon was called upon, or perhaps volunteered, to provide a play for one of the private performances at the court of Philip IV. From one of the *autores* who had been appointed by the King to give such performances, Calderon obtained a MS of a play which was now perhaps almost entirely forgotten, namely *El desdichado*, and proceeded to copy it, changing the title, inserting certain lines of his own, and making other alterations perhaps in an effort to cover up his — theft. The new MS was turned over to the *autor* Juan Acacio Bernal, who may or may not have made the excisions and numerous single word, phrase or line changes necessitated thereby, but who in any case acted the new version at court on July 23, 1623, for which purpose no *censuras* would presumably be needed. Either in connection with the study of the play by Acacio's company for this performance or at a subsequent date, some of the additions and alterations made by Calderon (not all of them, as already noted in part) were intro-

looking back at his original, he struck out the second half and wrote it on a new line. If he had been composing, he would have stopped naturally after the first half and passed to the next line immediately to write the name of the new speaker. 3. In copying v. 970 (with its verb "bais") which he had probably first read in conjunction with the preceding verse, his eye at this moment caught the "pues no bais" six lines below, but he got no further than "pues" when he perceived his error. 4. In v. 1082 he made the same mechanical error as in v. 616.—The only evidence of groping during the process of composition is his writing and rewriting of v. 62 (not in ed. of 1633), vv. 790–795 (in the inserted scene), and v. 2659 (which he seems to have wanted to change, although he finally came back to his original, for the corresponding line of which the ed. of 1633 has "muestran" in place of "mostrar"). The numerous substitutions of one reading for another are an entirely different matter, as will be seen later.

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duced into the other MS or MSS, one of which, still bearing the name of Lope de Vega, became in time the direct or indirect source of the edition included in the *Parte XXVII*, Barcelona, 1633.

This theory reconciles at once all the elements of the problem which have been set forth here. It will therefore be adopted as a basis of procedure in the comparative study of the two versions which is the subject of the remainder of this article. One part of the theory, at least, namely my claim that the major portion of the play as preserved in the existing MS was merely copied by Calderon from another MS, will be confirmed, I believe, in the course of the study which follows.

For the sake of brevity the following symbols will be used hereafter in this study: *M* = the Madrid MS as it stood before the excisions and "corrections" were made in it; *P* = the edition included in the above mentioned *Parte XXVII; N* = the *complete* Northup edition.

It would have been desirable to insert here, for reference, a complete table of the variant readings furnished by *P*, but space forbids.[36]

Certain differences between the two versions have already been pointed out in a more or less incidental way. It now becomes necessary to state the full extent of the differences in length and content in detail.

In *N* (and likewise in *M*, barring error in *N*) there are 3630 spoken lines; of these, 604 are marked in *M* for excision, and for this reason have been printed in *N* in italics and with an independent series of verse numbers in Roman numerals. Of the total in *N* just mentioned, 759 are wanting in *P*, including one superfluous line (2023)[37] and three cases of a single line needed nevertheless for the versification.[38] To this figure must be added a further

[36] Besides, I am working with notes taken in Barcelona in the summer of 1927 with *N* and *P* before me, and at the present time I could not feel sure that my table of variants would be complete.

[37] Rather than a superfluous line this is perhaps the first verse of a pair which was complete in the original, this first verse having been accidentally omitted by Calderon, as well as by the printer of *P*.

[38] Following is a complete table of lines and passages missing from *P*, by blocks as they occur in *N:* 6–11, 22–81, I–V, X–XVII, XVIII–XXV, XXVI–XXIX, 189–190, 262–265, 332, XXX–XXXIII, 360–363, 372–375, XXXIV–XLV, 376–379, 384–387, XLVI–XLIX, 388–395, 398, L–LIII, LIV–LXII, 596–603, 696–703, 712–715, 736–804, 869–880, LXVII–LXXVIII, LXXIX–LXXXVIII, LXXXIX–XCII, 1100–1103, XCIII–XCVI, 1104–1107, XCVII–C, 1116–1119, CI–CVIII, CIX–CXVIII, CXIX–CXXVIII, CXXIX–

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decrease for *P* of 8 lines as a result of the rewriting by Calderon of one passage (vv. 440–463; i.e., 24 lines in *M* for 16 in *P*). On the other hand, there are three short passages amounting to 16 lines in *P* which are not in *N*,[39] as well as 1 line (after v.1068) needed for a *décima* but omitted either by Calderon or by Northup.[40] Subtracting and adding, we find that there are 2880 lines in *P* as against the 3630 of *N*.

To state the difference in length between the two versions from the point of view of the marking of *M* for excisions, of the 604 lines so marked in *M* 489 are wanting in *P* and 115 are printed in *P;* and conversely, of the 759 lines of *N* which are wanting in *P* 489 correspond to passages which are marked in *M* for excision and 270 to passages or single lines not so marked.

The importance of these differences lies in their bearing upon the question of the relation between *M* and *P* from the point of view of whether or not one is the source of the other.

From the fact that 115 lines in 17 distinct passages marked in *M* for excision are nevertheless printed in *P;*[41] that 270 lines in 33 distinct passages and single lines not so marked in *M* are wanting in *P;* that corresponding to a passage of 24 lines in *M* there is an almost entirely different passage of 16 lines in *P;* and that, finally, there are 16 lines in 3 distinct passages in *P* corresponding to which there is nothing in *M*, it is evident that *M*, at least in its present state,[42] can not be the original from which

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CXXXVIII, CXXXIX–CXLVIII, 1285, 1322–1329, CXLIX–CLII, CLXI–CLXVIII, 1342-1345, 1394–1401, 1430–1433, CLXXVII–CXCII, CXCIII–CXCVII, CXCVIII–CCI, 1634–1641, 1646–1649, CCX–CCXXI, CCXXII–CCXXV, CCXXVI–CCXXIX, CCXXX–CCLIII, CCLIV–CCLIX, CCLX–CCLXIII, CCLXIV–CCLXVII, CCLXVIII–CCLXXVII, CCLXXVIII–CCLXXXI, CCLXXXII–CCLXXXIX, CCXC–CCXCIII, CCXCVI–CCXCVII, 1936–1939, 1946–1947, CCXCVIII–CCXCIX, CCC–CCCV, 2023, CCCXI–CCCXIV, CCCXV–CCCXVIII, CCCXIX–CCCXXXIV, CCCXXXV–CCCXLIII, CCCXLIV–CCCLI, CDII–CDV, CDXIV–CDXXX, 2503–2506, CDXXXI–CDXXXIV, 2595–2598, CDXXXV–CDLII, CDLIII–CDLVIII, CDLIX–CDLXIV, CDLXXI–CDLXXVI, CDLXXVII–CDXCIV, CDXCV–DXVIII, DXIX–DXXIV, DXXV–DXXXVI, DXLV–DLXII, DLXVII–DCIV, 2908–2911, 2975–2977.

[39] Two lines at the beginning, four after v. 992, and ten after v. 1091.

[40] This line is: "de hablar, y de discurrir."

[41] This count of 17 distinct passages can not be checked up from the table in footnote 38 above for the reason that between vv. CCLI and CDII there are five, and between CDV and CDXIV there are two, separate passages.

[42] So far as I am aware, there are no traces of another series of markings for excisions, nor of the erasure of the above mentioned new lines furnished by *P*, in accordance with all of which *P* could be a reproduction of *M*.

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P was printed, for the reason that no printer would be capable of "editing" the text in this way, particularly in the matter of the lines furnished only by his edition.[43]

But these same facts can not serve as a means of determining whether or not the reverse situation exists, namely that *M* derives directly from *P;* for it is obvious that a poet copying from a printed edition could omit passages and add others of his own composition *ad libitum*, and even supply missing verses. This alternate possibility must therefore be examined with the aid of arguments of another character.

A close study of the *complete* text of *N*, with the aid of Northup's notes appended at the end of the act, together with the variants of *P*, reveals the perfect continuity, from the double point of view of versification and thought elaboration, of a certain section of the text of the first act in the MS *before any alterations were made in it*—continuity which is flagrantly broken many times in *P*. The following examples will illustrate this point:

1. Vv. 118–145, XXVI–XXIX, 146–153: The verses marked for omission in *M* are wanting in *P*. Nevertheless, after the digression in which Filipo speaks of the rivalry between him and Fadrique for Jacinta's favors (vv. 139–145), vv. XXVI–XXIX are essential as summing up the motives for Filipo's confession and accusation expressed in vv. 146–153. For v. 146 in *N*, *P* has: "De todo aquesto a nacido. . . . :" the change to "De aqueste aplauso a nacido . . . . " (notice "aplauso") was made precisely because, after vv. XXVI–XXIX had been suppressed, it was necessary to insert a word which would direct the hearer's attention back to what had been said before the digression on Jacinta.

2. Vv. 186–193: In *P* vv. 189–190 are wanting, the "ser bien quisto" of v. 191 remaining without grammatical construction. In *N* the text appears correct, and yet, so far as may be judged from the absence of any note by Northup, there has been no patching or correcting in the MS.

3. Vv. 336, XXX–XXXIII, 337–339: Of these eight lines vv. XXX–XXXIII are wanting also in *P*. By restoring the original MS reading of v. 337 as per Northup's note, we find that these eight lines form two perfect quatrains. They were copied intact by Calderon.

4. Vv. 368–375: The second half of this double quatrain, and also the four quatrains which follow it, are wanting in *P*, v. 371 being changed to "es de los cielos traslado," which allows the full stop in view of the excision. Calderon made no change.

[43] If this had been the case, what chance is there that the MS, after a trip to Barcelona, would have survived?—Notice that, in consequence of the conclusion just stated, the theory which is being followed here is still safe.

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5. Vv. 383–387, XLVI–XLIX, 388–396: All but the first line and last line of this passage is wanting in *P* (v. 396 thus following v. 383 immediately), the result being that the plural "efetos son" in v. 396 is inexplicable. It is grammatically correct after vv. 392–395 as in the MS.

6. Vv. 424–427, LIV–LVIII: In *P* vv. LIV–LVIII are likewise wanting. Northup's note shows that in the MS the original reading of v. 426 was: "a aqueste el estado viene," and that v. 427 (a flagrant *ripio*) has been substituted for v. LIV. In other words, in the space occupied by the nine verses in question the MS originally had two *redondillas* perfect in form and sense, while in *P*, as in the "corrected" MS, the last five of these nine verses have been cut out and Flora's statement, except for the *ripio* which replaces v. LIV as v. 427, has been brought to a close at the end of the third line of the first *redondilla*, but *à contresens*, since Flora's argument, as the context shows, is to the effect that the Duchy of Milan is due to fall to Fadrique, not "al otro."

7. Vv. LIX–LXII, 428–431: The first of these two *redondillas* is wanting also in *P;* but the two must have been composed at the same time, since they are syntactically united, as Calderon recognized, copying them both.[44]

It is unthinkable, especially in view of the evidence in *M* of mere mechanical copying (as I have noted above in footnote 35) that the frequent breaks in continuity of composition which we find in *P* would or even could have been so perfectly repaired in the process of transcription of a printed text to a MS that no traces of the original defects in any of these cases would remain. Hence *M* does not derive directly from *P*.[45]

Between *M* and *P*, therefore, no direct relation exists from the point of view of source of the texts.[46] At the same time there is bound to be an *indirect* relation, though one which it would be exceedingly difficult to fix: data are lacking for the establishing of the line of filiation of each of the two texts from the original MS of the play, the number of immediate MSS in either of the two cases being indeterminable. Nevertheless, there is a strong

[44] It could be easily shown, from a study of the context in each case, that the following passages wanting in *P* are likewise essential to the full elaboration of the thought: 596–603; 712–715. But cases of exactly the opposite of this phenomenon will be noted in connection with remarks on Calderon's version of the second act.

[45] And again the theory, insofar as the source of *M* is concerned, is safe.

[46] Furthermore, *M* does not derive *indirectly* from *P*, for the same reason that the former does not derive directly from the latter. On the other hand, I see no basis for denying that *P* could have derived indirectly from *M*, nor is it necessary to do so, since even if it could be proved that such is the case, the essential part of the theory which I have adopted would not be injured.

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probability that, independently of the question of whether or not either text derives directly from Lope's original, the relation between *M* and *P* is next to direct, *i.e.*, they have a common direct source. This could have come about in the following manner:

The *autor* Manuel Vallejo had (*i.e.*, he probably owned) a MS of the play, as is proven by the formula: "Representola Manuel Vallejo" printed below the title in *P*. This MS must have borne the name of Lope de Vega as author, since the play is attributed to him in *P*. There seems to be no reason why Vallejo could not have been in possession of his MS as early as 1622, since he was already head of a company in that year (cf. Rennert, *The Spanish Stage*, p. 616). In 1623 he was in Madrid, being then an "autor de comedias de los nombrados por S. M." (Rennert, *loc. cit.*). Hence it may well have been he who supplied the MS from which Calderon made his version of the play.[47] If this was the case, Vallejo in due time must have got back his own MS, not a new one in its place, since such a one would presumably not have Lope de Vega's name on it. He probably kept the play in his repertoire for some time, until finally, not later than 1632, in which year he still had a company (Rennert, *op. cit.*, p. 617), he disposed of the MS by sale directly or indirectly to the compiler of the *Parte XXVII "extravagante,"* the *aprobación* of which is dated Jan. 4, 1633.[48] In the meantime, however, the MS had undergone modifications of two sorts: it had received some of Calderon's additions to the text (possibly before the latter had returned it to Vallejo), and it had been marked anew for excisions, presumably in connection with performances of the play other than the *particular* of which we have a record, but in any case independently, to a certain extent, of the marking of this sort now found in *M*.[49]

[47] From what has already been noted concerning the continuity of composition which is manifest in Calderon's transcript or version, it would seem as if such a MS of Vallejo's must have been something better than an actor's copy. It may have been Lope's original.

[48] Incidentally, has it ever been discovered whether or not the printing of the formula: "Representola . . . . " along with the title in a given edition (practice generally discontinued within a few years after the date of this volume) was a condition imposed upon the printer by the *autor* from whom the MS of the play was purchased?

[49] There is of course no proof for all this. The MS from which *P* was printed could have been, on the contrary, another copy, direct or indirect, of Lope's original, but one to which, in any case, the above mentioned additions by Calderon had been transferred.

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To return now to the question of differences between the two texts or versions, a collation of *N* with *P* reveals that, aside from the differences due on the one hand to Calderonian additions and on the other to *autor's* excisions, there are some five hundred variant readings involving a single word, a phrase or a whole verse, and even sometimes two verses. No one explanation will account for all these. Some of them are the direct consequence of Calderon's additions and alterations in *M*—changes which probably never got beyond this MS. A large number of them can be attributed to the *autor*, who in making excisions in his own MS or MSS was frequently obliged to change something in the lines which immediately preceded or followed passages which he chose to cut out. A few may be the result of errors in copying on the part of Calderon, or even of conscious or unconscious emendation of the original which he used. Not a few, finally, may be set down as errors on the part of the printer of *P*.

A collation of *M* (*i.e.*, the MS before alterations) with *P*, made with the aid of Northup's notes appended to each act in his edition, reveals another set of variant readings which call for special attention. In some seventy odd cases the original reading of the MS has been "corrected" by the crossing out of one or more words or whole verses and the writing in of new ones between the lines, and in nearly all of these cases the resultant readings are the same, or nearly the same, as in *P*. A few of these "corrections," but certainly not many of them, were undoubtedly made by Calderon himself as he rectified his purely mechanical errors of copying; and here, naturally, the resultant readings offer no difficulty.[50] The majority of them, however, either are no improvement whatsoever over the original reading, or are frankly unsatisfactory: not infrequently they make the verse incorrect, produce nonsense or constitute visible *ripios*, as the following examples will show:

1. Vv. 92-93: For these two verses Calderon wrote: "Pues as de morir escucha / para que tu muerte sepas." For the second of these two verses *P* has: "para que la causa sepas." It is immaterial whether this latter verse as Calderon wrote it is an exact copy of his original, or whether on the contrary it contains an emendation adopted by him for a certain effect gained by repeating "morir" (v. 92) in its noun form "muerte" in the following verse. The "corrector," either not liking this repetition

[50] Such appear to be, for example, the corrections noted by Northup in vv. 385 (change made in consequence of new title), 659, 694, 1480, 2321 ("nadie" made the verse incorrect), etc.

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or guided by the reading of another MS, which he perhaps misread, gave us the foolish *ripio:* "para que la cosa sepas."

2. V. 380: Calderon wrote "causan" and the verse was metrically correct. Moreover, if a full stop is placed after v. 379, this plural is required, having as its subject understood the various nouns used as subjects of the main verbs in the six *redondillas* which precede this verse. (Or perhaps the subject of this verb is in v. 376, the original from which Calderon copied having had, as indeed "sus braços" in v. 378 seems to require, "Aquestas vocas" for "Aquesta voca.") The "corrector," after the third, fourth and fifth of the six *redondillas* which precede had been cut out, found a singular noun, "Aquesta voca," left for subject and consequently changed "causan" to "causa," the result being an incorrect verse. (In *P*, in which the last five of the six *redondillas* are wanting, the verb is also "causa," but "di" has been prefixed to the verse making it metrically correct.)

3. Vv 470–471: Calderon, presumably copying his original correctly, had written: "Qué lugar es el que admiro? / Aun lo toco y no lo creo." I fail to find any meaning in the second of these two verses in the form in which they have been "corrected" in the MS, although they are also so printed in *P*, with the exception that the latter has "con" for "en" in v. 471.

4. Vv. 660–663: This grammatically impossible *redondilla* is the same in *P*, save that the latter has "ya" for "la" (v. 660) and "imaginado" for "dibujado" (v. 663). (This latter, in fact, may be a felicitous emendation by Calderon, since "ymaginado" occurs as a rhyme word in the preceding *redondilla.*) But for the third verse of this *redondilla* Calderon had written: "que era la que yo tenia," and thus this verse at least was correct as he left it. (I suspect that he copied or wrote the *redondilla* as follows: "Ya su presencia mudada / mill veces me parecia / que era la que yo tenia / en la ydea dibujada.")

5. V. 680: For this verse *P* has: "Resolviendo el modo en todo . . . . ," which is a very satisfactory reading. (For "resolver" in a similar sense see Lope de Vega, *Los embustes de Celauro*, ed. Hartzenbusch, Act III, Sc. 5, v. 4; also, Matos Fragoso, *El Ingrato agradecido*, ed. Heaton, v. 259, but ignore the last six words of the note.) If this was the reading of the original, Calderon either failed to decipher (understand?) it or chose to emend, writing: "por saber el modo en todo. . . . . " The "corrector," in turn, changed the first two words of Calderon's line to something vaguely resembling the "resolviendo" of *P*, giving us: "y esto viendo el modo en todo . . . . ," which, to say the least, is difficult to interpret.

6. V. 1042: For this verse, which is the same in *P* as in the "corrected" MS, Calderon had written or copied: "todo a tu bista está atento." This was the logical complement of "a berte . . . . biene" in vv. 1035–1036. The present inconsequent reading, with "voz" for "bista," is due to the "corrector."

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7. V. 2522: Calderon had written: "no como ella dice hermana. . . . . " and made no stop here, as the "de Fadrique" of the next line shows (v. CDXXXI). The "corrector," after the suppression of the next *redondilla* had been decided upon, needed a full stop here and gave us the incorrect verse: "aunque la llame hermana."[51]

It is difficult to agree with Northup (p. 181) that these "corrections" were made by Calderon himself. They can hardly be anything but the result of a purely practical piece of work which was little less than a necessity for the *autor* (Acacio or Vallejo or another) as he prepared to act the play, namely that of making the new MS conform more or less with another MS, or other MSS (of *El desdichado*), which were presumably available to him and which the members of his company had to have in order to learn their lines. The very MS from which Calderon had copied the greater part of the play may have been, if not the only other one, at least among the other ones which were used for this purpose. It is reasonable to suppose that some of the changes were made in the old MS or MSS, the latter being thus made to conform in part with the new one fresh from Calderon's hands, while others, and perhaps in the majority of cases, were made in the new MS in conformity with the older text. Be that as it may, there is little chance that the task of making the various MSS conform with one another was done consistently—a fact which would account in part for the large number of variants which still persist in *P*. If during this process some of Calderon's own lines were transferred to the other MS or MSS, they can hardly have been more than a few short passages such as could be written in margins,[52] with the exception of the last 140 lines of the play, which will receive attention presently. A large part of Calderon's contributions, in fact, seems to have gone by the board, though perhaps not until after the performance of July 21, 1623, not only as a result of the alterations just discussed, but also as a consequence of the ex-

[51] The point could be further illustrated by a study of vv. 111, 166, 205 ("ynocencia" [="stupidity:" cf. v. 1483] makes nonsense here, while "obediencia," although used as an assonant only four lines back, is plainly correct; but did Calderon himself make the change?), 337, 426–427, 560 (?), 1380, etc.

[52] Hence the absence from *P* of such long passages as vv. 22–v, as well as the new scene in the first act, etc. The last 140 lines could be written on blank pages at the end of the other MS or MSS, or on new pages attached to them. This concluding passage, in fact, may be the only lines that ever got into another copy of the play: I would not venture to affirm that anything else in *P*, for example, is Calderon's.

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cisions. It is hardly possible that, apart from a few genuine corrections as already noted, Calderon had anything to do with the altering of his MS, so disastrous to his text, unless he did it, so to speak, under duress.

With the preceding comparative study of the two versions of the play as a background, it should be possible now to point out Calderon's probable share in the redaction of the existing MS.

1. It was probably Calderon who gave the new title to the play. The new title may not have been his own invention: it has something of the air of a stereotyped expression, or is perhaps the popular name given to some spot familiar to the audience for whom the play was written.[53] If one or the other of these conjectures be correct, then Calderon, during a first reading of his original, took over the title from a passage in which the exasperated Duke exclaims (vv. 2583–2586, but with the variants of *P*):

> Ya tú sabes que después
> que llegó, por maravilla,
> un pescador a esta orilla,
> la selva confusa es.

The words were eminently fitted to be the title of a comedia. The few cases of the use of the word "selva" in the text are probably nearly all due to alterations or additions made by Calderon in conformity with the new title.[54] He does not seem to have felt

[53] If such a spot away from Madrid can be located, the dating of Lope's play will probably be a simple matter.

[54] "Confusa" expresses the very essence of a good *enredo:* in La Barrera's general list of titles and sub-titles there are 16 with "confuso ' or "confusión." —It has already been pointed out (footnote 23) that in v. 385 "selba" has been substituted for "aldea" (probably by Calderon, as an afterthought): the same substitution may have been made, but during the copying, in v. 2360. (For obvious reasons, this could not be done, without a rewriting of the passages, in vv. 1369 and 1457.) In vv. 2658 and 2790 "selba" can hardly have been the reading of the original, since the context shows that the confusion which is bothering the Duke is in the dramatic situation, not in the scene of action. The occurrence of the word in the plural offers no serious difficulty, since we know, in fact, from vv. 1364–1369 that a portion of forest land has been cleared away and converted into a retreat for the Duke and his daughter, so that "selvas" could apply to the surrounding region. (And notice that the original MS reading of v. 1367 was: "a este campo . . . . " for "a este efeto . . . . , " but it is difficult to reconcile the first reading grammatically with the rest of the sentence.) Still and all, the reading "selbas" is not always satisfactory. In v. 1979 the causal "que" makes nonsense: I suspect that the original had something like "a esta ribera, y sabiendo . . . . " (cf. v. 1639). In *P* v. 2513 has "yerbas" for "salbas" (?): evidently the entire

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the necessity of obliterating the old title from the spoken lines: on the contrary, he used it twice in his new scene (vv. 766, 803), and it occurs also in v. CCLXXXVII, in a passage which seems to be his.

2. Calderon omitted the first two lines of the play as he found it, so far as can be judged from *P* which has preserved them,[55] and lengthened the third verse. The opening speech by Filipo in *P* is as follows:

> Retírese la gente
> a la florida margen dessa fuente;
> y passemos la siesta
> en el eterno abril de la floresta.

It is difficult to see why Calderon should suppress such an important detail as the command given to the servants to withdraw. Can it be that he hoped by this change of *incipit* to conceal from filers and cataloguers, at least, the fact that his play was not a new one?

3. Calderon probably inserted vv. 6–11, wanting in *P*, his verb in v. 11 permitting the suppression of the verbs "puedes sentarte" at the beginning of v. 12 in his original. He surely added vv. 22–81 plus I, which constitute a development of the brief conventional remarks on the virtues of the chase in vv. 14–21 and make necessary the transitional lines II–V.[56] These additions retard the action needlessly, and the digression is quite unnatural at this moment when Filipo and his two courtiers have succeeded in luring Fadrique to a secluded spot, bent upon murdering him.

4. Calderon recast the scene in which Fadrique, after hurling himself into the Po, reaches the opposite bank at the spot where the Duke of Mantua and his daughter Flora have established a temporary retreat (vv. 440 ff.). In *P*, Fadrique, divested of his

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passage, with its "selbas" in v. 2512, is not as it was in the original. In v. 2792, where a lady masquerading as a "villana" is being upbraided, "aquesta aldea" would seem better than "aquestas selbas." V. DLXV belongs to a quatrain which appears to have been added by Calderon, for if this is connected with the preceding quatrain, we have a mixed figure (bird, Daphne); but even if the mixed figure is a slip by Lope, we should expect some such word as "matas" rather than "selbas" in connection with the legend of Daphne. Vv. 2933 and 3025 will be disposed of later.

[55] Hence a proof that Schack copied the opening lines from the MS, not from *P*.

[56] Evidence that this passage has been inserted lies in the fact that Filipo's terminating remark: "Es en efeto ymagen de la guerra," is not followed by a development of the parallel to which he points in these words.

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fine clothes (cf. vv. 275–281, 910), is heard and perceived off stage by Flora and Celia as he struggles to reach shore. The two girls recount for us the progress of Fadrique's battle for life. At last Fadrique drags himself up on shore and falls at Flora's feet with an "Ay de mi!" before losing consciousness. He soon recovers his senses and, of course, is smitten by Flora, with whom he engages in conversation, inventing a long tale in reply to her inquiry as to who he is and thereby concealing his identity. Celia apparently remains near at hand, but no other person is present.

In Calderon's version Fadrique's struggling in the water is witnessed *from* off stage by the Duke and Octavio. The Duke is heard calling to some fishermen to go to the rescue of the drowning man. Immediately after the Duke appears, followed presently by Octavio, then by two fishermen who bring in Fadrique, unconscious, and lay him on the ground before the Duke. Flora does not approach until due precautions have been taken.[57] On coming back to life Fadrique tells his story to the Duke, who replies with the lines assigned in *P* to Flora.[58]

In recasting this scene Calderon rejected the sixteen lines (after v. 439) spoken by Flora and Celia as they watch Fadrique swimming painfully toward shore. These lines are as follows in *P* (modern punctuation added):

Fadrique. ¡Ay de mí!
Flora. ¡Infelice suerte!
Allí un hombre agonisando (*sic*),
con el agua peleando,
está beviendo su muerte.
Y quando a hablar se provoca,
a penas el labio mueve
quando por viento agua beve,
que es mordaça de su boca.
Celia. Ya de una ola arrojado
en la arena ha parecido,
de la espuma produzido,
en las ondas engendrado.
Flora. Y ya nadando en el suelo
parece que buelve en sí.

[57] Cf. "Cubrilde. (*Ponenle una capa.*)" in v. 462, which is not in *P*, of course. Thus prudery in the young Calderon appears to have dictated the rewriting of this scene! Or did the exigences of a court representation have something to do with it?

[58] But these lines were later reassigned to Flora in *M*.

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Celia. ¡Qué gran lástima!
Sale [*Fadrique*] *mojado.*
Fadrique. ¡Ay de mí!
Flora. ¡Qué pena!
Fadrique. ¡Válgame el cielo!

In place of this passage Calderon substituted twenty-four lines (440–463) mostly of his own composition. He also moved up four lines (480–483), with necessary alterations, from their original position after v. 499 to that which they now occupy in *N*, apparently in order that Fadrique might tell his story to the Duke rather than to Flora. The passage affected, when restored with the aid of *P* and of Northup's notes, must have been approximately as follows in the original (Northup's verse numbers used):

Fadrique. ¿Dónde estoy?
¿Qué tierra es ésta que veo,
o qué cielo es el que miro?
¿Qué lugar es el que admiro? 470
Aun lo toco y no lo creo.
¿Soys al que e de agradecer
la piedad de aberme dado
la vida? ¿A quien me ha sacado
aquí?
Flora. Y [a] quien dessea ver 475
quién eres y qué ynportuna
suerte ynfeliz te ha traydo
al teatro donde as sido
tragedia de la fortuna 479
o parto del Po. (480)
Fadrique. Diré (484)
mi ynfeliz suceso quando 485
sepa a quien estoy hablando,
porque mientras no lo sé,
a decirlo no me atrebo,
señora, porque no es bien
que hable sin saber a quién 490
y el deseo que le debo.
Flora. Duquesa de Mantua soy.
No te lebantes, responde.
Fadrique. Bien dices, que no ay adonde
mientras que a tus pies estoy; 495
mas déjamelos vesar.
Flora. No as de levantarte: di
tu nombre y tu patria.[59]

[59] For "y tu patria" the "corrected" MS has "sentado" (!).

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Fadrique. Aquí
quién soy me ynporta callar. *ap.* 499
Salen el Duque, y Otavio.
Otavio. Flora quedava con él.
Duque. ¡Gran ventura fue que a nado
saliessei[60]
Flora. Pues as llegado,
oye su suerte cruel. 483
Fadrique. Milán, señora, es mi patria, ... 500

In altering this scene as he did, Calderon sacrificed the commonly used dramatic effect which is obtained by having the *primer galán* see the *primera dama* for the first time on recovering consciousness, after an almost fatal accident, at her feet or in her arms, no other person, save possibly a servant, being present.

5. As already shown in the earlier part of this study, Calderon inserted in the last half of the first act (vv. 736–804) an entirely new scene which takes place at the court of the Duke of Milan, bringing this latter personage momentarily on the stage. This necessitated the adding of the Duke's name to the list of characters in the MS, where it occupies first place.[61]

6. Calderon rejected the last two *décimas* of the first act, containing a rapid dialogue between Flora and Fadrique the substance of which is a typical Lope *concepto*. These lines in *P* are as follows:

Flora. ¿Qué sembrarás?
Fadrique. Una flor.
Flora. ¿Cómo se llama?
Fadrique. Esperança.
Flora. ¿Crece mucho?
Fadrique. ¿Quién la alcança?
Flora. Y ¿qué fruto lleva?
Fadrique. Amor.
Flora. ¿Quién la alentará?

[60] This exclamation retained by Calderon becomes contradictory, since in his version Fadrique has been represented as being saved by fishermen, not through his own efforts.

[61] In this connection it would be interesting to consult the MS in order to see whether this name, and also the "pescador primero" and "pescador segundo" at the end of the list, have been squeezed into place. If this is the case, it practically proves that the changes requiring the addition of these names to the list was an afterthought of Calderon's, and not part of a preconceived plan of completely recasting the play.

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Fadrique. Un favor.
Flora. Y ¿la aumenta?
Fadrique. En él estriva.
Flora. ¿Él la alienta?
Fadrique. Él la cultiva.
Flora. ¿Quién la merece?
Fadrique. No sé.
Flora. Y ¿quién la alcança?
Fadrique. La fe.
Flora. ¿Qué flor es?
Fadrique. La siempreviva.
¿No es buena?
Flora. Tiene belleza
Fadrique. Y ¿alégrate?
Flora. Sólo oylla.
Fadrique. Y ¿otra no?
Flora. La maravilla.
Fadrique. Y ¿qué flor es?
Flora. La firmeza.
Fadrique. ¿Quién la tiene?
Flora. Quien empieça.
Fadrique. ¿Cómo?
Flora, Sirviendo con veras.
Fadrique. Yo las tendré.
Flora. Pues ¿qué esperas?
Fadrique. Fe fiel.
Flora. Yo, firmeza altiva.
Fadrique. ¡Ay, si fueras siempreviva!
Flora. ¡Ay, si maravilla fueras!

7. Calderon omitted at least three other short passages from the first act; if he did the same with others, it is not possible to determine either their length or their place. Two of those which he suppressed (vv. 286–295 and 302–311) were put back by the "corrector" of the MS (see Northup's notes), while the third, a *redondilla* which followed v. 992, has been preserved by *P* and is as follows:

Jacinta. Pues que yo tu amparo escojo,
seguro vas a mi lado.
Marcial. Si no me haze corcovado
algún tuerto, o algún coxo.

8. Calderon perhaps wrote other passages of the text of the first act of his version besides those already detached as his, but

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it would be difficult to pick them out and find in every case a good reason why they were probably not in the original. Particularly suspicious, however, are the three partly unintelligible *redondillas* which follow v. 884,[62] as well as the *décima* immediately after v. 1002.[63] Both passages, marked in the MS for omission, are wanting in *P*, but this fact does not prove that they are not by Lope.

9. In the second act Calderon seems to have made alterations quite freely, but there is no good basis on which to determine exactly how much of his original he accepted, how much he rejected or how much he added of his own composition. Of the thirty-three passages in *M* marked for excision, twenty-two neither destroy the continuity of composition nor seem necessary for it, although I suspect several of them,[64] while eleven of the total number, amounting to one hundred lines, seem for one reason or another not to belong to the original and are all wanting in *P*.[65] As the MS stood before alterations the act had 1230 verses,

[62] Jacinta's words: "El (*sic* in *P*) secreto te prometo." in v. 885 seem to contain a prompt reply to Marcial's expression of fear in vv. 881–883 and hence should follow immediately.

[63] The lines which follow this *décima* indicate that Fadrique is completely resigned to his lowly station for the present and is not looking for a change of "fortuna" as expressed in the *décima*.

[64] These are: vv. CXCVIII–CCL, CCII–CCIX, CCLXIV–CCLXVII, CCLXXVIII–CCLXXXI, CCCXV–CCCXVIII, CCCXIX–CCCXXXIV.

[65] These passages are: 1. CLXIX–CLXXVI (Vv. 1422–1423 seem to contain a prompt reply to the question in v. 1421, and hence there should be no intervening lines). 2. CLXXVII–CXCII (Filipo's manifestation of a lingering affection for Jacinta seems to be a part of Calderon's preparation for the end of the play as *he* conceived it). 3. CXCIII–CXCVI (The "si es Flora" of v. 1454 is the logical complement of v. 1453. The short verse CXCVII shows up the patch). 4. CCX–CCXXI (The passage has one unintelligible line, v. CCXIV, and one stupid *ripio*, v. CCXX. In vv. 1675–1676 Calderon seems to have introduced changes in order to take the speech of which they form a part away from Oton and give it to Celia: in *P* we find: "porque antes de agora dize/que no lo era, y contradize . . . . ," the two verbs in the present tense being probably errors for "dijo" and "contradijo"). 5. CCXXII–CCXXV (Among other defects the passage has an incorrect verse, namely the third). 6. CCXXVI–CCXXIX (The first and fourth verses of this *redondilla* do not rhyme). 7. CCXXX–CCLIII (After beginning a *relación* with the more or less conventional "Sabrás, pues, ... " and getting well on in his story, Fadrique repeats this formula in v. 1762!). 8. CCLIV–CCLIX (The passage begins with a *ripio*.—The "Yo lo perdono." of v. CCLVII was taken from v. 1796, which in turn, in order that a repetition of exactly the same words might be avoided, was changed from "Yo lo perdono, Fadrique." to "Pero yo te lo perdono." This change, by the way, was foolish, since Fadrique two lines further on plainly indicates that the Duke has

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a figure which is not much in excess of what one might expect to find in an original Lope MS. Consequently, with the hundred objectionable lines deducted, it is not necessary to suppose that Calderon threw out any of Lope's work in this act. Northup's notes do not indicate that any passages were put back in the margins of the MS, nor does *P* supply any others.[66]

10. In the third act, up to a certain moment not far from the end of the play, Calderon seems to have taken over Lope's text practically as he found it, save that he inserted almost certainly two, more probably three, passages amounting with the latter count to sixty lines in the last *romance* which occurs.[67] Elsewhere the continuity of composition appears to be unbroken and the text fairly correct.[68]

11. In place of the *desenlace* in the original Calderon wrote his

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just called him by his name). 9. CCLX–CCLXIII (This stifled laughter is decidedly incongruous). 10. CCLXVIII–CCLXXVII (Trivial). 11. CCLXXXII–CCLXXXIX (The account of what Fadrique did after his rescue from the river Po is superfluous.—The "no" of the last line of the passage, repeated in the next line of the text, makes awkward patching.). To these should be added, I believe, although they are in *P*, vv. 1750–1753, for it is difficult to imagine that Lope would extend the long *aparte* of which these four lines are the conclusion from his *redondillas* over into this *romance.*

[66] In connection with this second act, what is the significance of the word "Lamas" which, as Northup notes, Calderon scribbled several times in the margin of this part of his MS? Is it for "la amas?" Was Calderon distracted during these days?

[67] These passages are: 1. DXLV–DLXII (V. 2801, containing a snappish reply to Flora's "los hombres buscas" in v. 2798, should follow v. 2800 immediately). 2. DLXIII–DLXVI (This quatrain and the one which precedes it, when taken together, present a mixed metaphor, as already noted in footnote 54). 3. DLXVII–DCIV (The "Basta." [followed by an *aparte*] of v. 2819, equivalent to: "Quit your nonsense!", shows that in the original Filipo did not succeed in breaking away from the Duke [vv. 2811–2818] to go in pursuit of Jacinta: hence there should be no intervening lines.—Filipo in this passage addresses trees which do not exist in the original, calling on them to stop Jacinta.—The passage ends in a *ripio* which has no *raison d'être* except the new title of the play.).

[68] Vv. 2139 and 2483 are *ripios* supplied by the "corrector" after excisions. V. 2522 has been substituted for "no como ella dice hermana," which connected up perfectly with the next line before the excision was made. A satisfactory reading for vv. 2659–2660 is furnished by *P:* "Qué bien muestran las flores/que a Flora deven sus matices diosa/Venus," etc. V. CDLXXXIX is too long as it stands, and moreover should not have "señor" in it, being addressed to Flora: it could be emended, for example, as follows: "Déjeme vuexcelencia." V. DXI is likewise too long, but can be emended by the omission of "y esta."

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own conclusion to the play in the 140 lines with which the MS version ends.[69] Evidence of this is of several sorts:

(a) Up to and including v. 2886 the act already has, in the MS, 1078 verses, from which, as just stated, 60 are probably to be deducted as belonging to Calderon. The end of the play in its original form must therefore have come very shortly after v. 2886. This is all the more certain from the fact that the last 132 lines up to this point (exclusive of Calderon's 60 verses) are a *romance*, the form of versification most frequently used by Lope in his closing scenes.[70]

(b) Calderon makes Fadrique attempt to keep up the "confusion" with respect to his identity (vv. 2918 ff.) when all interest in this essential element of the plot is gone.

(c) With the appearance of Jacinta at the beginning of the above mentioned *romance* the climax of the *enredo* has been reached. All of the characters of the play at one time or another have been feigning, and no one now trusts anyone. At the middle point of what is left of the original *romance* all the characters (including Filipo, when Calderon's additions are omitted) are now on the scene except Fadrique and Marcial. Thus everything is set for the conventional swift *desenlace*, and this is partly precipitated, in fact, by the appearance of Marcial and his giving testimony to the effect that the gardener really is Fadrique, heir to the Duke of Milan.

(d) From the moment that Filipo and Celia first meet in the play (vv. 1346 ff.)—and notice that Filipo has not yet seen Flora—Celia is more than merely interested in Filipo; and all through the rest of the play, except in certain passages probably inserted by Calderon, Filipo does not cease to proclaim his love for Celia, although he believes that in reality this person is none other than Flora, to whom he is officially engaged. It seems almost certain that in Lope's version Filipo is bound in the end to ask for the hand of Flora, as indeed Calderon has him do, but that, being obliged to yield the real Flora to his brother Fadrique, he is to find an entirely satisfactory compensation in winning the girl whom he loves, namely Celia, while Jacinta, who has been only a passing fancy in the hearts of both Fadrique and Filipo, is to be left in the lurch. Calderon, however, has Filipo become betrothed to Jacinta and leaves Celia without a husband.

[69] These are all in *P* also, except vv. 2908–2911 and 2975–2977. It has already been explained (footnote 52) how this part of *M* could get into *P*.

[70] From the fact that this is a *romance* in "u-a" it might be argued that Lope's title must also have been "La selva confusa." Not necessarily. Lope did not use *romances* in "u-a" in the final scenes of *Amar por burla*, *En los indicios la culpa*, *Fuente Ovejuna* and *El premio de la hermosura:* I have not had access to *La prisión sin culpa.*

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(e) Calderon has the Duke of Mantua suddenly find in the whole situation an attack on his honor (vv. 2887–2898)—a theme entirely extraneous to the play.[71]

(f) A burlesque element, also quite foreign to the tone of the rest of the play, is introduced in vv. 2953, 2960–2961, 3004 and 3006–3007.

(g) The form of versification employed here (*recitativo* or *silva de consonantes*) was not used by Lope in any of his commonly accessible plays.[72]

With this useless prolongation of the action and the faulty *desenlace* which it contains Calderon's task was done. His share in the redaction of the MS version of the play which we now have, as I have tried to point it out, is quantitatively not very great; qualitatively, his work is decidedly inferior to that which he left untouched. The courtiers who witnessed the performance on July 21, 1623, if they were regaled with exactly this version, had little to applaud apart from those scenes of Lope's original play which had remained intact.

La selva confusa is not without value in the history of the comedia. If the last 140 lines be lopped off, the remainder as we have it in the *Parte XXVII "extravagante"* is probably one more play to be added, under the title of *El desdichado*, to the slowly growing list of rediscovered dramatic works of Lope de Vega. It might be classified as a fragment, since on the one hand it lacks a certain number, but probably a small number, of its concluding lines, and on the other hand it has been cut down and otherwise badly damaged in the course of its transmission from Lope's original MS to the printed text. In this latter respect, however, it has probably not fared much worse than scores of others known to us only through 17th century printed editions. It appears to be a fair sample of Lope's earlier manner.[73]

[71] This is not necessarily of any importance in connection with the honor question in the later work of Calderon.

[72] The nearest approach to it that I can find are a few cases of *versos sueltos* (*El verdadero amante, El esclavo fingido, Los esclavos libres*). Nor was it used by Calderon himself except in *Amor, honor y poder;* but cf. footnote 20.—Schack may well have glanced over these closing lines in the MS, finding in them a confirmation of his impression that the entire play is Calderon's.

[73] It was composed not later than 1603, year in which the first *Peregrino* was ready for the press. That the play was written a few years earlier than this date may be partly inferred from the fact that it has no *gracioso*, for Marcial is only a *tosco* or *villano*. Moreover, the sonnet in the third act (after v. 2288) has the appearance of belonging to the Belisa series of poetic works, voicing as it seems to do Lope's remorse over one of his frequent lapses into infidelity to her. ("Jacinta"

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The Madrid MS, in turn, possesses a twofold value. In the first place, it has conserved a better text of Lope's play and more of it, although still fragmentary. In the second place, it furnishes a sample of what we would now call literary hack work executed by Calderon several years before his real career as a dramatist began. His inexperience is patent, his workmanship is crude. Is it any wonder that when, more than half a century later, he was asked to make a list of his genuine plays he did not mention *La selva confusa*?

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at the beginning of the second line is replaceable by "Belisa," the first syllable of which, according to Northup's note, Calderon actually wrote before correcting himself: could the sonnet have been inserted with this name into Lope's MS of *El desdichado?*) If this is the case, then the play was not written later than 1595; but this whole matter calls for a closer investigation. Incidentally, in *P* the text of the sonnet, but not the punctuation, is the same as in *N*, except that it has "juzgo" for "vyo" in the 11th line and "muera, o viva" for "viba o muera" in the 13th.

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X

PIERRE LEROUX AND HIS PHILOSOPHY IN RELATION TO LITERATURE

AS A philosopher and social thinker, Pierre Leroux[1] has been the object of considerable attention in recent years, and his works on political, religious and sociological subjects have been studied by scholars of distinction.[2] Since he was also a writer and critic not without a certain fame in his own day, it seems a little curious that his literary activities and influence have yet to receive full treatment.

Those activities began in 1824, when he founded the Liberal *Globe*. Under his administration the offices of that journal became an intellectual *foyer* for the future leaders of the Romantic generation, while the paper itself was made the channel through which they indoctrinated the public. Leroux himself contributed to the *Globe* a number of articles worthy of being rescued from oblivion, full as they are of novel and striking ideas which reveal in their author the elements of a superior literary critic.[3] Leaving the *Globe* in 1831, he then edited another equally influential literary journal, the monthly *Revue Encyclopédique*; in 1836 he commenced work for an Encyclopedia which appeared from 1836 to 1841, under the style of *Encyclopédie Nouvelle*, and to which he contributed several remarkable papers. In 1841 he was associated with George Sand in the production of the *Revue Indépendante*, then successively edited *La Revue Sociale* (1845–1850), *L'Eclaireur* (1847-

[1] Born in Paris in 1797, the son of a Breton artisan, Pierre Leroux worked as a mason and as a compositor before beginning his editorial career and attaining eminence as a philosopher, critic, historian and economist. Elected deputy for Paris in 1848, he went into exile in Jersey and Guernsey after the December *coup d'état*, returning to France in 1859; while his brother Jules four years later emigrated to America, where, according to Benoît Malon (*Histoire du Socialisme*, 1882), he became Editor of the *Kansas Star*. Pierre Leroux died during the Commune, in 1871.

[2] Paul Stapfer, "*Questions esthétiques et religieuses*," Alcan, 1906, pp. 91–143: "Un philosophe religieux du 19e siècle, Pierre Leroux;" Félix Thomas, "Pierre Leroux; sa vie, son oeuvre, sa doctrine. Contribution à l'histoire des idées au 19e siècle," Alcan, *Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine*, 1904. See also Célestin Raillard, "*Pierre Leroux et ses oeuvres: l'homme, le philosophe, le socialiste*," Chateauroux, 1899; Paul Janet, "La Philosophie de Pierre Leroux," *RDM*, April-May 1899; J. E. Fidao, "Pierre Leroux," *RDM*, May-June, 1906.

[3] As M. Félix Thomas observes ("Pierre Leroux," p. 29).

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1848), *La Vraie République* (1848), *Le Nouvel Organe de la Démocratie* (1851), *L'Espérance* (1858–1859), etc. To all these journals he wrote articles on political, economic or literary subjects, many of which he later republished with revisions or additions. The catalogue of his writings accordingly runs into upwards of seventy items.

While many of Leroux's books are more or less reprints of former articles, he also published several works independently. The first of these was his translation of Goethe's *Werther*,[4] destined to become the favorite version of the French Romantics. Later he translated also the *Book of Job*, adding a preface in which he attributed its authorship to Isaiah, together with a lengthy appendix on Renan's translation which, he endeavored to show, was riddled with philological inaccuracies.[5] Of this translation Banville wrote:

> Là éclate et se manifeste le grand poète, ayant la claire, la fulgurante vision de l'avenir; mais aussi quel miracle que ce commentaire dont il a accompagné le poème et dans lequel il traite Renan de Turc à More! Sans doute ce qu'il y a dans ce livre, ce qui n'est dans aucun autre au même degré, c'est que l'art y est adéquat à la philosophie. . . . . Mais la lumière, une lumière que je ne puis m'empêcher d'appeler divine, ruissèle partout et de partout.[6]

It was intended that the *Job* translation should be followed by a version of the *Book of Isaiah*. Evidently, however, that purpose was not achieved, and all that came of it was a specimen translation of seven "poems" brought out at Lausanne in 1869. Of Leroux's other books I will mention the *Réfutation de l'Eclectisme* (1839), an attack on the opportunist doctrines of Victor Cousin, and *De l'Humanité* (1840), "ce beau livre en deux tomes" as M. Stapfer calls it, which is usually considered to contain his best work in philosophy.

At first a disciple of Saint-Simon, Pierre Leroux seceded from the School in 1831, at the time of the schism over the question of the emancipation of women, to profess a social doctrine of his

[4] "*Werther*, de Goethe, traduction nouvelle," Paris, 1829.—M. Baldensperger, in his *Goethe en France*, lists this translation without discussing it.

[5] "*Job*, drame en cinq actes, avec prologue et épilogue, par le prophète Isaïe, rétabli dans son intégrité, et traduit littéralement sur le texte hébreu, par Pierre Leroux," with the motto "Vitam impendere vero," Grasse and Paris, 1866.

[6] Quoted by Raillard, p. 13.

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own, based upon the teachings of Saint-Simon and of Condorcet, and known as the Religion of Humanity. An earnest student of contemporary affairs, he contemplated with alarm the undercurrents of scepticism which pervaded the 1820's and 1830's, leading to Byronism in literature and to Schopenhauerian pessimism in philosophy. French society, as he saw it, was in the midst of a prodigious ferment engendered by doubt, an aftermath of the Philosophy of the Eighteenth Century, which was speedily carrying it into chaos. Accordingly, in his first article to the *Revue Encyclopédique*, he remonstrated with the poets, philosophers, scientists and political thinkers for having dissipated the religious beliefs of the past while supplying nothing to take their place. This article, addressed "Aux Philosophes," remarkable for the perspicacity with which it characterized the state of contemporary society,[7] was widely read and made an impression upon Victor Hugo and Alfred de Musset which is still discernible in *Rolla* and in certain poems of the *Rayons et Ombres*.

The eclecticism of Victor Cousin, which, as Fidao points out, was the official philosophy of the government of July, was, in Leroux's opinion, no antidote to this poison. He voiced his hostility to it in the *Réfutation de l'Eclectisme*, a book which represents one of the fiercest battles in the field of ideas which took place during the reign of Louis-Philippe, a battle which Leroux fought with skill and courage, and in which his outspokenness cost him, among other things, the friendship of the timorous Sainte-Beuve. French philosophy, he asserted, had been decadent since Condillac, who by devoting himself to the study of psychology to the utter exclusion of metaphysics prepared the way for the cultus of the ego and for eclecticism; "jamais homme n'a mérité moins que lui le nom de philosophe."[8] Answering Cousin, who follows Condillac in regarding philosophy as a science of observation akin to physics, he was moved to declare that the philosopher is not a scientist but an artist:

> Les grands poètes et les grands philosophes ont toujours eu ensemble d'étroites affinités; il semble qu'ils ont le même berceau, et qu'aux yeux des peuples ils habitent, après leur mort, les mêmes régions des Champs-

[7] M. Thomas writes of it: "Son premier article à la *Revue Encyclopédique* caractérise avec une admirable netteté l'état des esprits à cette époque et les causes qui l'ont produit," and calls it perhaps the most remarkable of his works (p. 40).

[8] "Condillac," *Encyclopédie Nouvelle*, tome 3 (1840).

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Elysées. Socrate et Platon s'appuyaient continuellement d'Homère; un vers du poète était pour eux une autorité. Aristote cherche souvent les définitions des choses les plus profondes dans Homère, dans Orphée, et dans les anciens poètes. Et quel philosophe moderne vaut mieux à citer que Dante, ou Shakespeare, ou Milton, ou, dans certaines matières, Molière et La Fontaine?[9]

Pierre Leroux's own philosophical affinities are with Roger and Francis Bacon, Pascal, Malebranche, Leibnitz and Saint-Simon. He admired in the *Opus Majus* above all Roger Bacon's faith in the incessant progress of human intelligence, and noted that Francis Bacon was likewise imbued with deep belief in the perfectibility of humanity, "which is his dogma, his life."

Personne n'a conçu mieux que lui, avec plus d'ardeur et de constance, le projet d'*étendre l'empire de l'homme sur l'univers, et de le délivrer de ses fers et de ses entraves.*[10]

Pascal is greatest in the Treatise on Void ("De l'autorité en matière de philosophie"), where he formulates for the first time the Theory of Perfectibility, though it is regrettable that he proceeds to prostrate humanity to the religious past. Malebranche reiterates Pascal's ideas on progress, and in the course of the Eighteenth Century Turgot and Condorcet take up the torch, transmitting it to Saint-Simon and, of course, to Pierre Leroux.[11]

The Doctrine of Perfectibility, indeed, is the starting-point of Leroux's entire philosophy, and the source of his optimism. His Religion of Humanity is a positive religion, leading directly to Auguste Comte, who spent his old age devising for that religion a system of priesthood, and to John Stuart Mill, with whom Leroux once corresponded. "Humanitarianism" was nevertheless far from being materialistic in spirit. Leroux, it must be remembered, was an idealist in revolt against the strongly individualistic tendencies of the plutocracy of the incipient Industrial Age; his ultimate aims involved nothing more than a collective effort to eliminate poverty and destitution. Leroux foresaw too in individualism the danger to democracy which was to become apparent with the work of Nietzsche, and advocated, to forestall its evil effects, equality of opportunity through general education.

[9] *Réfutation de l'Eclectisme*, p. 106.
[10] "François Bacon," *Encyclopédie Nouvelle*, tome 2 (1837).
[11] "De la loi de continuité qui unit le 18e siècle au 17e." (1833).

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His socialism, therefore, has little in common with the trend of modern Socialistic thought.

His religious ideas are benignly evangelical. "Il ne s'est peut-être pas rencontré dans tout le 19e siècle d'esprit plus chrétien que le sien," writes Stapfer, characterizing him as a forerunner of "liberal Protestantism":

> Cette philosophie ne le cède point en onction religieuse au *christianisme moderne*, au *protestantisme libéral*, et le fond en est *identiquement le même*. Je mets la critique au défi d'y trouver la moindre différence. Quel en est le fond? c'est *l'unité de Dieu, père des hommes*, au sens strict des mots, au sens qui *admet la Providence, la prière et la foi*, mais qui *exclut la divinité du fils de Marie*.[12]

Leroux was, however, far from being conscious of the fact that he was so unmistakably a Christian. In the light of comparative religion he viewed Christianity as the logical development of Mosaïsm, of Judaïsm, and in the last analysis of Platonism, destined to evolve in its turn into a newer doctrine which should assimilate its vital and abiding elements while rejecting its now defunct mysticism, precisely in the same manner after which Christianity itself grew out of Mosaïsm. For mythological Christianity he had no regard. With Spinoza, he held that the language of the Bible is allegorical throughout, identified God with the processes of nature, and did not recognize the divinity of Jesus. Finally, for Christian mysticism, the victim of the Eighteenth Century as he believed it to have been, he substituted the positivist doctrine of Palingenesis:

> Elle enseigne que les mêmes hommes renaissent sur la terre dans une suite indéfinie d'existences, en sorte que *nous ne sommes pas seulement les fils et la postérité de ceux qui ont déjà vécu, mais au fond et réellement ces générations antérieures elles-mêmes, recommençant une nouvelle étape de leur existence éternelle*.[13]

Paul Stapfer writes appreciatively of the seductiveness of the metaphysics of Pierre Leroux:

> Telles sont les ressources de son érudition, la force et la souplesse de sa dialectique, la beauté quelquefois de son style et de son éloquence, l'ardeur toujours entraînante de sa conviction surtout, que nous finissons par en subir le charme, et qu'à demi persuadés nous songeons: l'idée

[12] Stapfer, "Questions esthétiques et religieuses," pp. 126–127.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

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n'est pas plus déraisonnable que beaucoup d'autres; elle l'est même beaucoup moins que bien d'autres, qui eurent une très grande vogue . . . . et pourquoi ne serait-elle pas vraie, après tout?[14]

As a literary critic, Leroux contributed to his various journals studies which make the reader wish that he had devoted more time to literature. One of the earliest and most noteworthy, an attempt to characterize Romanticism, appeared in the *Globe* on April 8, 1829. Rejecting the attribution of the Romantic Movement to foreign influences, which he considers merely accessory, the author of *Du Style Symbolique* finds weightier causes in a "prodigious" change of poetic metaphor which came about at the end of the Eighteenth Century, replacing abstraction with imagination. He shows by a comparison of Racine and V. Hugo that while Classical poetry develops abstract ideas in abstract terms, Romanticism clothes them in symbols.

L'artifice consiste à ne pas développer l'idée qu'on veut comparer à une autre, mais à développer uniquement cette seconde idée, c'est à dire l'image. . . . . De même qu'on remplace le mot propre par une métaphore, ici l'idée est remplacée par son emblème: on a pour ainsi dire la métaphore d'une idée.

He traces back the origins of *symbolisme*, as he terms it, probably for the first time in a literary sense, to Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, proceeding to give an abundance of illustrations from Chateaubriand, Schiller and Victor Hugo in support of the contention that Romantic poetry is predominantly symbolistic.

Having thus analyzed the literary esthetics of Romanticism, Leroux went on to examine its philosophy, in an equally noteworthy article of 1831, "De la Poésie de notre Epoque" (*Revue Encyclopédique*, November and December), where he criticized as a marked contrast to their stylistic originality the reactionary political attitude of its adherents, accused them of being disloyal to the democratic movement which had been gathering impetus since the time of the French Revolution, and ascribed this lack of a progressive social policy to unbelief. He then suggested a new orientation for the Romantic Movement, admonishing contemporary writers for their scepticism and appealing to Lamartine and Victor Hugo in particular to disown the futilities of Art for Art and proclaim the principles of the society of the future.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

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The judgments expressed in this study are accounted by some critics the most penetrating ever written on Victor Hugo.[15] Leroux's appeal to the poet's genius was eloquent in the extreme:

> Pourquoi cette apparence de calme religieux avec une pensée sceptique et incrédule, ce culte idolâtre du passé avec un coeur bouillant d'avenir? .... Veux-tu que le peuple aille habiter avec toi dans des tombeaux? .... O malheur à l'artiste d'être ainsi en dehors de son tems! .... Oui, grand poète, tu sais dire la superstition de l'Arabe, et quand les Djinns funèbres passent en sifflant dans les airs, ton vers, comme une onde sonore, associe à tous les degrés du son tous les degrés du sentiment, ... par une admirable combinaison d'harmonie que l'art n'avait pas encore atteinte. Mais, quand tu laisses les superstitions du passé, quand tu ne fais plus de la poésie sur l'histoire, quand tu parles en ton nom, tu es comme tous les hommes de ton époque, tu ne sais rien dire sur le berceau, ni sur la tombe. .... Poète, d'où vient l'humanité et où va-t-elle? Voilà ce que tu ne sais pas; voilà ce que croyaient savoir et ce que savaient en effet, sous un voile prophétique, tous les grands artistes du moyen-âge. Voilà ce que savaient ceux qui ont bâti les cathédrales; ce que savaient Dante, Raphaël, Michel-Ange. .... Si oubliant que l'art c'est la vie, vous faites uniquement de l'art pour en faire, souffrez que je ne voie plus en vous le prophète, le *vates*, que l'humanité a toujours cherché dans ses poètes.

Important as this article may be in relation to the diffusion of what may be termed the missionary or sacerdotal idea in the literature of the July Monarchy, it is in the study "De la loi de continuité qui unit le 18e siècle au 17e" that Leroux's critical ability is seen to greatest advantage. This work contains both a technique of literary criticism and a program for the organization of research on scientific lines in all spheres of knowledge; the ideas expressed are striking and novel enough to warrant the textual reproduction of a few of the main passages, although indeed its integral republication would appear eminently desirable.

It appeared in the *Revue Encyclopédique* of March 1833, under the rubric "Philosophie de l'Histoire," and bearing the significant motto "Progrès Continu." The writer begins with a disquisition on the need for a new integration of knowledge, a synthesis of the individual labors of multitudes of research workers exploring each of them a very limited field in no superficial fashion. This *novum organum*—the conception of which is obviously taken from Bacon —Leroux terms "the philosophy of history, a faithful record of the human mind and the story of its progress."

[15] F. Thomas, *Pierre Leroux*, p. 45.

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La philosophie de l'histoire consiste essentiellement dans la compréhension de l'unité; elle cherche avant tout à embrasser les rapports qui unissent, dans un instant quelconque de développement, toutes les parties de la connaissance et de l'activité humaines. . . . . Car, de même que toutes les parties d'un corps organisé se modifient simultanément, et dans une relation nécessaire, à chaque instant de durée aussi tous les arts, toutes les sciences et toutes les pratiques existent et se développent simultanément:

Mens agitat molem, et toto se in corpore miscet.

Of all the partial branches of the Philosophy of History, the most important, we learn, is unquestionably the philosophy of literary history. To have access to it will involve a complete change of method in criticism. Current practice is too "fragmentary," proceeding as it does analytically and almost biographically to study only the great names of literary history; and although in recent years "une critique littéraire douée de poésie a produit de très belles études biographiques" (a compliment to Sainte-Beuve, who is later criticized for having attempted nothing more than isolated portraits), philosophical literary criticism has yet to be created. Indeed:

Jusqu'ici nous ne sommes habitués à considérer, dans ces monumens et dans ceux qui les ont produits, que la variété, la multiplicité, mais sans jamais faire attention à *l'unité* qui les embrasse, les relie, les rattache les uns aux autres et les explique. Dans cette manière fragmentaire et toute phénoménale de considérer la littérature, chaque écrivain nous apparaît détaché, isolé, non seulement de ceux qui l'ont précédé ou suivi, et même de ses contemporains, mais encore des faits et des événemens que sa pensée a contribué à produire. . . . . Si l'on cherche à se former une idée de l'ordre et de l'enchaînement de notre passé littéraire, on ne trouvera rien de suivi, aucune explication, aucune lumière philosophique, dans l'histoire littéraire telle qu'elle existe. La seule chose qui semble occuper les juges et les critiques, c'est d'assigner un rang, comme on dit, à chacun des grands écrivains. . . . . Il semble que la production des monumens littéraires soit pour ainsi dire l'effet du hasard. . . . . Ce n'est pas une évolution de l'esprit humain, c'est une suite de révolutions contradictoires qu'on y contemple.

Having thus characterized the criticism of his time, Leroux dismisses it as unsatisfactory because it by no means reproduces the movement and cohesion of life. Literary criticism, he remarks, has too much lost sight of Leibnitz' maxim "le présent, engendré du passé, est gros de l'avenir," and it is time for it to consider in a more synthetic manner the great currents and underlying move-

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ments which in fact carry from one great name to another. The method he proposes to establish, founded precisely upon that faith in progress which leads the philosopher to seek in all manifestations of human activity the sense of continuity, is accordingly an explanatory method; but the philosophical point of view is not alone dominant in it. The historical point of view is not absent, for Leroux desires to supply a corrective for literary dilettantism by introducing the care for the comprehension of the phenomena of literature in the light of history. He feels that the critic must henceforth renounce the luxury of appreciating the masterpieces of literature with his individual taste, and must train himself for a *métier* whose methods will be those of the natural sciences and whose purpose will be to deduce from the facts of literature the laws governing them.

One of these laws he himself infers from the study of the origins of the Doctrine of Perfectibility. It is the *law of continuity*,

> la loi de succession et d'enchaînement de tous les grands monumens du langage, tant sous le rapport du fond des idées et des sentimens que sous celui de la forme, ... cette divine loi d'ordre et de succession à laquelle les plus grands individus sont soumis, et qui est telle qu'à un point de vue ils ne sont qu'*effet*, tandis qu'à un autre point de vue ils sont cause. . . . . Cette loi n'est pas connue, elle n'est pas même étudiée; elle est à peine soupçonnée, et, jusqu'à ces dernières années, pas un critique, pas un historien de la littérature ne s'était douté de son existence.

These ideas were indeed novel for 1833. Leroux was more ambitious in his conception of the functions of the critic than Sainte-Beuve, for his Law of Succession and Concatenation represents, fifty years before Brunetière, the application of evolutionist ideas to the study of literature. The close affinity of the ideas of Leroux and those of Brunetiere may be illustrated by the following parallel:

(According to the current method, in literary history and criticism)

"Chaque écrivain nous apparaît détaché, isolé, non seulement de ceux qui l'ont précédé ou suivi, et même de ses contemporains, mais encore des faits et des événemens que sa pensée a contribué à produire. . . . . Il semble que la production des monumens littéraires soit pour ainsi dire l'effet du hasard."

"Grands et petits, poètes ou prosateurs, *les écrivains nous apparaissent* ainsi comme *détachés de tout ce qui les a précédés ou suivis*, suspendus entre ciel et terre, situés en l'air, sans liaisons ni racines, coupés, après leur mort, de toutes *les communications qu'ils ont eues pourtant, en leur temps, avec leurs semblables*."

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(Whereas in reality—)

"La loi de succession et d'enchaînement de tous les grands monumens du langage. . . . ."

"Le mot de Leibnitz est vrai de toute manière et dans tous les sens: le présent, engendré du passé, est gros de l'avenir."

"Cette divine loi . . . . à laquelle les plus grands individus sont soumis" (Pierre Leroux, "De la loi de continuité" 1833).

"Il y a une *filiation des oeuvres*; et en tout temps, en littérature comme en art, *ce qui pèse du poids le plus lourd sur le présent, c'est le passé* . . . . car *en vain nous dit-on qu'en art ou en littérature il n'y a que des 'individus'*!" (Brunetière, "La doctrine évolutive et l'histoire," *Études Critiques*, 6e série (1911), pp. 15–16.)

Forgotten though Leroux may be today by the historians of literature, it is amply clear from contemporary documents that his work attracted widespread attention at the time when it first appeared. In England his fame was known through such books as Véricour's *Modern French Literature* (Edinburgh, 1842), which declared him to be

"one of the most profound thinkers of the age . . . . at the same time, a man of modest pretensions, a practical philosopher, who prefers a noble poverty and freedom of pursuits to all those highly remunerated dignities and employments which ensure the venality of so many men of letters. He is a sage in the sacred acceptation of the ancients, who has long remained obscure, despite his prodigious learning; vigorous and imaginative in the qualities of his mind, they are all enhanced by purity of conscience and an ardent zeal in the research of truth and wisdom. His fame, however, is now extending widely, not only in France, but in Germany also, where he is called the restorer of philosophy."

The *British and Foreign Review* of 1843 considered him likewise "in every way a remarkable man," adding: "we must be understood to say that we think his works far more worthy of attention than those of almost any modern thinker." In America also, if we are to judge by the 1848 Boston edition of Véricour's manual, while Leroux's treatment of the Christian religion was held in reprobation, it was nevertheless admitted that "the metaphysical acumen and universal learning of M. Leroux unquestionably entitle him to rank him among the first thinkers of the age."[16]

The influence of Leroux upon French literature is so large a question that I can for the present but refer to a few of its in-

[16] American editor's notes, p. 394.

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dividual aspects, reserving a fuller treatment for my forthcoming book on that subject. If we are to accept one of the most recent definitions of Romanticism[17] as "la réalisation poétique et lyrique de l'idée de progrès constituée au 18e siècle," obviously it is difficult to ascribe limits to the possible influence upon the Romantics of the most seductive and vigorous contemporary exponent of the Doctrine of Progress. It is likely that the return to the sociological tradition of the literature of the 18th Century, a conspicuous feature of Romantic Literature after 1830, was to some degree encouraged by his strenuous efforts.

Emile Faguet maintained that Leroux was perhaps the most fecund and kindly teacher that Sainte-Beuve ever had.[18] The author of the *Portraits littéraires*, discussing the foundation of the *Globe*, himself recognized its editor as "une des natures de penseur les plus puissantes et les plus ubéreuses d'aujourd'hui," adding that he modestly accepted until 1830 a position "much inferior to his rare merits and his intellectual capacity" and contributed only four or five leading articles, all of which made a striking impression.[19] He further expresses satisfaction that he and his Romantic friends should have had, between 1828 and 1830 (when they were being harassed by Dubois), such allies on the editorial staff of that journal as Magnin and Leroux.[20] An interesting detail which suggests that the relations between the two men were very close at that period, is the admission that the "Profession de foi saint-simonienne" which appeared in the paper over Leroux's signature at the time of the acquisition of the journal by the Saint-Simonians, was written by Sainte-Beuve himself. "Leroux n'a fait qu'y changer deux ou trois mots, et y mettre un ou deux pâtés d'encre."[21]

With reference to Victor Hugo, the reader is probably aware that Pierre Leroux appears in person in the *Contemplations* on one occasion, under the pseudonym of Hermann. M. Berret affirmed

[17] H. Girard, *La pensée religieuse des romantiques*, RHL, March 1925.

[18] E. Faguet, *Un bon buste*, Le Gaulois, February 25, 1896.

[19] *Portraits littéraires*, vol. 1, p. 314.

[20] *Causeries du lundi*, vol. 11, pp. 533 ss. Compare *Portraits littéraires*, vol. 1, p. 318, where he writes that the Romantic School never succeeded in making the *Globe* its own paper, "mais elle y avait des alliés et des intelligences; M. Leroux, M. Magnin, et celui qui écrit ces lignes, penchaient plus ou moins du côté novateur en poésie."

[21] *Causeries du lundi*, Table, p. 40.

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that Hugo, who acknowledged the superiority of the philosopher-journalist's mind, borrowed from him his conception of the social function of the poet.[22] M. Bonnet would account for the change in Hugo's political attitude from royalism to republicanism by the criticism which his *Odes* received in the *Revue Encyclopédique*, a contention which is supported by M. Girard, who compares the influence of Leroux on Hugo with that of Dargaud on Lamartine.[23] That the poet's social and democratic tendencies were indeed stimulated by the influence of Leroux is sufficiently attested, in my opinion, by the evidence found in the poem of Book 5 of *Les Contemplations* entitled "Ecrit en 1846," which sketches the development of the author's philosophical and political ideas. In it Hugo attributes his change of views to the natural process of maturity, to the study of nature, of man, and above all of history. He indicates very clearly how greatly he was indebted for the new orientation of his genius to the study of the philosophy of history, to the Doctrine of Progress and to the Religion of Humanity.

> Marquis, depuis vingt ans, *je n'ai*, comme aujourd'hui,
> *Qu'une idée en l'esprit: servir la cause humaine . . . .*
> J'ai, dans le livre, avec le drame, en prose, en vers,
> Plaidé pour les petits et pour les misérables . . . .
> *Rêvant tous les progrès, je voyais luire moins*
> *Que le front de Paris la tiare de Rome . . .*
> . . . je suis toujours celui
> Qui va droit au devoir . . . .
> *Seulement, un matin, mon esprit s'envola,*
> *Je vis l'espace large et pur qui nous réclame . . . .*
> *L'histoire m'apparut, et je compris la loi*
> *Des générations, cherchant Dieu . . . .*
> *En montant l'escalier immense marche à marche . . .*
> . . . Je hâte l'heure
> De ce grand lendemain: *l'humanité meilleure*!

In later years, the poet and the philosopher were exiles together in Jersey; their whilom acquaintance on the *Globe* drew them together not less than the memory of their common participation as deputies in the politics of the Second Republic. Their personal

[22] V. Berret, "La philosophie de V. Hugo."

[23] H. Girard, "La pensée religieuse des romantiques," *RHL*, 1925, and "Comment Shelley a été révélé à V. Hugo," *Revue Litt. Comparée*, 1922. R. Bonnet, "V. Hugo et la Revue Encyclopédique," *RHL*, 1914.

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relations were, however, somewhat obscured at this time by the fact of Hugo's comparative opulence and of Leroux's absolute penury; "je n'ai jamais été de sa camaraderie, mais j'ai toujours été, si l'on peut dire, de son amitié," as the philosopher put it in his *Grève de Samarez* (1863), which contains a record of their conversations on the seashore. But evidence of the continued influence of the Doctrine of Progress is found in V. Hugo's work of this period; thus we read in the Preface of the first series of the *Légende des Siècles* (1859):

> Pour le poète comme pour l'historien, pour l'archéologue comme pour le philosophe, chaque siècle est un changement de physionomie de l'humanité. . . . . Ces poèmes, divers par le sujet, mais inspirés par la même pensée, n'ont entre eux d'autre noeud qu'un fil, ce fil qui s'atténue quelquefois au point de devenir invisible, mais qui ne casse jamais, le grand fil mystérieux du labyrinthe humain, le Progrès.

With George Sand, Leroux's relationship was considerably closer. Sainte-Beuve it was who presented him to her, as "one of the two men who had most deeply studied and elucidated contemporary problems,"[24] and she seems to have become so fascinated by his learning and his modesty that she deliberately set about popularizing his ideas in her novels. We have alluded to her collaboration with him on various periodicals; she also wrote a preface for the 1845 edition of his *Werther* in which she admitted that she had been unable to appreciate Goethe's work until the "great intelligence" of Pierre Leroux was able to devote some youthful leisure to writing it in good and beautiful French. That the philosopher reciprocated by assisting her with her social novels is indicated by the revelation by Spoelberch de Lovenjoul that part of *Spiridion* was written by Leroux himself.

> Dans une lettre qu'il a bien voulu nous écrire, M. de Lovenjoul nous donne . . . . le renseignement suivant du plus haut intérêt: c'est qu' une partie du manuscrit de *Spiridion* est de la main de Pierre Leroux et *composée* par lui. "Je possède, ajoute-t-il, ce manuscrit autographe, qui porte les traces habituelles qu'y laissent les compositions d'imprimerie, et vous parle, bien entendu, du texte de l'édition originale, car dès la première édition in-12 (1843) George Sand a beaucoup modifié l'ouvrage primitif."[25]

[24] *Histoire de ma vie*, Vol. 10, p. 28 ss.—The other is Lamennais.
[25] F. Thomas, p. 65–66.

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George Sand's Correspondence is eloquent of the philosopher's influence upon her, and so are her novels *Consuelo* and *la comtesse de Rudolstadt*, which idealize the relations of the two writers. An "invisible" and disconcerting dreamer in *Consuelo*, "Count Albert" materializes more and more in the sequel into the features of Pierre Leroux, while the comforting Consuelo who indefatigably pursues him through undescribable *longueurs* modestly represents George Sand. In an eighty-five page Epilogue the Count holds the unmistakable language of the Philosopher of Humanity, speaking, among other subjects, of the Tetrad, the Trinity and Leibnitz:

> Pendant plus de quatre heures il parla, et sa parole était belle et pure comme un chant sacré. Il composa, avec l'oeuvre religieuse, politique et artistique de tous les siècles, le plus magnifique poëme qui se puisse concevoir. Il interpréta toutes les religions du passé, tous les mystères des temples, des poëmes et des législations, tous les efforts, toutes les tendances, tous les travaux de l'humanité antérieure. . . . . Il parla encore, et son poëme de l'avenir fut aussi magnifique que celui du passé. . . . .[26]

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[26] *La comtesse de Rudolstadt*, II, pp. 321–322.

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XI

ERNEST RENAN, CRITIQUE LITTÉRAIRE

DANS la riche floraison d'articles et d'ouvrages qu'a fait naître, en 1923, la célébration du centenaire de Renan, il semble qu'on ait pu discerner un effort tenté enfin par la plupart des critiques français pour étudier Ernest Renan d'un point de vue plus littéraire et ne plus se borner aux partiales et stériles discussions sur son attitude philosophique et religieuse. La critique française accorde ainsi à Renan la place qui lui revient, celle non seulement d'un historien, d'un philosophe, ou d'un "apôtre de la tolérance," comme se plaisent à l'appeler les pompeux discours officiels-mais aussi d'un écrivain, dont le style et les procédés littéraires méritent d'être analysés d'aussi près que le sont ceux de Flaubert ou de Michelet. Nous voudrions ici nous attacher à l'un de ces aspects de Renan, négligé jusqu'ici, qui intéresse cependant la littérature française en général, en étudiant Renan dans sa critique littéraire.

Nous n'allons certes pas prétendre que sa critique littéraire constitue le principal titre à l'admiration de la postérité de celui qui a consacré sa vie à l'histoire des origines du Christianisme. Mais quand il s'agit d'une intelligence aussi vaste et aussi souple-que nulle autre peut-être, sinon celle de Goethe, n'a égalée parmi les gloires du siècle dernier-ce ne peut être une tâche vaine que de rechercher ce que de tels hommes ont pensé de leurs prédécesseurs et de leurs contemporains; et cela surtout dans le cas de Renan, s'il est vrai que le terme "critique," sans le qualificatif de littéraire, est celui qui le définit le mieux, dans la mesure où l'on peut définir d'un seul mot un esprit aussi subtil et aussi fuyant. Et la critique, la critique littéraire proprement dite, n'est pas le domaine où son influence s'est fait sentir avec le moins de force, comme se le rappellent assez les lecteurs de la *Vie Littéraire* d'A. France et de J. Lemaître. Le professeur Irving Babbitt n'a pas hésité à comprendre Renan parmi ses *Masters of Modern French Criticism*; il lui a consacré un brillant chapitre, marqué çà et là par les vues très personnelles de l'auteur, mais qui rend du moins pleine justice à Renan et le définit en quelques formules frappantes et heureuses, qu'on ne se résout parfois qu'à regret à ne pas approuver.

L'œuvre de critique littéraire de Renan est, de fait, beaucoup plus considérable qu'on ne le soupçonne communément, et ce n'est

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que leur goût pour d'inflexibles classifications qui empêche les auteurs d'histoires de la littérature de lui faire une place dans leur chapitre sur la critique pour ne traiter que de l'historien ou du philosophe. Ses théories ou ses opinions littéraires se trouvent dispersées dans les quelque quarante volumes qui composent ses oeuvres complètes. On les trouve surtout dans sa *Correspondance* ses *Cahiers* et *Nouveaux Cahiers de Jeunesse* où, d'une façon intime, il envoie à ses amis ou note pour son usage personnel les impressions causées par ses lectures; et, sous forme d'articles parus dans des journaux ou des revues, dans les *Essais de Morale et de Critique*, les *Mélanges Religieux et Historiques*, les *Questions Contemporaines*, les *Feuilles Détachées*, et même les *Nouvelles Études d'Histoire Religieuse*.

I

Renan ne commença guère avant l'âge de vingt ans à s'intéresser à la littérature. L'éducation qu'il reçut limita longtemps ses lectures aux auteurs classiques et le plongea dans cette étude de la rhétorique qui était alors à la base de toute formation littéraire, ce dont l'ancien séminariste devait plus tard se plaindre amèrement. Cependant il semble qu'un écho de Michelet—ou si, comme l'a supposé M. Pierre Lasserre,[1] sa mémoire l'a trompé, de quelque grand romantique, probablement Chateaubriand—ait pénétré à travers les murs de Saint-Nicolas pour l'emplir déjà d'un avide enthousiasme. Aussitôt qu'il décida d'abandonner la carrière ecclésiastique et de se préparer à Paris aux examens universitaires, il se trouva jeté dans un milieu tout nouveau pour lui. Le romantisme n'était pas mort, même après la chute retentissante des *Burgraves* en 1843. C'est peut-être alors, au contraire, que, dans bien des milieux, et surtout en province, ce grand mouvement exerçait sa plus forte influence. Leconte de Lisle à Rennes, Flaubert à Rouen, parmi les noms les plus illustres, sont des exemples typiques de ce prestige qu'exerçait le romantisme sur la sensibilité et les ambitions littéraires de la jeunesse d'alors. Renan lut avec passion Lamartine, Hugo, Michelet et Quinet: il avoue même avoir eu le désir d'être leur émule, et ses cahiers de cette époque le montrent projetant de vastes compositions, probablement dans cette sorte de prose poétique un peu prétentieuse que E. Quinet et d'autres avaient mise à la mode. Mais Renan ne laissa jamais son enthousiasme pour le romantisme l'entraîner très loin. Sa

[1] dans *la Jeunesse d'E. Renan*, vol. 1, p. 292–3.

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pénétration lui fit vite discerner les limitations et les faiblesses de la plupart des romantiques.

Nous avons la chance de pouvoir lire, dans les *Cahiers* (1845–46), et les *Nouveaux Cahiers de Jeunesse* (1846), les premiers documents qui révèlent la formation des idées alors les plus chères au jeune Renan, les influences qu'il subit, et sa première attitude envers la littérature, mieux que beaucoup de lettres ne pourraient le faire, et mieux en fait que les siennes ne le font. Ce sont les pages où il notait, presque journellement, son opinion sur les livres qu'il lisait, ou les cours qu'il suivait, et ses réflexions sur des sujets philosophiques et littéraires. Puis, au cours de l'année 1848, il composa cet *Avenir de la Science* qui, dans son torrent de pensées quelquefois confuses, mais toujours juvénilement sincères, réfléchit fidèlement l'esprit du jeune philologue. Nous sommes ainsi en mesure de suivre d'assez près le Renan de 1845–1848, avant d'examiner la critique littéraire de sa période de maturité, qu'on peut faire commencer après cette date de 1848, décisive dans l'évolution de son esprit.

Le romantisme, vers le milieu du siècle, n'avait pas encore été reconnu et accepté par l'université française; et la Sorbonne, où Renan se prépara à la licence et à l'agrégation, restait une forteresse du classicisme. En 1844, paraissait *l'Histoire de la Littérature Française* de Nisard, qui, de la première à la dernière ligne, n'était qu'une apologie de la grande époque du classicisme français. Saint-Marc Girardin, Villemain, Ozanam, brillaient au premier rang des maîtres d'alors; dans de vastes parallèles, construits avec tout l'art raffiné de la composition où excellaient, et où excellent encore, les professeurs français, ils ne s'interdisaient point les allusions au mauvais goût ou aux affectations de style qui gâtaient la production contemporaine et clairement montraient sa décadence. Le jeune Renan, avec sa soif ardente de vérité et son sens critique déjà aigu, fit ce que font beaucoup de jeunes gens à son âge; il se révolta contre l'étroitesse des dogmes classiques, contre ce culte de la rhétorique de Cicéron et de Quintilien. Ses premiers cahiers crient son mépris pour l'admiration imposée des classiques français.[2] Aussitôt qu'il est libéré de la sévérité étroite des programmes d'examen, il va jusqu'à proclamer avec véhémence la supériorité du Moyen Age sur le dix-septième siècle, et de la littérature grecque sur les imitations latines,

[2] Par exemple, *Cahiers de Jeunesse*, pp. 143, 308, 309. *Nouveaux Cahiers* pp. 148, 151.

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auxquelles la sacrifiaient alors des humanistes par trop épris de latinité.[3]

Un autre défaut le frappa aussi dans la critique littéraire de ses contemporains les plus célèbres: l'absence d'une méthode précise. Renan, à vingt-trois ou vingt-cinq ans, se sentait attiré par la littérature; mais il ne s'avouait pas cet attrait sans hésitation. Son attitude envers la production littéraire était déjà marquée d'une certaine défiance, défiance qui, beaucoup plus tard, sembla s'accompagner d'un mépris discret. Bien des oeuvres littéraires n'étaient à ses yeux qu'un frivole amusement, et il était alors tourmenté par une soif intense de sérieux. Il avait besoin d'un nouvel idéal pour remplacer la foi qu'il venait de perdre, et il devait trouver cet idéal non dans la littérature ou la critique, mais dans la science, comme il appelait alors la philologie. En tous cas, s'il avait à étudier des œuvres littéraires, il ne voulait le faire qu'avec l'aide d'une méthode plus sûre et plus solide que celle des critiques en vogue vers le milieu du siècle. Il discernait très bien les qualités de Villemain, dont le style académique et des défauts assez évidents nous dérobent souvent aujourd'hui la réelle valeur.[4] Mais il n'en apercevait pas moins la faiblesse profonde de ce système de cours publics, qui forçait le professeur à traiter devant un auditoire mondain un sujet susceptible de plaire, et lui faisait négliger l'érudition et la discussion de minutieux détails pour ne chercher que développements oratoires et traits éblouissants. Dans leurs ouvrages, ces mêmes critiques étaient embarrassés par des règles étroites et une foi aveugle dans la séparation des genres; ils forçaient la poésie épique, lyrique, ou autre, à se plier à leurs classifications dogmatiques, et ils n'énonçaient leurs jugements que selon un code dont l'idéal remontait encore à Aristote et à Boileau.

Renan posa aussitôt en principe ce qu'il devait développer plus au long dans *l'Avenir de la Science:* que la critique doit être fondée sur la philologie, et qu'on ne peut entreprendre d'étude sérieuse de la littérature sans le secours de l'érudition. Toutes ses pages de jeunesse ne sont qu'un hymne enthousiaste chanté à la gloire des nouvelles sciences qui devaient remplacer la métaphysique et la philosophie abstraite, désormais reconnues stériles. "Les vraies sciences de l'humanité, s'écrie-t-il, sont les sciences historiques et

[3] *Cahiers de Jeunesse*, pp. 121–2, 125, 163. *Nouveaux Cahiers*, P. 152.
[4] *Nouveaux Cahiers*, p. 79.

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philologiques."[5] Son goût pour la philologie et l'histoire le porte tout naturellement à accorder plus d'importance au point de vue historique qu'au point de vue esthétique. A ses contemporains français, hommes de talent, mais trop amateurs, Renan préfère les philologues allemands dont les travaux patients et méthodiques lui semblaient plus féconds en résultats. Dans les principes de critique littéraire qu'il fixe ainsi pour son usage personnel, il est plus préoccupé des renseignements historiques que peuvent fournir indirectement les chefs—d'œuvre littéraires que de leur valeur esthétique. Il veut, par la littérature, apprendre quelque chose sur les moeurs, les façons de penser ou de sentir d'une certaine époque. En un mot, il pousse la philosophie de l'éternel devenir de Hegel jusqu'à ses dernières conséquences; il se révolte contre toutes les règles de l'ancienne critique; nulle part, il ne voit rien de stable; partout lui apparaît l'incessant écoulement des courtes conceptions humaines. "Le traît caractéristique du dix-neuvième siècle est d'avoir substitué la méthode historique à la méthode dogmatique dans les études relatives à l'esprit humain. La critique littéraire n'est que l'exposé des diverses formes de la beauté, c'est-à-dire des manières dont les différentes familles et les différents âges de l'humanité ont résolu le problème esthétique."[6]

En même temps, dans son enthousiasme pour la philologie allemande, Renan emprunta aussi au-delà du Rhin un autre dogme qui resta pendant longtemps pour lui d'une force inébranlée: la croyance à l'existence d'une littérature primitive et spontanée, bien supérieure aux oeuvres travaillées et artificielles des créateurs conscients. "Il y a deux espèces de littérature, l'une toute belle, toute spontanée, naïve expression de tout ce qu'il y a de poétique dans l'humanité, toute vraie, sans retour sur elle-même, ne songeant qu'à exprimer l'idéal qui la possède, exhalation de l'humanité (Homère, Job); . . . . une autre réfléchie, calculée, qui voit l'effet et y vise, qui veut le beau, qui se sent, qui étudie."[7] A vrai dire, il avait déjà pu trouver cette conception en France même; deux de ses contemporains, l'un qu'il connut personnellement, V. Cousin, l'autre qu'il lut avec une avide curiosité dont témoignent les *Cahiers de Jeunesse*,[8] Fauriel, l'avaient rendue

[5] *Avenir de la Science*, p. 83.

[6] *Averroès*, Préface de la première édition, p. vi–vii.

[7] *Cahiers*, p. 117.

[8] Par exemple, *Cahiers*, p. 341; *Nouveaux Cahiers*, pp. 293–4.

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populaire en France. Fauriel surtout, dont le nom est tombé aujourd'hui dans un injuste oubli, ou n'est plus rattaché qu'aux *Chants Populaires de la Grèce Moderne*, fut un grand semeur d'idées pour la critique française de la première moitié du siècle. Sa religion, comme le dit spirituellement Sainte-Beuve, était "la religion naturelle en littérature.[9] Ce culte du primitif était d'ailleurs dans l'air pendant toute la période pré-romantique et romantique. Mais c'est chez les philosophes allemands, et surtout chez Herder, que Renan trouva la théorie exposée de la façon la plus systématique. Il ne découvrit pas cette conception pour la première fois chez Herder, mais il fut frappé de la généreuse ardeur que Herder mettait à la défendre; l'impression qu'en ressentit le jeune Français enthousiaste devait être profonde et durable.[10] Sans cesse dans les *Cahiers*, reviennent les allusions au livre de Herder *Vom Geistes der ebraeischen Poesie*.[11] Pendant quelque temps, tous les jugements littéraires de Renan devaient porter la marque de cette théorie sur la supériorité des périodes spontanées. En fait, le grand ouvrage de la vie de Renan nous montrera plus tard le même thème fondamental, transposé—avec d'infinies nuances, il est vrai—du domaine littéraire à l'histoire des religions; ce sera une étude d'origines, un exemple de l'interêt et de l'attrait qu'elles offrent pour un esprit philosophique. Dans l'oeuvre critique de Renan proprement dite, on retrouvera des traces de cette même conception jusque dans un recueil de la maturité tel que les *Essais de Morale et de Critique* (1859), où se lisent quelques-unes des plus belles pages de critique littéraire de l'auteur.[12]

Il est un nom que nous n'avons pas encore cité à propos de la formation des idées littéraires de Renan: Sainte-Beuve, en 1845, était déjà l'un des critiques les plus influents. Ses *Portraits Littéraires* et ses *Portraits Contemporains* avaient paru, ainsi que les deux premières parties de son *Port-Royal*. Renan les lut naturellement avec d'autant plus d'avidité qu'il pouvait deviner en Sainte-Beuve un esprit préoccupé par les questions religieuses, une intelligence souple et flexible, au-dessus de l'étroitesse et des

[9] *Portraits Contemporains*, vol. iv, p. 231. Ces trois articles sympathiques de Sainte-Beuve sont encore la meilleure étude que nous ayons sur Fauriel.

[10] La question de l'influence de Herder sur Renan a été récemment traitée par M. Tronchon, dans *Ernest Renan et l'Etranger*, 1928.

[11] Renan le lisait alors dans la traduction française de Madame de Carlowitz, parue en 1844 et couronnée par l'Académie Française en 1846.

[12] PP. 32, 33 à 36.

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préjugés qui l'irritaient chez les critiques universitaires. Nous savons assez bien quels furent les rapports de ces deux suprêmes représentants de leur siècle éminemment complexe depuis la récente publication de la correspondance de Renan. M. Victor Giraud les a étudiés dans un article de la *Revue des Deux Mondes*.[13] Mais M. Giraud ne fait commencer son étude qu'après 1848, lorsque les deux hommes commencèrent à s'écrire et, peu après, à se voir; et il exagère, à notre sens, l'influence qu'a pu exercer Renan sur son aîné.[14] Leurs rapports furent des plus cordiaux; une amitié profonde devait bientôt les unir; mais cela n'était pas allé d'abord sans quelque révolte et des luttes intérieures de la part de l'ancien séminariste. Renan, il est vrai, devait déclarer à la fin de sa vie: "Sainte-Beuve est un des trois ou quatre amours auxquels je suis toujours demeuré fidèle" et on a pu affirmer avec quelque apparence de vérité: "Si Sainte-Beuve n'avait pas écrit son *Port-Royal*, les *Origines du Christianisme* ne seraient pas tout ce qu'elles sont;"[15] Tout autres furent les premières impressions du jeune Renan au sortir de Saint-Sulpice. Dans ses *Cahiers de Jeunesse*, il note souvent sa réaction à la lecture des articles de Sainte-Beuve. Il ne niait pas la délicatesse de goût, la subtilité de pénétration psychologique de leur auteur. Mais ces qualités même le repoussaient en même temps qu'elles l'attiraient. Il est quelquefois dur pour cette souplesse d'intelligence et cette largeur d'esprit qui semblent impliquer quelque scepticisme chez le critique. Il lui reproche tout d'abord d'adopter envers auteurs et lecteurs une attitude de bienveillance condescendante.[16] "Il prend un ton moqueur," remarque Renan, "et semble dire au passé: tous les autres furent frivoles et superficiels; nous seuls sommes dans le vrai." Son portrait de Fontanes, par exemple, est, à ses yeux

[13] Numéro du 15 février 1923.

[14] En fait, une lecture attentive de Sainte-Beuve révèle que le critique des *Lundis*, avec toute sa grande admiration pour Renan, n'en sut pas moins faire quelques fines réserves. Il vit très bien le vague de la philosophie de Renan, le "nuage d'or de la poésie dont il semble avoir voulu s'envelopper quelquefois," son optimisme curieux et quelquefois inquiétant, ses goûts aristocratiques "qui pourraient lui faire préférer des erreurs délicates et distinguées à des vérités triviales" (*Nouveaux Lundis*, vol. ii, p. 396, 405 à 413). Du moins, s'il ne se départit pas de sa pénétration coutumière, Sainte-Beuve montre dans son attitude envers Renan, aussi bien que par ses articles sur Taine, qu'il serait injuste de l'accuser d'incompréhension et de jalousie envers *tous* ses contemporains.

[15] V. Giraud, article cité.

[16] *Cahiers*, pp. 157, 319.

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"du précieux gâté par l'affectation et la vanité."[17] Il trouve aussi le style de Sainte-Beuve trop artificiel. Il cherche toujours des formules frappantes, il raffine sa forme à grands renforts de délicatesses apprêtées et de comparaisons peu naturelles; il sacrifie trop à l'expression brillante et subtile; il est de ces esprits qui "se croiraient de mauvais ton s'ils appuyaient des deux pieds et de tout leur poids sur quelque chose."[18] En un mot, le grand reproche que Renan adresse alors à Sainte-Beuve est de manquer de foi et de solidité. Et un tel reproche ne doit pas nous étonner outremesure, de la part de l'enthousiaste idéaliste oui méditait alors *l'Avenir de la Science.* Il admire déjà Sainte-Beuve; il ne peut s'empêcher d'être frappé par ses qualités; mais il regrette de ne pas trouver en lui ce sérieux qui le ravissait chez Herder. "La littérature est vanité, si elle n'est que littérature. Mais elle est le bras droit du philosophe; alors elle n'est plus littérature, mais science et esthétique. M. Sainte-Beuve me peint merveilleusement ce type de frivolité spirituelle, qui me fait passer une sorte de frisson amer par la poitrine. . . . . Ah, l'éternel seul a du prix!"[19]

Renan adopta bientôt envers Sainte-Beuve une attitude différente. En 1849, de retour de Liège où il avait donné ses conférences sur Chateaubriand, Sainte-Beuve commença la fameuse série de ses *Lundis.* Dès 1852, les articles du jeune savant attiraient sa curiosité toujours en éveil. Peu après, en août 1852, Renan lui écrivait pour la première fois. D'emblée, il professait pour le célèbre critique une admiration sans bornes, et il saisissait avec empressement les occasions de se dire son disciple. "Rien ne pourrait égaler à mes yeux le bonheur de me voir avoué par celui à qui je dois la plus grande partie du peu de bien qui est en moi."[20] Il nous faut certes faire la part de la politesse et de la diplomatie dont Renan, à tous les moments de sa carrière, sut ne jamais se départir. Le jeune homme sans expérience, qui sans cesse affirmait son idéalisme celtique, son ignorance de tous les détails de la vie matérielle, n'en possédait pas moins un sens pratique fort habile. Il envoyait ses premiers articles à tous les critiques et professeurs qui pouvaient lui être de quelque utilité, et il n'hésitait pas (qui lui jettera la première pierre?) à louer leurs ouvrages et à se faire passer pour leur disciple respectueux. Cependant, en ce qui con-

[17] *Cahiers*, p. 319.
[18] *Nouveaux Cahiers*, p. 42.
[19] *Cahiers*, p. 137–8.
[20] Lettre du 8 mars 1854, *Nouvelle Correspondance*, i, p. 81.

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cerne Sainte-Beuve, nous pouvons admettre qu'il y avait une part de vérité dans l'aveu de Renan qu'il lui devait beaucoup, et par-dessus tout, sa méthode. "Je sens fort bien que je ne fais qu'appliquer votre procédé à de plus vieilles histoires."[21] Son goût pour l'histoire telle qu'elle apparaît à travers la littérature, sa croyance à la nécessité de l'érudition comme base de toute critique littéraire, son talent pour reconstruire la psychologie des âmes les plus complexes, son horreur de tout dogmatisme, sa curiosité universelle et sa compréhension de tant d'esprits, même, et peut-être surtout, les plus différents du sien; tout cela, Renan le trouva dans une lecture plus attentive de Sainte-Beuve. Sa méthode critique, nous le verrons, sera, avec des différences qui constituent son originalité, une continuation de celle de Sainte-Beuve, et c'est peut-être grâce à cette influence qu'il conserva envers la littérature plus de curiosité et de sympathie qu'il n'en aurait ressenti naturellement.[22]

II

"La critique universelle est le seul caractère que l'on puisse assigner à la pensée délicate, fuyante, insaisissable, du dix-neuvième siècle. De quel nom appeler tant d'intelligences d'élite qui, sans dogmatiser abstraitement, ont révélé à la pensée une nouvelle façon de s'exercer dans le monde des faits?" Cette phrase de *l'Avenir de la Science* (p. 145), dans laquelle Renan définit le trait dominant de son siècle s'applique également bien à lui-même, qui résuma tant de caractères de ce siècle. L'esprit critique, fondé sur un sévère examen rationnel des faits, des traditions et de toutes les idées acceptées, voilà ce qu'il a apporté dans tous les sujets qu'il a traités, et surtout l'histoire du Christianisme et de ses origines. C'est ce même esprit que nous pouvons nous attendre à trouver dans sa critique littéraire. Notre tâche sera d'en examiner la théorie et la pratique, et d'en faire ressortir l'originalité.

Cet esprit critique est devenu à notre époque de plus en plus nécessaire. L'opposition traditionnelle entre les soi-disant facultés créatrices et facultés critiques n'est plus qu'un cliché de journalistes. Les deux qualités se combinent dans la plupart des cas, et les créateurs parmi nos contemporains sont aussi le plus souvent

[21] Lettre du 10 septembre 1863, ibid. p. 244.

[22] Voir, dans les *Souvenirs d'Enfance*, le passage-qu'il faudrait cependant se garder de prendre trop à la lettre—: "Je n'ai quelque temps fait cas de la littérature que pour complaire à Sainte-Beuve, qui avait sur moi beaucoup d'influence. Depuis qu'il est mort, je n'y tiens plus." (éd. Calmann-lévy, p. 353.)

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les meilleurs critiques; car toute production littéraire et artistique implique une certaine attitude critique envers le passé et nos prédécesseurs; loin de détruire ou d'affaiblir l'inspiration et l'admiration, la critique leur fournit une base, car "celui-là seul sait admirer qui sait critiquer."[23]

La première qualité du critique doit être une vaste curiosité, qui lui permette de s'intéresser au plus grand nombre possible d'individus, de genres d'esprit et de types de littérature ou de société. En Sainte-Beuve, Renan trouvait le modèle de cette large et versatile curiosité. N'étant pas lui-même critique de profession, il avait ce grand avantage de n'être pas obligé de se tenir au courant de toute la production contemporaine; il n'essaya d'ailleurs jamais de le faire. La tâche gigantesque qu'il s'était proposée lui interdisait toute vaine polémique et toute stérile lecture.

Cette curiosité, à son tour, repose sur la relativité, et l'implique. C'est là le résultat, si fécond en conséquences, acquis par la révolution romantique dans le domaine de l'histoire et de ce qu'on appelle les "sciences morales." Nul n'a jamais évité le dogmatisme avec autant de soin que Renan; nul n'était mieux préparé à être le critique idéal au vrai sens du mot, si nous acceptons la définition qu'il donne dans les *Souvenirs d'Enfance:* "L'essence de la critique est de savoir comprendre des états très différents de celui où nous vivons" (p. 87). Puisque tout est relatif et dans un perpétuel état de développement, comme l'avait enseigné Hegel, il serait vain de juger selon des principes immuables. Le "beau idéal," dont on avait tant discouru dans les vingt ou trente premières années du siècle, n'est qu'une mensongère illusion. Les jugements littéraires ne peuvent atteindre à la vérité absolue; il faut replacer les oeuvres dans leur époque et leur milieu et les juger en conséquence. Sa croyance à l'universelle relativité, loin de faire de la critique de Renan un impressionnisme, aboutit donc à tresser un lien plus étroit entre la critique d'une part, et, de l'autre, l'histoire, la philologie, la science en général.

En Allemagne, en effet, avec les principes de la philosophie de Hegel, Renan avait aussi admiré cette merveilleuse production de travaux d'une érudition minutieuse, qui avaient déjà renouvelé plusieurs branches du savoir. *L'Avenir de la Science* célèbre partout la philologie—dans le sens très large, bien connu d'ailleurs, que

[23] *Avenir de la Science*, p. 295.

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l'auteur donne à ce mot—et c'est là déjà que la critique et la philologie étaient déclarées inséparables.[24] La première condition que doit remplir le critique est de connaitre aussi bien que possible les sujets qu'il veut traiter. Il n'y a pas si longtemps qu'un grand seigneur comme Joseph de Maistre pouvait sérieusement soutenir que, pour sentir les beautés d'Homère, il faut faire choix d'un ami qui ne soit pas helléniste.[25] Dès ses premiers *Cahiers*, en 1845, Renan affirmait, contre tant de brillants, mais vides conférenciers, l'absolue nécessité de cette condition préalable. Ceci peut nous inspirer quelque indulgence si nous découvrons plus tard que notre jeune philologue est allé un peu loin dans sa foi en la science et l'érudition.

Car, dans son ardeur juvénile, Renan ne put résister à la tentation très naturelle de voir la critique littéraire aussi se constituer en science. Le critique, tout d'abord, ne doit pas se borner à décrire et à admirer, ou il serait alors semblable à un botaniste qui se contenterait de caresser les pétales de chaque fleur. "La belle et grande critique, au contraire, ne craint pas d'arracher la fleur pour étudier ses racines, compter ses étamines, analyser ses tissus."[26] Cela, certes, tous les critiques le lui accorderont. Nul dévot de l'histoire littéraire ne songera non plus à le contredire quand, dans une belle et célèbre page, il demande du vrai critique le même dévouement que le savant, qui consent à travailler pour l'avenir, peut-être en vain, et sacrifie sa vie à la recherche de quelques résultats, peut-être insignifiants, sur une question sans importance; cette tâche obscure s'insère dans la longue série des efforts humains et peut quelque jour prendre un sens que nous ne soupçonnons pas aujourd'hui.

Mais il mérite peut-être de plus justes reproches—qu'on ne lui a d'ailleurs pas épargnés—pour certaines conclusions plus aventurées qu'il a tirées de cette théorie de la relativité. La beauté d'une oeuvre littéraire est relative, avant tout, en ce sens qu'elle est plus ou moins conditionnée par le milieu où elle est née. D'où Renan déduit, non seulement qu'il est nécessaire d'étudier le

[24] "Critiquer, c'est se poser en spectateur et en juge au milieu de la variété des choses; car la philologie est l'interprète des choses, le moyen d'entrer en communication avec elles et d'entendre leur langage. Le jour ou la philologie périrait, la critique périrait avec elle, la barbarie renaîtrait, la crédulité serait de nouveau maîtresse du monde" (pp. 145–6).

[25] *Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse*, p. 74.

[26] *Avenir de la Science*, p. 201–202.

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milieu pour comprendre l'œuvre, mais que la production littéraire n'a pas de valeur en elle-même; tout son interêt est celui que présentent la vie, les mœurs, la civilisation qu'elle dépeint. "Ce n'est pas Homère qui est beau, c'est la vie homérique, la phase de l'existence de l'humanité décrite dans Homère. La vraie littérature d'une époque est celle qui la peint et l'exprime."[27] Si l'on envisage ainsi toutes les œuvres d'art, il s'ensuit—et Renan l'admet sans sourciller—que des productions sans valeur esthétique aucune peuvent passer pour les plus importantes, de même que l'anatomie comparée tire de plus féconds résultats de l'étude des animaux inférieurs que des espèces les mieux organisées. En pratique, Renan critique littéraire, il restera à le montrer, a presque toujours évité les pièges que lui tendait sa théorie. Mais cette foi excessive à la relativité lui a fait, comme l'a très bien noté M. Babbitt, négliger l'interêt esthétique et éternel des œuvres littéraires, pour les replacer surtout dans leur époque et dans leur milieu. "Nul plus que moi n'admire les *Pensées* de Pascal ou les *Sermons* de Bossuet; mais je les admire comme œuvres du dix-septième siècle; si ces œuvres paraissaient de nos jours, elles mériteraient à peine d'être remarquées."[28] Cette phrase est dans *l'Avenir de la Science*, mais Renan a toujours gardé de ses théories de jeunesse un curieux préjugé contre ces deux écrivains en particulier.

Il semble donc, pour résumer tout ceci, que Renan était porté à faire, non tant de la critique littéraire, que ce que nous appelons aujourd'hui l'histoire littéraire. Et ce n'est point méconnaître le précieux et énorme travail accompli par l'histoire littéraire dans ces cinquante dernières années que de noter un de ses défauts, qui a pu trouver dans les théories de Renan une justification apparente: les spécialistes de cette "science" ont quelquefois oublié que toutes les recherches les plus précises et les plus érudites n'ont de raison d'être que parcequ'il existe d'autres oeuvres, belles en elles-mêmes et d'un interêt esthétique permanent. Renan, dans sa glorification de l'histoire littéraire comme une science nouvelle qui allait remplacer la critique démodée de ses contemporains, formula même l'hérésie que M. Lanson déplore si amèrement dans l'Avant-Propos de son *Histoire de la Littérature Française:* "L'étude de l'histoire littéraire est destinée à remplacer en grande partie la lecture directe des oeuvres de l'esprit humain."[29] Lanson

[27] *Avenir de la Science*, p. 190–191.
[28] *Avenir de la Science*, p. 191.
[29] *Avenir de la Science*, p. 226.

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n'a point de peine à répondre que ce serait là la négation même de la littérature et quelque chose de directement opposé à l'objet véritable de toute critique et histoire littéraire, lequel doit toujours rester le contact avec les oeuvres pour les comprendre et en jouir.

D'après ces idées théoriques générales, nous pouvons aisément deviner les traits saillants de la critique de Renan: ce sera la critique d'un esprit curieux, subtil et intelligent s'il en fut, mais aussi la critique d'un savant, qui remplit avec conscience la tâche qu'il s'est imposée, serait-ce l'article le plus éphémère sur le plus insignifiant des auteurs; qui a recours à l'histoire et à la philologie, et ne dédaigne point d'étudier avec minutie jusqu'à la langue et au style des ouvrages. Ce sera encore la critique d'un juge impartial, indulgent même, qui se soumettra à deux principes généraux: prendre les oeuvres comme elles sont, c'est-à-dire ne jamais adopter l'attitude supérieure de ceux qui reprochent au poète de n'être pas métaphysicien et à l'historien de n'être pas moraliste. La seule position rationnelle et vraiment critique est au contraire de se demander: qu'a voulu faire l'auteur? Comment l'a-t-il fait?[30] En second lieu, et suivant l'exemple célèbre de cet autre grand Breton, Chateaubriand, abandonner la mesquine et malveillante critique des défauts pour la féconde critique des beautés, car "on ne parle bien que de ce qu'on aime."[31]

Nous mentionnerons enfin un dernier détail avant de passer de la théorie à la critique de Renan elle-même: l'insistance qu'il a toujours mise à ne pas séparer la littérature de la morale. L'idéalisme et le culte du sérieux, qu'il conservera, même à travers le dilettantisme en apparence un peu frivole de ses dernières années, l'empêcheront toujours d'être un critique tout à fait impartial de toute une catégorie d'œuvres, entre autres les romans de ses contemporains de l'école réaliste. Le titre même des *Essais de Morale et de Critique* est assez significatif à cet égard. La préface de ce recueil affirme la conviction de l'auteur que la morale est la seule chose vraie et sérieuse dans la vie, et conclut: "La science

[30] cf. *Essais de Morale et de Critique*, p. 155. "Le devoir de la critique ne saurait être de regretter que les hommes n'aient pas été autres qu' ils ne furent, mais d'expliquer ce qu'ils furent "Et aussi *Questions Contemporaines*, p. 7.

[31] Principe cher à Renan. Voir *Nouveaux Cahiers de Jeunesse*, p. 195, et *Feuilles Détachées*, p. 296. Mais ce principe ne peut guère être appliqué que par ceux qui, comme lui, ne font pas de la critique une occupation régulière; avec les critiques professionnels, depuis Boileau jusqu'à M. P. Souday, la sévérité redevient légitime et nécessaire.

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même et la critique sont à mes yeux des choses secondaires quprès de la nécessité de conserver la tradition du bien."[32] Certes, nous devons toujours prendre garde, avec Renan, de nuancer nos affirmations. En fait, dans ce même volume, nous pouvons lire, dans l'article sur M. de Sacy, une page où, respectueusement, mais non sans quelque ironie envers le vieux janséniste, Renan oppose le moraliste au critique: "Le moraliste n'hésite jamais dans ses jugements, car ils résultent d'un choix fait une fois pour toutes; le critique hésite toujours, car l'infinie variété du monde lui apparaît dans sa complexité."[33]

La vérité serait à peu près celle—ci: Renan ne demande pas que la littérature prêche toujours la morale; le critique, il le sait, doit être libre de toutes idées préconçues, morales, religieuses ou autres. Mais, en même temps, il ne peut se défendre d'un dégoût profond pour toute oeuvre qui est essentiellement immorale. "L'art et la poésie ne sont pas la morale; ils n'en sont pas non plus le contraire, comme le pensent quelques critiques. L'art et la poésie supposent en un sens la morale."[34] Personne, à coup sûr, ne reprochera à Aristophane ou à Shakespeare d'être immoraux, ni ne les blamera de dépeindre les bassesses ou les laideurs de la nature humaine. Les sévérités de Renan visaient l'immoralité mesquine, la légèreté affectée, le plaisir qu'on semble prendre avec un sourire complaisant dans le vice, autant de traits qu'il regardait comme les plus méprisables du caractère français. Il l'a montré dans deux articles célèbres sur *La Théologie de Béranger*[35] et *La Farce de Maître Pathelin*,[36] deux de ces éclats de colère si rares chez lui. Chez Béranger comme chez l'auteur de Pathelin, il ne trouvait ni sentiment moral, ni sentiment religieux ou idéalisme élevé, mais l'esprit superficiel du peuple français. L'opinion de Renan sur ses compatriotes devait se modifier avec l'âge; plus tard, sous la Troisième République, quand il fut devenu une sorte d'autorité officielle, il prononça sur Béranger un jugement beaucoup moins sévère[37] et il affirma que toujours se cache un fond de sérieux sous la gaîté française. Mais dans l'ensemble, il reste vrai que, comme critique, Renan n'oublie jamais l'aspect moral

[32] *Essais de Morale et de Critique*, p. iii–iv.
[33] *Essais de Morale et de Critique*, p. 30–31.
[34] *Questions Contemporaines*, p. 465.
[35] *Questions Contemporaines*, p. 461 sq.
[36] *Essais de Morale et de Critique*, p. 303 sq.
[37] *Feuilles Détachées*, p. 265.

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de tous les problèmes littéraires. Ou même, pour préciser davantage, cette préoccupation ne vient pas tant chez lui d'une conception morale de la littérature ou de la vie, que d'un tour d'esprit aristocratique. Si nous lisons de plus près ses articles sur Béranger et sur Pathelin, nous nous apercevrons sans peine que, ce qui déplait à Renan, c'est par-dessus tout le caractère essentiellement bourgeois de leur "philosophie" et de leur art. Il les blame moins en moraliste qu'en intelligence élevée, pour qui l'étroitesse d'esprit et la stupidité sont les pires des maux. Il ne peut pardonner à l'auteur de Pathelin, parceque c'est la bêtise qui triomphe dans sa pièce; le berger, le plus sot de tous, trompe et le drapier, et Maître Pathelin. Ses adversaires ont donc pu l'accuser avec plus ou moins de bonne foi de dilettantisme et d'amoralisme; il est clair du moins que la critique littéraire de Renan ne justifie nulle part un tel reproche.

III

La pratique d'un critique vaut souvent mieux que ses théories. La plupart des articles importants de Renan datent de sa période de maturité, alors que l'enthousiasme et les exagérations de *l'Avenir de la Science* étaient déjà loin derrière lui. Sa souplesse innée et son sens des nuances le préservèrent des dangers qu'il put rencontrer. S'il avait pu, dans cette phrase souvent incriminée,se méprendre sur le véritable objet de l'histoire littéraire, cela resta une erreur de jeunesse sans conséquence. Les chapitres qu'il a écrits pour *l'Histoire Littéraire de la France* sont remarquables par le soin apporté à la documentation et par leur vérité scientifique, en même temps que comme l'œuvre d'un artiste qui, sans rien sacrifier de la solidité de ses résultats, sait les présenter sous une forme harmonieuse et belle.[38]

Nous allons pouvoir, en passant à l'œuvre de Renan elle-même, terminer l'étude de sa critique littéraire; nous apercevrons mieux ainsi sa véritable originalité, dar il y a un certain type d'article qui lui appartient en propre, très différent du "portrait" ou du "lundi" de Sainte-Beuve, de l'essai de Taine ou de Faguet, que nul depuis n'a su réussir avec le même bonheur.

Renan écrivit la plupart de ses articles pour la *Revue des Deux Mondes* ou pour le *Journal des Débats*, c'est-à dire pour un public éclairé et aristocratique, de goûts souvent timides et conservateurs.

[38] Voir dans la *Revue de France* du 12 juin 1923, une intéressante étude de Ch. v. Langlois, sur cette partie peu connue de l'oeuvre de Renan.

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très attaché aux qualités traditionnelles de composition et de style. Il ne serait pas exact de dire que Renan chercha avant tout à satisfaire les goûts de ce public; il n'aliéna jamais sa pleine liberté et ne traita que les sujets qui l'attiraient, sans s'imposer une production critique constante et régulière. Mais il avait à agiter devant ce public des questions savantes, à parler de livres érudits et techniques, sans rester jamais un spécialiste étroit. Il remplit la tâche à merveille; cinquante ou soixante ans ont passé depuis la rédaction de ces articles, et nous les lisons encore, avec plus d'interêt souvent que bien d'autres pages de leur auteur; car Renan a été fidèle à la grande tradition française de traiter tous les sujets, fussent-ils les plus abstraits et les plus techniques, non en auteur, mais en homme, et en "honnête homme."

Les ouvrages que Renan prend pour sujet de ses articles ne sont presque jamais des romans, des poèmes, ou en général des ouvrages de pure littérature. Il préfère les livres de philosophie ou d'histoire, les mémoires et journaux intimes, et, bien entendu, tout ce qui se rapporte à l'histoire religieuse. Sa méthode, dans ce cas, ne consiste pas à analyser l'ouvrage avec exactitude pour en faire connaître le contenu au lecteur, puis à le discuter en démêlant le vrai du faux, et les qualités d'avec les faiblesses; enfin, de porter un jugement d'ensemble sur le style et les idées. Renan n'essaie pas non plus de définir l'esprit de l'auteur tel qu'il apparait dans son livre, avec des détails personnels et biographiques, un examen détaillé de sa vie et de sa carrière. Le plus souvent, il prend le livre ou l'auteur en question comme prétexte pour retraiter le sujet lui-même d'une façon personnelle; si par exemple il entreprend un article sur *Les Religions de l'Antiquité*, à propos d'un ouvrage érudit de Maury,[39] il se contentera de citer ce livre ça et là avec quelques allusions et vagues compliments; que le lecteur n'espère pas se faire une opinion sur le contenu et la valeur de l'ouvrage d'après la critique de Renan. Mais il trouve quelque chose de plus précieux, le même sujet traité à nouveau, suivant les derniers renseignements de la science et, souvent, avec des vues originales. La plupart des *Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse* sont de la critique de ce genre, en particulier l'article sur Channing et le mouvement unitaire aux Etats-Unis, riche en ironie et aussi en révélations sur les idées religieuses de Renan; et dans les *Nouvelles Études d'Histoire Religieuse* une série de trois articles sur le *Port*

[39] Dans les *Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse*, pp. 1–72.

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Royal de Sainte-Beuve. Ces articles sont une analyse pénétrante et sympathique du caractère de Sainte-Beuve, avec les quelques réserves que Renan avait à formuler. Mais ils n'ont rien d'une analyse méthodique du livre; ils nous donnent à la fois moins et plus que cela: l'opinion de Renan sur Port-Royal, son rôle, sa théologie, le style et l'influence littéraire de ses écrivains (avec, comme toujours, la tendance de notre critique à insister sur le côté religieux et philosophique plus que sur l'aspect littéraire du sujet). Les articles sur Pathelin et Béranger sont aussi le développement d'un thème favori de Renan. D'autres de ses fragments critiques revêtent la forme de discours à l'Académie Française ou de conférences devant quelque société savante, de paroles prononcées aux funérailles d'un ami ou même d'une lettre adressée à l'auteur sur son œuvre; ils sont souvent fort remarquables. Renan possédait en particulier une maitrise incontestée dans les discours académiques. Mais nous ne pouvons évidemment y chercher de la critique tout à fait sincère, un examen attentif des qualités et des défauts des écrivains.

D'autres articles sur des contemporains méritent d'être regardés de plus près: ce sont des études poussées sur trois auteurs considérés dans l'ensemble de leur œuvre, tous trois des chefs-d'œuvre en leur genre. L'article sur Amiel[40] consiste surtout en une série de développements originaux sur le dogme du péché dans la religion chrétienne, l'optimisme et le pessimisme, la philosophie de Hegel, etc. Il suppose évidemment et nous donne jusqu'à un certain point une analyse et une compréhension pénétrantes du caractère d'Amiel; mais nous y apprenons davantage encore sur Renan que sur le Gènevois. Les deux autres ont été recueillis dans les *Essais de Morale et de Critique* et traitent de Cousin et de Lamennais. L'article sur Cousin est écrit sur un ton de sympathie, d'éloge même, auquel pourrait se laisser prendre une lecture hâtive ou superficielle—et nul autre que Barrès s'y est jadis trompé dans ses amusants, mais en somme peu intelligents, *Huit Jours chez M. Renan.*—Mais quiconque est déjà familiarisé avec la manière de Renan ne peut s'empêcher de reconnaître que tous les défauts du brillant conférencier et du philosophe officiel que fut Cousin sont relevés dans des phrases en apparence insignifiantes. La connaissance du sujet est complète et profonde, mais elle est dissimulée; nul "apparatus criticus," pas même, comme dans Sainte-

[40] Dans les *Feuilles Détachées*, pp. 355–400.

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Beuve, un examen méthodique des origines de l'homme, de ses années de formation, etc. Quant à l'article sur Lamennais, on ne peut guère lui adresser que des éloges sans réserve. C'est l'un des morceaux les plus parfaits qu'ait laissés Renan, celui où il apparait à son meilleur avantage comme critique littéraire. La méthode, très subtile, convient parfaitement au sujet. Nulle remarque inutile ou banale, nulle lourdeur ou gaucherie dans l'examen des oeuvres de Lamennais, ni cette évaluation pédante des qualités et des défauts chère aux critiques de formation universitaire. Renan va droit au centre du sujet: la personnalité de Lamennais et il reconstruit la psychologie de ce prêtre étrange et attirant, car c'est cette psychologie qui donne la clé de sa carrière, de son attitude politique et religieuse, de son évolution. Il complète ensuite ce début par quelques pages sur les origines, qu'on ne pouvait négliger dans le cas de ce Breton ardent, doué du sérieux et de la générosité que Renan se plaisait à retrouver dans les races celtiques, et sur son éducation ecclésiastique. Il ne reste plus qu'à déduire ensuite de tout cela la carrière de Lamennais, ses contradictions, ses erreurs, par une souple méthode qui jamais ne tente de substituer une sèche et inflexible logique à la variété de la vie.

Quelque remarquables que soient certains de ces fragments, et malgré le rang qu'ils méritent d'occuper parmi la critique du siècle dernier, nous pouvons donc reconnaître que Renan n'est pas, et ne prétend jamais être, un critique de profession. Il ne s'impose point la lecture de la production littéraire pour l'analyser, la classer, l'expliquer en la rattachant à quelques grands courants de pensée, etc. Sa méthode, si méthode il y a, n'est pas une; elle varie non seulement avec le sujet traité, mais avec l'occasion qui a donné naissance à l'article, C'est une critique importante et précieuse, parceque Renan est une intelligence rare, parceque sa curiosité est pénétrante, et sait fouiller les plus secrets recoins des âmes. Mais c'est avant tout la critique d'un artiste, comme Sainte-Beuve l'avait bien vu.[41] Plusieurs fois nous avons été amenés à remarquer que les articles de Renan nous apprennent davantage sur lui-même, ses idées religieuses, philosophiques ou littéraires, que sur les auteurs qu'il commente. Ces articles sont en fait ce que lui-même appelait "des travaux de fond," et il ne se trompait peut-être pas en prophétisant: "Peut-être ce genre nouveau de littérature sera-t-il envisagé dans l'avenir comme celui qui appartient le plus

[41] *Causeries du Lundi*, tome ii, p. 417–8.

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essentiellement à notre époque[42]: "Ces essais critiques occupent certainement une place plus qu'honorable parmi les livres de leur auteur et même ceux du dix-neuvième siècle.

Ce caractère essentiel de l'œuvre critique de Renan le distingue de tous les autres critiques, ses contemporains. Il avait bien des points communs avec Sainte-Beuve; mais alors même qu'il eût choisi pour son domaine la littérature pure au lieu de l'histoire religieuse et de l'éxégèse, de grandes différences auraient subsisté entre les deux hommes et leur œuvre. Renan pensait que les idées générales, les grand mouvements historiques et philosophiques devraient jouer un plus grand rôle dans *Port-Royal*, où ils disparaissent presque sous les épisodes et les portraits. La méthode des *Lundis*, qui visait à saisir les traits les plus fuyants d'un individu, au moyen de détails biographiques et autres, ne laissait pas de paraitre un peu mesquine à Renan, qui préférait aller à l'œuvre plutôt qu'à l'homme, reprendre le sujet et le traiter à son tour. Sainte-Beuve, d'autre part, avec toute la sympathie qu'il portait à son jeune collègue, n'était pas sans apercevoir les dangers de la méthode de Renan, méthode d'artiste qui conciliait quelquefois avec trop de facilité de vastes et belles contradictions et risquait d'émousser son sens critique proprement dit. Les mérites respectifs de leur manière différente ressortiraient clairement d'une comparaison de leurs articles sur Lamennais.[43] Sainte-Beuve reste beaucoup plus près de son sujet; il entre davantage dans tous les détails, mais nous cherchons en vain chez lui la philosophie élevée et les idées générales qui nous attirent dans l'"essai" de Renan.

Avec Taine et tous les critiques systématiques, la différence est plus frappante encore. Renan et lui étaient tous deux philosophes, tous deux épris de développements généraux; mais le sens des nuances de Renan, sa subtilité naturelle, n'auraient jamais pu lui faire élaborer ou accepter la rigide méthode de détermination de l'individu exposée dans la préface de la *Littérature Anglaise*. Ici encore, le contraste entre leurs deux manières apparait mieux lorsqu'ils traitent le même sujet. Taine a écrit dans les *Philosophes classiques* cinq chapitres sur V. Cousin, qui correspondent, si l'on veut, à l'article des *Essais de Morale et de Critique*. Il étudie dans Cousin l'écrivain, l'historien, le philosophe, enfin sa théorie de

[42] Préface des *Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse*.

[43] Voir *Essais de Morale et de Critique* et *Portraits Contemporains;* Il faut cependant noter que Sainte-Beuve, alors, (1832, 1834, 1836) n'était pas encore en pleine possession de sa méthode.

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la raison et sa valeur comme érudit et philologue. Le titre même des chapitres dit l'ordre parfait et l'équilibre de la composition; chaque chapitre à son tour, est bâti avec la même méthodique clarté; les idées de Cousin sont résumées, puis discutées; le critique examine attentivement tous les signes: métaphores, procédés de style, syntaxe, ... qui peuvent le renseigner sur l'homme et l'écrivain. Nulle part, Taine n'introduit ses propres idées; il est trop soucieux de critiquer, c'est-à-dire de juger, et de juger avec sévérité.

Faguet, enfin, est plus encore le type du critique de profession, dont la méthode est nette et fixe; il s'efforce, après un rapide exposé biographique, de reconstruire la psychologie de l'auteur qu'il étudie, avec son intelligence et ses idées générales, son imagination, sa sensibilité, etc. Nous pouvons voir dans cette méthode, comparée à celle de Renan, le meilleur exemple de la critique universitaire en France: critique qui dirige avec raison son attention vers les oeuvres plus que vers les hommes, subordonnant ainsi l'individu à ses livres, suit un ordre et adopte certains procédés que l'on peut, avec quelque savoir-faire, apprendre à imiter. Renan n'aurait jamais pu être l'homme d'une manière aussi uniforme. Mais il est juste aussi d'ajouter que sa critique souffre d'une excessive indulgence. Il était trop poli, trop soucieux d'éviter toute polémique et de qualifier sa pensée avec toutes les nuances et les réserves possibles, pour porter des jugements tranchants et sévères. Il aurait malaisément accepté la tâche journalière du critique qui doit faire connaitre le contenu d'une oeuvre avec quelque fidélité et en apprécier la valeur pour un public pressé qu'il faut guider parmi une production trop abondante et mettre en garde contre une réclame chaque jour plus tapageuse.

Cette habitude de Renan d'exposer ses idées personnelles à propos d'un livre ne doit pas davantage, d'ailleurs, nous le faire assimiler aux critiques impressionnistes qui, selon la fameuse formule d'A. France, "racontent les aventures de leur âme au milieu des chefs-d'œuvre." Si Renan a été, par beaucoup de côtés, le maître d'A. France et de J. Lemaitre, sa foi profonde dans la valeur de l'histoire littéraire, la connaissance qu'il avait des méthodes scientifiques, ses vues sur la philologie et l'histoire, suffisent à distinguer sa critique littéraire de la leur. S'il introduit en essayiste ses vues personnelles dans ses articles, il ne tombe jamais dans les défauts qui nous agacent quelquefois chez France et même chez Lemaitre: le goût du paradoxe un peu frivole, la

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recherche excessive du brillant et de la légèreté, quelquefois aux dépens de la solidité ou de la largeur de compréhension, une ingéniosité raffinée qui finit presque par paraitre ingénue.

Il ne faudrait point d'ailleurs pousser trop loin la comparaison de Renan avec les critiques que nous venons de mentionner. Notre historien du Christianisme a prononcé trop peu de jugements et sur un nombre trop restreint de sujets et d'auteurs, il a trop mis de lui-même dans ses articles de critique, pour qu'on puisse le comparer avec justesse—ou avec justice—avec ceux dont la critique a été la tâche principale d'une vie ou de plusieurs années. Certains même qui accusent son goût de timidité ou de pureté excessive, qui lui reprochent ses préjugés incontestables contre le dix-septième siècle français par exemple, ou les réalistes du dix-neuvième, ou les poètes symbolistes,[44] voudraient lui refuser toute qualité de vrai critique. Mais—jusque dans ce que nous pourrions appeler ses erreurs, s'il ne nous souvenait trop des leçons de relativité et de défiance de ce grand esprit—les idées de Renan ont exercé une influence si vaste que la présente étude voudrait du moins par là se voir justifiée. La place de Renan dans la critique littéraire de la France n'est pas la première par l'importance de ses articles de critique; mais elle ne le cède peut-être à nulle autre si l'on envisage son influence sur la critique en général. La nécessité de l'érudition, de la philologie et d'une méthode scrupuleusement consciencieuse; la largeur de compréhension et de sympathie même pour ce qui diffère le plus de nous; le souci de qualifier toutes nos affirmations et de fuir tout pédantisme dogmatique; une certaine curiosité des choses religieuses; le poids même de son grand exemple lorsqu'il refusait de séparer absolument la beauté littéraire et la valeur morale et condamnait la basse vulgarité: ce sont là quelques-unes des leçons de Renan que la critique littéraire, de nos jours encore, semble ne pas avoir oubliées.

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[44] Voir par exemple ses jugements sur Pascal (*Nouvelle Correspondance*, i, p. 54), ses éloges quelque peu excessifs de Sully-Prudhomme (Huret, *Enquête sur l'Evolution Littéraire*, 1891, p. 421) et de G. Sand, en qu'il va jusqu'à voir le plus grand écrivain de son temps (Goncourt, *Journal*, 23 juin 1863, et *Feuilles Détachées*, pp. 293–4.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

1. SCOTT AND MR. REITZEL

In a recent article[1] Mr. William Reitzel attempts to show that the famous recognition of Miss Austen's genius, in the *Quarterly Review* of 1815,[2] was not from the hand of Scott, as has been believed, but was the work of some other member of the *Quarterly* staff, perhaps Richard Whately—known to have written a later criticism of *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion*.[3]

Mr. Reitzel endeavors to prove his case by two lines of evidence: (1) the fact that we have before 1822 no recorded allusions by Scott to Jane Austen; and (2) the close connection in method and idea of the two reviews in the *Quarterly*, which inclines him to the belief that both were by the same author—Whately.

The first "line of evidence" is unconvincing—the recorded verbal utterances of any author are a minutely small part of his expressed opinions. Accident, more than anything else, decides what posterity shall possess. We can therefore put little faith in such evidence. The second, or "positive evidence," consists in a series of parallel readings taken from the two reviews. But these may be explained satisfactorily in another way. It seems less likely that Whately wrote the two critical articles, using many similar ideas and identical phrases, than that—a weak critic at best—Whately, writing in 1821, freshened himself for his task by perusing Scott's critique of 1815. So much for conjectures, which may be made to prove or disprove, as one wishes.

But there need be no reasonable uncertainty regarding Scott's authorship of the review of *Emma*. According to the *Register* of authors kept by John Murray, Scott's friend and the publisher of the *Quarterly Review*, the payment for this article went to Scott. Yet Mr. Reitzel makes no mention of the *Register*, although it is well known, and is now in the hands of Sir John Murray in London. Surely this important entry in the *Register* must be explained away, before we are to believe that Scott was not the author of the excellent criticism of *Emma*.[4]

WALTER GRAHAM

University of Illinois

[1] "Sir Walter Scott's Review of Jane Austen's *Emma*" *PMLA*, XLIII, (1928) 487–493.

[2] *Quarterly Review*, XIV, 188.

[3] *Quarterly Review*, XXIV, 352.

[4] The exact text of Mr. Murray's recent letter to me is as follows:

"The article to which you refer is, I suppose, that on Emma, and, if so, my records confirm the idea that it is by Sir Walter Scott—there appears to be no doubt on the subject. The actual details of payment, I am afraid, no longer exist, but as I know that every article was paid for, it may be assumed that Sir Walter Scott received payment for it."

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With reference to Prof. Graham's comment on my article no satisfactory answer is possible, considering the present form of his criticism. Everything turns, as he points out, on a passage in John Murray's *Register*. According to the ordinary rules of evidence, quotation of that passage would be proof that an error had been made, and readers could have formed instantly their opinions.

But, perhaps, there might still have remained the possibility of doubting even the ordinary rules of evidence, since it was an erroneous entry in the *Register* which originally caused Lockhart's confusion, and since the *Register* was at best only an informal document kept under continual pressure of multitudinous affairs. It has always seemed to me, therefore, a document of varying value, unless its entries can be checked by other evidence, and in this particular case, this is, as far as I know, impossible. It was on this ground that the *Register* was left out of the brickwork of my opinion.

WILLIAM REITZEL.

Haverford College

2. THE GENEALOGICAL NOVEL IN SCANDINAVIA

Mr. A. E. Zucker in his recent article[1] speculates on the origins of Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* as follows:—"It is highly probable that Thomas Mann, known to have been a great admirer of French contemporary fiction, derived the idea for the plan of his work from Zola."[2] It was this erroneous assumption, which had earlier been made by many another, that prompted Thomas Mann himself, some years ago, to disclaim publicly all knowledge of Zola and his novels at the time he composed *Buddenbrooks*. With some emphasis, Mann insisted: "Nicht Zola also, wie man vielfach angenommen hat—ich kannte ihn damals gar nicht—, sondern die sehr viel artistischeren Goncourts waren es, die mich in Bewegung setzten."[3]

To some, it may seem a matter of minor importance that Thomas Mann was moved to write *Buddenbrooks* rather through repeated reading of *Renée Mauperin* by Edmond and Jules de Goncourt than by acquaintance with *Les Rougon Macquart* of Emile Zola. Personally I should be the last to hold it against Mr. Zucker that he overlooked this specific statement by Thomas Mann, originally made during an address delivered before his fellow-citizens on the occasion of the seven hundredth anniversary of the founding of his native city, Lübeck, and now snugly tucked away in a slender, unassuming volume, none too attractively entitled, "Lübeck als geistige Lebensform."[4] But it is unfortunate that Mr. Zucker

[1] "The Genealogical Novel, A New Genre," *PMLA*, XLIII (1928), 551–560.

[2] *l. c.*, p. 556.

[3] Mann, *Lübeck als geistige Lebensform*. Lübeck, 1926, p. 15.

[4] Mann, *Lübeck als geistige Lebensform*. Lübeck, 1926, flyleaf. "Rede gehalten am 5. Juni im Stadttheater zu Lübeck aus Anlass der 700 Jahrfeier der freien und Hansestadt."

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did not run across some reference to this remark,[5] since its continuation contains material important not merely for the student of Thomas Mann but also for Mr. Zucker's more particular special subject, *The Genealogical Novel.*

For in continuing this "Entstehungsgeschichte des Buches," Mann calls attention to other models for his genealogical novel, *Buddenbrooks:*— "und als weitere Vorbilder boten skandinavische Familienromane sich an, legten sich als Vorbilder darum nahe, weil es ja eine Familiengeschichte, und zwar eine handelsstädtische, der skandinavischen Sphäre schon nahe, war, die mir vorschwebte."

If the good fortune of stumbling on this very certain reference to "Scandinavian novels of family life as further models" for *Buddenbrooks* with its specific mention later on of two writers of such works, Kielland and Lie, was denied Mr. Zucker, we can only regret that his researches were not pursued into other less well-known works of Thomas Mann. For in these he could not have failed to note internal evidence of Mann's fondness for Scandinavian authors revealed in numerous references to their work scattered here and there in his various writings; such as his assurance in an article "Über Gottfried Keller,"[6] "im russischen und skandinavischen Roman war ich als junger Mensch viel besser zu Hause," furthermore in Mann's "big book about himself and the war"[7] he would have discovered fruitful material in the form of an earlier and somewhat better-known account of the Germanic and other European sources of *Buddenbrooks.*

For in his bulky *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, after stressing, first of all, the essentially German qualities of *Buddenbrooks*, Thomas Mann points in particular to Scandinavian models, as important foreign influences in his work.

> *Buddenbrooks* ist gewiss ein sehr deutsches Buch . . . . deutsch vor allem im formalen Sinn . . . . Es ist geworden, nicht gemacht, gewachsen, nicht geformt . . . . kein ebenmässiges Kunstwerk, sondern Leben . . . . Gotik, nicht Renaissance.[8]

As to "die eigentlich literarischen Einflüsse und Nährquellen," aside from the specifically German "Einfluss," which, he tells us, is "wunderlich zusammengesetzt: aus dem niederdeutsch humoristischen und dem

[5] Mann's statement has found its way, for example, into the last (19th) edition of Albert Soergel, *Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit*, Leipzig, 1928, p. 862 "*Buddenbrooks*, wo dem Dichter nach dem immer wieder erneuten Lesen der *Renée Mauperin* der Brüder Goncourt der Gedanke gekommen war, eine nordische Familiengeschichte von der Art und dem Umfange eines Kiellandschen oder Lieschen Romans zu schreiben."

[6] Mann, *Rede und Antwort*, p. 380.

[7] So characterized in my article on Thomas Mann, *PMLA*, XLIII, 2 (June 1928) p. 565. The work referred to is Mann, *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, Berlin, 1919.

[8] Mann, *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen*, Berlin, 1919, pp. 53–54.

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episch-musikalischen Element,—er kam von Fritz Reuter und Richard Wagner;" he says in so many words, "Die anderen [Einflüsse] kamen überall her: aus Russland, England, Frankreich . . . . , *aus dem Dänemark Bangs und Jacobsens, dem Norwegen Kiellands und Lies.*" (italics mine.)

It seems unfortunate that all these references to the influence of Scandinavian writers of genealogical novels on *Buddenbrooks* escaped Mr. Zucker's researches. Knowledge of them would not only have spared him the somewhat unwarranted assumption which leads him astray for a couple of paragraphs,[9] but proper exploitation of the possibilities inherent therein would have permitted expansion of the present scope of his paper to include new novels and other more closely related literatures which are now not represented by him. For although Mr. Zucker doubtless did not intend to give an exhaustive treatment of so comprehensive a subject as *The Genealogical Novel*, he missed an opportunity in his attempt to demonstrate the "extensive and powerful influence" of this "new genre" when he concludes his article[10] by passing in review examples of the genealogical novel "taken from five literatures" when he could as easily and with much more propriety, have adduced "examples from eight literatures, including the Scandinavian!"

For certainly between *Buddenbrooks* and a Norwegian novel, like Alexander Kielland's *Garman & Worse* or a Danish novel, like Hermann Bang's *Haablöse Slägter* there is a closer connection than that which Mr. Zucker seeks to establish between Mann's *Buddenbrooks* and Zola's *Les Rougon Macquart.* These Scandinavian works and others of a similar kind (all accessible in translation) may be commended to Mr. Zucker or anyone else who wishes to continue an investigation of this interesting subject of the novel of family life in different generations.

And he who would put to a more searching test still Mr. Zucker's assertion that "each nation has stamped its peculiar genius on novels in this genre"[11] would do well to include, in addition, a more recent genealogical novel from Holland, *De Opstandigen; een familieroman in drie boeken* by Jo van Ammers-Küller.[12]

My own interest in this subject is less in the genealogical novel in these literatures than in the prose writings of Thomas Mann and so I restrict myself here to that phase of Mr. Zucker's larger subject, in wondering (1) whether Thomas Mann himself would feel "honored with the title 'The German Galsworthy', "[13] (2) whether he would himself use the

[9] Zucker, *l.c.*, p. 556.

[10] *l.c.*, p. 560.

[11] Ibidem.

[12] Amsterdam (J. M. Meulenhoff) 1926. Summed up for people who do not readily read Dutch in *The N. Y. Book Review*, Feb. 14, 1926. Since this note was written, published in English translation as *The Rebel Generation* N. Y. (E. P. Dutton & Co.).

[13] Zucker, *l.c.*, p. 556 footnote 13.

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form, "*Die Buddenbrooks*'," [14] as the title of his first long work, (3) whether he would derive "this motive of decadence" [15] in his work from Zola, whom he does not mention, or from Nietzsche, whom he so often does, and finally, (4) what he would say to a genealogy of his genealogical novel, which omits all mention of the French and Scandinavian sources to which he himself specifically refers and which "derives the idea for the plan of his work from Zola," [16] whom he specifically rejects and whose "novels in the *Rougon Macquart* series," [16] he says he did not even know.

The relations of Thomas Mann and Scandinavia, however, form "ein Kapitel für sich," to be reserved for later treatment and not to be readily exhausted here.

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3. AN INACCURATE QUOTATION FROM DR. JOHNSON

More or less serious blunders in the work of Sir Walter Scott are known to be numerous; one has only to read the excellent article of George Watson, "Literary Blunders of the Author of *Waverley*," in the *Transactions* of the Hawick Archæological Society for 1914 (10 pages), to find a careful and sometimes amusing list of slips of the memory and of the pen.

On page xliv of our *Proceedings* for 1926 (printed in volume XLII, 1927) occurs the statement "Samuel Johnson . . . . defined a novel as 'a smooth tale, generally of love'." Alas, on looking into Johnson, one finds that he says nothing of the sort: his words are, "A *small* tale, generally of love," which is quite a different matter. But, looking back to my notes, I find that I took the definition (without verification, which was reprehensible) from the *Essays on Chivalry, Romance and the Drama*, by Sir Walter Scott, Bart., London, 1887, p. 65 (the Chandos Classics) where it stands as I quoted it. Thus a *lapsus* of Sir Walter's, quoted by an incautious American professor, raised a laugh and entertained for a moment an audience in Sanders Theater, Cambridge, U.S.A. "Lack-a-day, if they had ta'en the pains to satisfy their own eyes, instead of following each other's blind guidance," is a noteworthy sentence from Sir Walter himself, found at the end of the first chapter of *The Antiquary*.

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4. ON THE RELATION BETWEEN THE YORK AND TOWNELEY PLAYS

The presence of material from the vernacular *Gospel of Nicodemus* in five of the York plays, coupled with the fact that Burton was apparently

[14] Twice used in this form, *l.c.*, p. 556.

[15] Ibidem.

[16] Cf. supra, footnote 2.

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ignorant of this material when he made his descriptive list of the plays in 1415, led Miss Marie Lyle to assume that the poem must have been used in revising the plays subsequent to 1415.[1] Miss Grace Clark, however, while agreeing with Miss Lyle that Burton is silent about *some* of the incidents and characters deriving from this source, nevertheless believes that she detects a few references in his list to this very material.[2] She further suggests that since one of the plays exhibiting the influence of the vernacular *Gospel of Nicodemus*—the *Harrowing of Hell*[3]—is present in the Towneley plays and therefore, according to Miss Lyle, represents a survival of the parent cycle, it is inconsistent to date the use of the *Gospel* after 1415 and the separation of the two cycles before 1390.[4]

Since neither critic has drawn from the facts she seeks to establish the conclusions that occur to me, or has noted in this connection certain closely parallel circumstances surrounding the indebtedness of the various cycles to that other vernacular poem, the *Northern Passion*,[5] and since, by leaning too heavily upon Burton's list, one of these critics seems to me to have obscured the more important issue of the relations between the York and Towneley cycles, a further word upon these aspects of the whole subject may be of some use.

In the case of the *Northern Passion* Miss Frances Foster long ago observed that the influence of this poem was perceptible in various stages of the York plays, that indeed at least three different York authors were

[1] *The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles*, University of Minnesota, 1919, p. 30 f.

[2] *PMLA* XLIII, 1928, 153 f.

[3] She might have added the *Resurrection* (York XXXVIII), another play common to the two cycles. Miss Lyle was of course aware of the influence of the *Gospel* on these two plays which, according to her theory, must belong to her parent cycle (cf. *op. cit.* p. 46). She merely failed to equate this fact with the dates of revision and separation that she posited elsewhere in her study.

[4] This date has been convincingly questioned by Miss Frances Foster in *PMLA* XLIII, 1928, p. 131.

[5] Miss Lyle observes (*op. cit.*, p. 29) that certain similarities between the York and Towneley plays show "a contact between the two cycles which obviously occurred after the influence of the *Northern Passion*," and she also notes (p. 81) "a second and more extensive use" of this source later by the York play of the *Last Supper* (XXVII). Unfortunately, her chart (pp. 5–28) does not always reveal the fact that the York and Towneley plays agree with the *Northern Passion* in places where they do not agree with each other: e.g., York knows the little child of the *Northern Passion*, ll. 297–308, in the *Last Supper* play (XXVII, 73–89) whereas the character is not in the Towneley play; on the other hand, the parallels to the poem in Towneley XX, which are without counterpart at York, are more extensive than the chart reveals. Miss Lyle, however, takes account of most of these independent agreements in her discussions of the individual plays, ascribing them variously to original and later contacts.

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familiar with it.[6] As she so well says (*op. cit.* 101), poems of this sort were memorized and "playwrights who revised old plays or wrote new ones continually adopted the phraseology, even the incidents, of familiar poems like the *Passion*."[7] Now, if we find resemblances to the vernacular *Gospel of Nicodemus* not only in "identical" plays like the *Harrowing of Hell* and the *Resurrection* (York Plays XXXVII and XXXIII—Towneley Plays XXV and XXVI), but also in the *Dream of Pilate's Wife* (York XXX, which is not in Towneley), in the *Second Trial Before Pilate* (York XXXIII, which corresponds only roughly to part of Towneley XXII, these correspondences excluding the *Gospel* incidents), and in the *Appearance to Mary Magdalene* (York XXXIX, which has several points of contact with the end of Towneley XXVI), it is evident that both the authors of the identical plays and the authors or revisers of plays exhibiting various degrees of relationship to the Towneley plays knew this vernacular poem. The evidence from Burton's list—if it could be used with confidence —would point to the same conclusion. Burton may have known some of the rôles and incidents deriving from the *Gospel*, he may have been ignorant of others. This merely would mean that the vernacular *Gospel of Nicodemus* was not used at any one time or by any one man in revising the York plays but was known independently to several playwrights and revisers.[8] I should therefore not date the use of this poem as necessarily after 1415, with Miss Lyle, or as necessarily after 1400, with Miss Clark. (Miss Clark indeed has apparently confused the date of the poem with that of the MS in which it occurs.) In short, it seems to me that so far as our knowledge now goes, the vernacular *Gospel of Nicodemus*, like the *Northern Passion*, might have been used by York writers— the authors of new plays as well as the redactors of revised plays—both before and after Burton made his list.

But can we rely upon the brief descriptions in this list to give us complete and accurate summaries of the plays as they appeared in 1415? In other words, can Burton's list support the weight of theory that has been placed upon it? I doubt it, for the same reasoning applied to the discrepancies[9] existing between Burton's list and the plays that are common

[6] *E.E.T.S.* 147, p. 86. Cf. also Miss Lyle's recognition of its "second and more extensive use" in York XXVII (p. 81).

[7] Those who have concerned themselves with the French plays and poems on the Passion are familiar with this proceeding in France. Cf. E. Roy, *Le Mystère de la Passion* and my studies in *MLN* XXXV, 1920, p. 257 and *PMLA* XXXV, 1920, p. 464, and the introduction to my forthcoming edition of *La Passion du XIV^e siècle*. Cf. also *Ludus Coventriae* (ed. Block, *E.E.T.S., Extra* 120), p. xlix.

[8] I have tried to show elsewhere that revisions of the various plays in the cycles were probably made independently of each other and at different times (*Modern Philology* XV, 1918, p. 565.)

[9] For York XI (Towneley VIII), Burton does not mention *Deus* or the Egyptians and speaks of *viij Judei* who are represented by three in York, two in Towne-

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to York and Towneley would lead to the conclusion that the identical plays—or parts of them—were unknown to Burton in 1415—a conclusion, to which no critic, so far as I am aware, would subscribe.[10] Accordingly although the list is often valuable in detecting revisions and in controlling

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ley. For Y XX (T XVIII), Burton lists *iiij or Judei*, besides the *doctores*. York has three doctors and three *magistri*, T has three *magistri*, only; who were these *iiij or Judei*? For Y XXXIV (ll. 107–300 are similar to T XXII, ll. 260–407), Burton's order of events is inexact and Veronica's rôle is now filled—so far as it filled at all—by one of the Maries (cf. ll. 184–90). The incident is lacking entirely in T. (Miss Lyle, pp. 53, 97, lists *On the Way to Calvary* in the group of practically identical plays; there is evidence in this part of T XXII, however, of much more revision than she seems to assume.) The omissions and discrepancies between Burton's list and Y XXXVII (T XXV) are considered above in the text. For Y XXXVIII (T XXVI), not only is the name of *Centurio* omitted, but apparently the rôles of *Annas* and the *Juvenis* (transformed into *Angelus* in the extant play) were absent from the list as originally written and added later. The discrepancies between Burton's list and the last pair of identical plays—Y XLVIII, T XXX—can best be represented graphically:

Burton	*York*	*Towneley* (an incomplete play)
Maria	missing	missing
xij apostoli	two apostles	missing
iiij spiritus boni	two good spirits	four good spirits
iiij spiritus mali	two evil spirits	four evil spirits
vj diaboli	three devils	two devils and Tutiuillus
viii angeli	three angels	one angel

Now, my point is that none of these discrepancies between the York identical plays and Burton's list can be positively attributed to revisions at York subsequent to 1415. They may be due, as I have suggested above, to carelessness, a desire for brevity, the inclusion of silent actor's parts, and perhaps, in the case of the numbers of the *Judei*, *spiritus*, etc. to redistribution of rôles without change of text. (In comparing *Y* and *T* we frequently find the same text assigned to a different number of actors. Cf. e.g., Y XX and T XXVIII where the three *magistri* of T fill the six rôles of Y.)

[10] Miss Smith, who in her edition dated the extant MS of the York plays ca. 1430–40 (p. xxviii), put the composition of the originals between 1340 and 1350 (p. xlv). Gayley (*Plays of Our Forefathers*, p. 133 f.) ascribes the earliest plays to the first third of the fourteenth century, a second stage to 1340–60 and the latest stage to ca. 1400. The Towneley plays, preserved in a unique MS of ca. 1450 (cf. Wann, *PMLA*, XLIII, 141), are dated by Pollard (*E.E.T.S. Ext. Ser.* 71, p. xxviii) between ca. 1360 and 1410, the latter date being ascribed by him—and also by Miss Foster (*PMLA* XLIII, 135)—to the Wakefield master. That the Wakefield master worked over earlier plays borrowed from York (this is, with one exception, the general opinion; cf. Gayley, *op. cit.* p. 133, Lyle *op. cit.*, p. 108 and my objections to the contrary view of Cady [*J.E.G.P.* X, 572] in *Mod. Phil.* XV, 1918, 565) points to a date considerably before 1410 for the inclusion of York plays in the Towneley cycle.

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the evidence we have from other sources, it seems hazardous to me to attribute *all* discrepancies between it and the extant plays to revision, *all* agreements between it and the extant plays to Burton's knowledge of these very plays. Omissions in some cases may be due to carelessness or to a desire for brevity; agreement with surviving plays need not rule out agreement with earlier versions than we now have; differences between the numbers of *angeli*, *spiritus*, *Judei*, etc. recorded by Burton and by our manuscript may occasionally be due to Burton's inclusion of supernumeraries or to a redivision of rôles—without any revision of the text—subsequent to 1415.

In the present instance, how far does Burton neglect or record the material in the extant plays deriving from the vernacular *Gospel of Nicodemus*? In Play XXX, a late or revised play in its present form, he does not mention Percula; in XXXVIII—an identical play—he omits the name of the Centurion; in XXXVII—another identical play—he omits Michael and refers to *xij spiritus*, [*vj*] (this number is apparently an interlineation) *boni et vj mali*, thus agreeing only in part with the extant play which has seven good and five evil spirits (the seventh good spirit, by the way, may be Moses, who does not appear in the poem). On the other hand in Play XXXIII, a late play, Burton, who lists *sex milites tenentes hastas cum vexillis*, may reveal a knowledge of the apocryphal incident of the bowing of the standards from the vernacular *Gospel*—or of an earlier play than the one now extant which incorporated such material from the Latin *Gospel*. None of these omissions and agreements, however, seems to me *decisive* evidence of the presence or absence of material from the vernacular *Gospel* in the plays known to Burton in 1415.

Now, what is the bearing of this discussion, if any, upon the question of the relations existing between the York and Towneley cycles? Miss Clark assumes (*op. cit.*, p. 161) that her confrontation of the "Original Identity" theory with her dating of the vernacular *Gospel of Nicodemus* and with her interpretation of Burton's list has somehow "put out the false gleam" of that theory. I have tried to show that her date for the *Gospel* cannot be verified and that Burton's list in this instance furnishes inconclusive evidence. Accordingly, the objections thus far advanced against the "Original Identity" theory seem to me unimportant, and I still[11] believe that Miss Lyle in her study considerably advanced our understanding of the factors underlying the many points of contact between the York and Towneley cycles. That the dates suggested by her must be abandoned and that, despite her keen and useful analyses, her attempts to identify the remains of "parent-cycle" plays do not always carry conviction[12] should not, in my opinion, obscure the value of her primary contribution: her recognition of more points of agreement between the

[11] Cf. *M.L.N.* XXXV (1920), 45.

[12] Cf. *M.L.N.* XXXV (1920), 46–7 and Foster, *PMLA*, XLIII (1928), 132–4.

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two cycles than former critics had indicated and her emphasis upon the important rôle of revisions in concealing early contacts.

However, that the York and Towneley cycles were originally one *as cycles* cannot, it seems to me be proved at the present time and must remain at best hypothetical. Although Professor Louis Wann in his article on the manuscript of the Towneley plays (*PMLA* XLIII, 1928, p. 137) adds materially to our knowledge of that manuscript, he is nevertheless obliged to admit that the question of the home of the cycle and the use to which the manuscript was put is still unanswered. Nor has Peacock's recent communication concerning Wakefield (*London Times Lit. Suppl.*, June 7, 1928, p. 431) settled the matter. Accordingly, until we know how the Towneley collection came to be made, whether the plays were assembled singly, in groups, or as a cycle, I should prefer to speak of Towneley's borrowings from York rather than of parent-cycle plays, and to posit the original identity of individual plays in the cycles rather than the identity of the cycles themselves. I do believe, however, that those Towneley plays which display various degrees of resemblance to the corresponding York plays[13] actually derive from them, or from earlier plays of which the extant versions are revisions, and that this original contact has in certain instances been more or less obscured by subsequent revisions in one, in the other, or in both of the plays in question.[14]

[13] In other words, the plays of Hohlfeld's first six groups (*Anglia* XI, 307) plus the supplementary plays contained in Miss Lyle's first three groups. The plays in her fourth group, as she says (p. 93), cannot be included with the same degree of assurance.

[14] As I have pointed out elsewhere (*PMLA*, XXXV, 464 f. and especially 476–7), an analogous situation exists among the French Passion plays where borrowing and redacting—and the use of the same vernacular source—explain the similarities and dissimilarities observable in the *Palatine Passion*, the two versions of the *Passion d'Autun* and the *Passion de Semur*. The use of vernacular sources by mediaeval playwrights has of course been frequently demonstrated. Besides the instances collected in *M.L.N.* XXXV (1920), 257, the following may be mentioned: the *Stanzaic Life of Christ* was used by the *Chester Plays* (cf. Foster in *E.E.T.S.* 166, p. xxviii); *Le Miroir de Vie et de Mort* was used by the *Moralité des Sept Pêchés Mortel* (cf. Långfors, *Romania* L (1924), 40); *Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine* of Deguileville gave rise to the *Moralité* of the same name (cf. G. Cohen, *Mystères et Moralités*, p. 93). On the vernacular sources of the *Ludus Coventriae*, see Block's edition, *E.E.T.S. Ext. Ser.* 120, p. xliv f.; for the influence of vernacular poems on the *Miracles de Notre Dame*, cf. Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères* II, 275, 293, 302; on the use of the *Erlösung* and *Passional* by the German plays, see L. Wirth, *Die Oster- und Passionsspiele*, p. 136, Karl Pearson, *The Chances of Death* II, 312, Creizenach, *Geschichte des Neueren Dramas*, I (1911), 224; on the influence of Gautier de Coincy on Rutebeuf's *Miracle de Théophile*, cf. the ed. in the *Classiques fr. du m. a.*, p. ix. (The "Reminiscences de *Fierabras* dans le *Jeu de saint Nicolas* de Jean Bodel," pointed out by Jeanroy in *Romania* L, (1924), 435, are not very convincing.)

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This view represents to me a tenable compromise between the hypothesis of Miss Lyle and the theories of Hohlfeld, Pollard and Gayley. That is, instead of assuming the borrowing of an entire cycle by one community from another, or the borrowing of some plays plus the imitation, adaptation or construction from memory of others, I should suggest that the Towneley cycle borrowed a larger number of plays from York than earlier critics assumed—not necessarily as many as Miss Lyle assumes—and that, in general, most of the similarities and dissimilarities now observable in these cycles can be traced to such borrowings, to the use of the same Latin or vernacular sources, and to the subsequent revisions that the individual plays of each cycle independently received.

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5. THE ORIGINAL IDENTITY OF THE YORK AND TOWNELEY CYCLES—A REJOINDER

In two recent articles Miss Eleanor Grace Clark[1] and Miss Frances A. Foster[2] see difficulties in the way of accepting my theory of the original identity of the York and Towneley cycles.[3] This theory is that at some period, earlier than that represented by the extant version of either cycle, "the York cycle and the Towneley cycle were, as cycles, one and the same" (See my dissertation, p. iii); and that, after the separation into distinct cycles, the revision of individual plays, due to craft control or to other reasons, went on independently in each cycle. I believe that the York cycle was at one time carried to the place, presumably Wakefield, where it (later to be known as the Towneley cycle) was presented, and where in the course of time certain plays were subjected to revision and rearrangement, even to the point of omissions, substitutions, and additions, and that at the same time, with the same set of plays, a like situation prevailed at York.

The proof which I presented for this theory is found not so much in external evidence, which unfortunately is too fragmentary to be much more than suggestive, as in the large body of similarities between York and Towneley assembled in Chapter IV of my dissertation. There I point out that three orders of similarities, graduated in degree, are to be found in corresponding plays of the two cycles: practical identity, in five and a part of another; structural similarity accompanied by isolated passages of verbal agreement, with or without the retention of common rhymes, in sixteen plays; structural similarity with no parallel phraseology, in three plays. The identical plays, I believe, give us the clue to the re-

[1] "The York Plays and the *Gospel of Nichodemus*," *PMLA*, XLIII, 153–61.

[2] "Was Gilbert Pilkington Author of the *Secunda Pastorum*?" *PMLA*, XLIII, 124–36.

[3] *The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles*, Research Pubs., University of Minnesota, VIII, 3 (1919).

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lationship, and the growing activity and expansion of the gilds in the latter half of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth[4] make the revision of plays after the separation a certainty, and thus account for whatever differences now exist. The similarities in the second and third groups, moreover, are exactly those which we should expect to find in plays which represent revisions one of the other, or which are both based upon lost originals.

The difficulties raised by Miss Clark and Miss Foster are mainly concerned with three matters: (1) the presence of revised plays in the parent-cycle stage (*i.e.*, the original identity stage), (2) the partition in York of certain plays which are united in Towneley, (3) my suggested dating of the separation as "at least before the year 1390."

With reference to the first point, the parent-cycle stage, according to my view, represented a period in the development of the York cycle antedating the period when the same set of plays was established independently in another community. That this common cycle, remnants of which I believe are to be found in the numerous correspondences between the two cycles, underwent considerable development before the separation is evidenced by the presence of at least four distinct metres in the identical plays (See my dissertation, p. 47). If the traditional development of the mystery cycles as outlined by Creizenach and Chambers is kept in mind at this point, it will be seen that there is no inconsistency, as Miss Clark believes (*op. cit.*, p. 160), between the revision of plays in the parent-cycle stage and Mrs. Frank's view[5] that the text of an entire cycle was not periodically subjected to revision. Since the plays did not pass into the keeping of the city authorities until a very late date, the revisions of an entire cycle, while under gild control, whether in the parent-cycle stage or later, must have been eccentric rather than systematic. Indeed, the second chapter of my dissertation is devoted to a refutation of a York parent cycle composed by one man in a single metre.[6]

Great indeed must have been the changes in the cycle between the *Pastores* and the *Stella* in 1255[7] and the period of the separation! A whole cycle had in the course of over a century developed from this nucleus (and possibly from a group of corresponding Easter plays); and at the time of the separation the cycle must have been highly composite in nature (See my dissertation, pp. 100–1, and p. 52), older types co-existing with newer plays giving indication of revisions and amplifications. The parent-

[4] See *York Memorandum Book*, ed. Maud Sellers, Surtees Society, 120, 125; Lucy Toulmin Smith, *York Mystery Plays*, intro. xviii–xlii; Mrs. Grace Frank, "Revisions in the English Mystery Plays," *Mod. Phil.*, XV, 565–72.

[5] Frank, *op. cit.*, pp. 565–72.

[6] Davidson, Charles, "Studies in the English Mystery Plays," *Trans. Connecticut Acad. of Sciences*, IX, 137 ff.

[7] An early York Cathedral reference: see *Lincoln Statutes*, II, 98; Chambers, *Mediæval Stage*, II, 399.

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cycle stage would then contain certain revised plays, and it does contain, I believe, the very plays which Miss Foster[8] calls into question: the Towneley *Creation* (I), *Resurrection* (XXVI), *Conspiracy* (XX), and *Scourging* (XXII). These are examples of revision before the separation, as are also the four identical plays showing influence of the *Gospel of Nicodemus;* namely, the *Harrowing of Hell*, *Pharoah*, the *Doctors*, and the *Resurrection*, to which Miss Clark makes objection.[9]

The second matter relates to the partition in York of certain plays which in Towneley are united, viz.: the Towneley plays referred to above, the *Creation*, *Resurrection*, *Conspiracy*, and *Scourging*. Miss Foster questions my view (See my dissertation, pp. 68–71) that these Towneley plays represent a more primitive stage of cycle development than the corresponding plays at York. In the case of the Towneley *Creation*, she thinks it "more reasonable to suppose that the Towneley author was combining a series of separate plays such as we find at York and at Beverley."[10]

The Towneley play, however, is simpler and more primitive in metre, and it contains but two elements, those elements occurring in old metres, the six-line stanza, $aa^4b^3cc^4b^3$, and couplets; whereas in York the same events are treated in five detailed pageants, each in its distinct metre of more elaborate form. Pollard[11] and Gayley[12] have long recognized in the couplet section of the Towneley play the tone of an early period, perhaps even pre-cyclic in composition. And in the Towneley plays, written wholly or partly in the $aa^4b^3cc^4b^3$ stanza, Pollard thinks "we possess part of an original didactic cycle . . . . on to which other plays, mostly written in a more popular style, have been tacked from time to time." No such claims for early origin have been put forward for any of the plays in the York creation group.

Moreover, Towneley, I believe, shows traces of revision and expansion by the insertion of the episode of the fall of Lucifer. In the $aa^4b^3cc^4b^3$ stanza, we have apparently an old play following rather closely the biblical account of the creation; in couplets, in the midst of the creation events, we find the story of the fall of Lucifer. The apparent insertion of this apocryphal element at a point not in accordance with the traditional chronological order, as shown in the Middle English *Genesis and Exodus*,

[8] Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 133. The situation in the Towneley *Crucifixion* (XXIII), *Noah* (III), and *Magi* (XIV), to which Miss Foster refers (p. 132), need not be treated in detail: she admits the probability of the expansion of the Towneley *Crucifixion* into two at York; I had in mind the parent-cycle version of the *Noah* play, of which the extant versions of York and Towneley represent independent revisions; the *Magi*, as Miss Foster points out, did not suffer partition until 1431.

[9] Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 159–60.

[10] Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

[11] *The Towneley Plays*, EETS, Ex. Ser. LXXI, *intro.* xxiii–xxv.

[12] *Plays of our Forefathers* (New York 1907), pp. 133, 164.

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Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, and elsewhere, has given rise to a number of textual peculiarities which are also to be found in York.

(1) In ll. 25–30 of York Play I, immediately after creating the nine orders of angels, God names an "exile" beneath heaven to be called earth, which he grants to his faithful "mynysters." This precedes the boasting of Lucifer and his fall, with which the remainder of the play is concerned. Play II deals in elaborate detail with the creation of earth through the fifth day, which was made necessary, as we are told near the close of Play I (l. 148), because "erthe . . . . faded when þe fendes fell." Why should we have this double creation of earth unless the York playwright in changing the creation events to conform to their accepted chronological order wished to correct the position of the fall of Lucifer as given in Towneley?

(2) The review of the creation events of the first five days at the beginning of York Play III before the creation of man is perhaps reminiscent of the repetition in Towneley of the command to multiply given at the beginning of the second section of the $aa^4b^3cc^4b^3$ stanzas, the account of Lucifer intervening between it and the first command given at the end of the first section of $aa^4b^3cc^4b^3$ stanzas.[13]

(3) The repetition in the York play of the command not to eat of the tree of life is apparently carried over from the Towneley version where the command is also given a second time. It is at this point in the Towneley play that a disarrangement of incidents is apparent, caused, it would seem, by the shift from the $aa^4b^3cc^4b^3$ stanza to the couplet account.[14]

[13] Cf. St. 10 and 17:

The water to norish the fysh swymand,
The erth to norish bestys crepeand,
That fly or go may.
Multiplye in erth, and be
In my blyssyng, wax now ye;
This is the fyft day. (St. 10)

and

Erthly bestys, that may crepe and go,
bryng ye furth and wax ye mo,
I se that it is good;
now make we man to oure liknes,
that shall be keper of more & les,
of fowles, and fysh in flood. (St. 17)

[14] The natural position for the so-called couplet insertion (ll. 198–203; see Cady, *The Couplets and Quatrains in the Towneley Plays*, JEGP, X, 576), which contains God's command not to eat of the tree of life, is after l. 194 where it would follow his statement to Adam and Eve that as long as they refrain from sin, they will have "joye and blis" in paradise. God's order to the angel would then be followed by the angel's reply. In his stage direction the playwright apparently made an attempt to reconcile the order of events: "Tunc capit cherubyn adam per manum, & dicit eis dominus."

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(4) A number of the couplet and ballad rhymes from Towneley reappear in the corresponding places in York, not only in their original position, but more frequently expanded to meet the exigencies of more elaborate rhyme schemes.[15] In addition to such common rhymes as these are numerous instances, as already noted in my dissertation,[16] of verbal echoes and structural similarities.

The case, thus, appears to favor the expansion of the York creation plays from the simpler Towneley account. And likewise, in regard to the Towneley *Resurrection*, *Conspiracy*, and *Scourging*, it seems to me more reasonable to suppose that we have instances of expansion rather than contraction.

It is to be noted that the final episode of the *Resurrection* play, dealing with Mary Magdalene, is organically a part of the original Towneley *Resurrection* play, as witnessed by the presence in it of stanzas in the characteristic metre of the *Resurrection* proper, particularly since these stanzas carry the main theme of the episode. Other metres, probably the product of revision, occur along with these. The play, however, is a unit, and its division into two in York is the natural inference. York Play XXXIX is probably a still further revision of the Mary Magdalene scene in the Towneley play. Much of Christ's monologue in the *Resurrection* proper (Towneley, ll. 214–333) is an amplified version of a poem occurring in Skelton's works to which Professor G. C. Taylor calls attention.[17]

The reappearance of *Northern Passion* couplets, not only in the couplet section[18] of the Towneley *Conspiracy* but also in the northern septenar[19]

[15] Cf. T ll. 198–99: *wife, life* and Y Pl. IV, ll. 83–89: *Lyfe, wyf;* T ll. 165–66: *liknes, les* and Y Pl. III, ll. 21–23: *lesse,* make, *likeness;* T ll. 176–80: *wise, will,* fulfill, *paradise, playce* and Y Pl. IV, ll. 1–9: *place,* grace, in tree, see, myn, *paradyce,* begynne, *wyse;* T ll. 7–8: *begynnyng, endyng* and Y Pl. I, ll. 1–8: *begynnyng,* me, wynnyng, be, blendyng, hydande, abydande, *endyng;* T ll. 16–17: *will, fulfill* and Y Pl. I, ll. 17–19: *wyll,* me, *full-fyll.*

[16] Pp. 52–101.

[17] "The Relation of the English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Religious Lyric," *Mod. Phil.* V, 26. It will be noted that the metre of the lyric begins three strophes earlier in Towneley than do the verbal similarities; also that no similarities with Chester (see Pollard, *op. cit., intro.* xix) are apparent in the stanzas written in the metre of the lyric.

[18] Cf. *N.P. Ad.* ll. 183–90: *grythe, wyth, fynde, kynde, saye, waye, haulle, alle* and T ll. 320–29: *grith, with, fynde, kynde, say, way, all, hall; N.P. H.* 204 a, b: *doune, bowne* and T ll. 346–47: *bowne, downe; N.P. C.Gg.* ll. 409–10: *crawe, thrawe* and T ll. 380–81: *thraw, craw; N.P. A.* 345a–48: be, *blys, mys,* mo, *forego* and T ll. 392–95: *mys, blys, forgo,* also.

[19] *Cf. N.P. H.* ll. 111–112: *broght, wroght* and T ll. 254–56: *wroght,* always, *broght; N.P. H.* ll. 117-18: *fete, bete* and T ll. 260–62: *beytt,* thare, *feytt; N.P.* p. 20. ll. 15–16: *salde, talde* and T ll. 278–80: *told,* thryrty, *sold; N.P. H.* ll. 159-60: *I, by* and T ll. 212–16: *I,* lang, witterly, emang, *by; N.P.* p. 19, ll. 3–4: *salde, talde* and T ll. 238–40: *sold,* se, *told.*

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and quatrain[20] sections, would make it seem that we had originally, instead of a combination of two plays[21] (the one in the northern septenar measure dealing with the Conspiracy of the Jews and the Bargain of Judas, and the other in couplets and quatrains dealing with the Last Supper, Agony, Betrayal, and Arrest of Jesus), a Conspiracy play entirely in couplets, the northern septenar section and the quatrain section representing revisions of the earlier couplet play. This is borne out by the fact that in the corresponding details we find a greater proportion of *Northern Passion* couplets carried over into the couplet section than into either the northern septenar or quatrain sections, whereas all traces of *Northern Passion* couplets have been lost in what appear to be further revisions or additions by the Wakefield author in strophes 1–6 and 97–102.[22]

The revision of the Towneley play apparently began in the parent cycle (or original identity) stage at York, at least in the northern septenar section, which is generally regarded as a York remnant.[23] Perhaps the revision in the quatrain section also took place in the parent-cycle stage, although the appearance in the York plays of certain *Northern Passion* echoes, not so evident in Towneley,[24] would make the revision in the Towneley cycle not unlikely. At the time presumably of the partition of the play at York into three pageants, the play, we may suppose, underwent complete revision: the *Conspiracy* (XXVI), based on the northern septenar section of the Towneley play, was turned into the elaborate measure rhyming abababababcdcccd, and the *Last Supper* (XXVII) and the *Agony and Betrayal* (XXVIII), based probably on the original play in couplets, were turned respectively into the northern septenar and a measure resembling it, rhyming abababababcddc.

Instead of a combination of two plays in the Towneley *Scourging*,[25]

[20] *Cf. N.P. H.* ll. 379–82: *fle, me,* write, *smyte* and T ll. 417–20: *me,* ilkon *fle, smeten; N.P. H.* ll. 408–10a: *pe, thrise,* wise, deny and T ll. 426–29: *the,* broght, *twyse,* thre; *N.P. H.* ll. 449–54: *be, me, still, will* and T ll. 500–3: *styll, me, wyll, be; N.P.* p. 51. ll. 11–12, 17–18: *knaw, saw, mis, kis* and T ll. 588–91: *knaw, wys, saw, kys; N.P. H.* ll. 513–14: *rowte, obout* and T ll. 584–87: me, *rowtt,* be, *abowte; N.P. C.Gg.* ll. 591–94: *here, fere,* vnryght, *nyght* and T ll. 700–5: *here,* rowte, *fere,* abowte, yll, *nyght.*

[21] See Pollard, *op. cit., intro.* xxvi; Cady, "The Passion Group in Towneley," *Mod. Phil.,* X, 588 ff.; Foster, *The Northern Passion,* EETS, 147, p. 86 and *PMLA,* XLIII, 133.

[22] For opinions regarding the work of the Wakefield author, see Pollard, *op. cit.,* introd. xxi ff.; Gayley, *op. cit.,* pp. 161–90; Cady, "The Wakefield Group in Towneley," *JEGP,* XI, 244 ff.; Frank, *op. cit., Mod. Phil.* XV, 565 ff.; my dissertation, pp. 78, 82 ff., 100.

[23] See for instance: Pollard, *op. cit., intro.* xxvi; Davidson, *op. cit.,* pp. 137 ff.; Gayley, *op. cit.,* p. 161; Cady, "The Passion Group in Towneley," *Mod. Phil* X, 590; Foster, *op. cit.,* EETS, 147, p. 86.

[24] See my dissertation, pp. 5–18, 77–83.

[25] Foster, *op. cit., PMLA,* XLIII, 133.

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we have what appears to be a case of revision by the Wakefield author of the first part of the play. In his characteristic metre we have the trial and condemnation of Jesus by Pilate and the preparation for the journey to Calvary. The events connected with the journey to Calvary (beginning with stanza 28) are carried mainly in the stanzaic measure, aabaabcbcb, of York Play XXXIV, with which it has many identical strophes. It is true that stanza 28 might have formed the introduction to a *processus crucis*,[26] but in point of fact, the division when made at York occurs with the preparations for the journey (the securing of the "king's tree," the insistence that Jesus bear his own cross, etc.), and not here. One of the Wakefield strophes (no. 25), by the way, is an imitation of the second stanza of the York play.[27] It will be noted that three of the rhyme words, *thorne, skorne, bloode*, are retained.

The third objection relates to the date suggested for the separation of the cycles. Miss Foster understands me to say that the seven Towneley plays under discussion "were broken up into two or more plays in the York cycle at some time before 1390," and that "the Towneley *Creation* play had by 1390 been split into six York plays."[28] What I said, however, was that in the process through which the York cycle must have passed in order to reach the highly developed state of play division represented by the 1415 Burton list and the extant York plays, the Towneley cycle occupies a position intermediate between these plays and the still earlier form of cyclic development seen in the true-Coventry plays, where individual incidents receive elaboration within the limits of a single play but are not, as in Towneley and to a still greater degree in York, split into separate plays.[29] In other words, certain York plays which in the corresponding Towneley plays represent a more contracted state must have been broken up into two or more pageants between the time of the separation (i.e., 1390 or before, according to my suggested dating) and 1415 (the date of Burton's list).

Moreover, my dating of the separation of the York and Towneley cycles as having "occurred before the end of the fourteenth century, and according to the extant record of the York craft of the Plasterers . . . . at least before the year 1390"[30] is not essential to the theory of the original identity of the two cycles.[31] It was offered tentatively *after* the main body of my proof had been presented. It in nowise affects the evidence. So far as I can tell, there is no way of determining definitely the date. There

[26] Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 133, note 48.

[27] Gayley, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

[28] Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

[29] For Paragraphs under discussion, see pp. 106–7 of my dissertation.

[30] See my dissertation, pp. 107–8.

[31] Miss Foster (*op. cit.*, pp. 131–34) would make it seem that the dating was an important factor in my proof.

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is apparently no external evidence except the references of the Plasterers and Cardmakers to payments in 1390 and 1397 respectively,[32] which seem to indicate, but may not, that by 1390 the York cycle had made some progress toward a further partition of plays than that found in the Towneley version.[33] My use of this date as a slight indication with reference to the partition of a single play is not to be taken as applying necessarily to other cases of partition of plays in the York cycle or understood as precluding the possibility of revisions and incidental combinations of pageants in the Towneley cycle itself.

Miss Clark, likewise, attaches more importance to the date "before 1390" than the case warrants. To accept this as the posterior limit for the separation of the York and Towneley cycles, she argues,[34] conflicts with Professor Craigie's date for the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus*.

Miss Clark is mistaken, however, in representing Professor Craigie as stating that the York *Harrowing of Hell* was "borrowed directly from the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in MS Harley 4196, which is generally dated about 1400." According to his own words, "the translation is much earlier than this" and in all probability "belongs to the first half of the fourteenth century. In any case," he continues, "it is scarcely possible to fix its date so precisely as to exclude the supposition that the York Plays are, as a whole, to be dated c. 1350."[35] It is only the extant manuscript, then, which he places "in the early part of the fifteenth century." No contradiction is involved, therefore, in the date which I suggested for the separation of the cycles, nor in my contention that the *Gospel of Nicodemus* "manifests itself not only in the appropriation of material, but in the adoption in several plays of its characteristic stanza, the northern septenar. There is no need, then, on this ground, as Miss Clark argues, for eliminating from the parent-cycle stage (i.e., the original identity stage) three of the identical plays, *Pharaoh*, the *Doctors*, and the *Harrowing of Hell*.[36]

One would be guilty of no chronological inconsistency therefore in supposing that certain plays in the York cycle, presumably in accordance with the wishes of their respective gilds, were being rewritten under the

[32] *York Memorandum Book*, Surtees Society 120, pp. 115, 78–79.

[33] In answer to the queries which Miss Foster makes (see *op. cit.*, p. 134), one could hardly conceive of a division into two plays of the *Harrowing of Hell* (York XXXVII), but the division of the *Denial and Caiaphas* (York XXIX) would not be without reason.

[34] Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[35] W. A. Craigie, "The Gospel of Nicodemus and the York Mystery Plays," *Furnivall Miscellany*, p. 61. See W. H. Hulme (*The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus*, EETS, 100, *introd.* xix), who states that "there are good reasons for believing that the poetical *Gospel of Nicodemus* was in existence as early as the first quarter of the fourteenth century."

[36] Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

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influence of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* at the time of the separation and that the revisions under this influence continued at York after the Towneley cycle began an independent existence. However, it may be that use was made of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* at two distinct periods in the development of the York cycle, one occurring before the separation and the other after. Whatever the situation may have been, it is clear that the identical plays showing *Gospel of Nicodemus* influence, the *Harrowing of Hell* (in subject-matter and metre), the *Resurrection* (in subject-matter), the *Pharaoh* (in metre), and the *Doctors* (in metre), all examples of revision in the parent-cycle stage, were written before the separation;[37] whereas, if my hypothesis is correct, such plays as the trial scenes (York XXIX, XXX, and XXXIII) must have been revised after the separation, inasmuch as no trace of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* material used in them is found in the Towneley cycle.

Concerning the Burton list as a criterion for comparison, I agree with Miss Clark that it does not throw much light upon the problem of revision.[38] The list may represent the true situation as it existed in 1415 only in regard to the separation of plays and their assignment to crafts, as was apparently the purpose of the second list.[39] The descriptions accorded the plays are very meagre, and it may be that the references to characters and action are incomplete or even inaccurate. It is even possible that it was a traditional list and that the descriptions in some cases refer to plays of an earlier period.[40]

Whatever the situation may have been, the fact remains that of the five plays showing influence of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, Miss Clark admits discrepancies with Burton's list in regard to two, XXX[41] and XXXVIII,[42] of the four which I believed significant in this respect. This may or may not be considered sufficient evidence to prove my point; but, whether it is or not, there is nothing in the dating either of the *Northern Passion*[43] or of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, both in the first half of the fourteenth century, to preclude the possibility that the *Northern Passion* was fundamental to the Passion group of both York and Towneley and

[37] The northern septenar section of the Towneley *Conspiracy* must also have been written at this time.

[38] Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 161

[39] See Davies, *Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York* (London 1843), pp. 233–36.

[40] So stated in footnote 6, p. 31, of my dissertation.

[41] Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

[42] *Op. cit.*, pp. 157–58.

[43] See Miss Foster's dating (*op. cit.*, EETS, 147, p. 2): " . . . . before 1350 it [i.e., the *Northern Passion*] was expanded and in part rewritten. The original translation, therefore, may safely be dated early in the fourteenth century."

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that the *Gospel of Nicodemus* was used later for the purpose of elaboration and expansion.[44]

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[44] On this point, see Miss Frances H. Miller, "The Northern Passion and the Mysteries," *M. L. N.* XXXIV, 88 ff.), whose results confirm Miss Foster's early statement (*M. L. N.*, XXVI, 169 f.) that in the York passion plays the playwright turned to vernacular sources, and that the *Northern Passion* and the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus* form the basis of whole plays. . . . . Aside from these [i.e., certain scenes which the playwright has obviously elaborated in an original manner], there is practically nothing in the passion group of York that cannot be found also in the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus* or in the *Northern Passion.*"

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XII

THE DATE, AUTHOR, AND SOURCES OF THE *OWL AND THE NIGHTINGALE*

I. THE DATE

THE composition of *The Owl and the Nightingale* is dated by all editors after the death of Henry the Second in 1189, undoubtedly because of the prayer

> þe King Henri
> Iesus his soule do merci (vv. 1091–2).

Of this Atkins declares that "from its very nature it can only refer to a departed monarch, the form of benediction being one that was used in connection with the dead."[1] I had already tried to show[2] that prayer for the soul was not necessarily prayer for the deceased, but apparently Professor Atkins shares the widespread impression that prayer for the soul is always prayer for a deceased person. I do not know what he means by "the form of benediction," nor does he present any evidence that the form was used exclusively for the dead. But I have made a collection of prayers for the souls of the living which is sufficient, I think, to show that such prayers must be regarded as sufficiently frequent to invalidate the *a priori* assumption that King Henry was dead when the Nightingale of our poem prayed for his soul. I classify my list as follows:

(1) Prayers for the soul of the living when death is imminent or feared:

St. Luke 23, 46: And when Jesus had cried with à loud voice, he said, Father into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said thus he gave up the ghost.

[1] *The Owl and the Nightingale*, ed. Atkins, p. xxxv.
[2] *Mod. Phil.* XVII, 252.

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Acts 7, 59: And they stoned Stephen calling upon God, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.

Ælfric's *Life of King Oswald* (*Sweet's Reader*, p. 103): þa geseah he genealæcan his lifes geendunge, and gebæd for his folc þe þær feallende swealt, and betæhte heora sawla and hine sylfne Gode, and þus clypode on his fylle: 'God gemiltsa urum sawlum!'

Battle of Maldon 175–179:

> Nu ic ah, milde Metod, mæste þearfe,
> þæt þu minum gaste godes geunne
> þæt min sawol to ðe siðian mote,
> on þin geweald, þeoden engla,
> mid friþe ferian.

Legend of Saint Andrew (*Bright's Reader*, p. 24, ll. 19–21: þu wast, Dryhten, þa menniscan tyddernisse; hat onfon minne gast.

Canterbury Tales A 2786: And Iupiter so wis my soule gye.

Ibidem A 2792: So Iupiter have of my soule part.

Book of Common Prayer, Communion of Sick: that whensoever his soul shall depart from the body, it may without spot be presented unto thee.

(2) Prayers or requests for prayer for the writer or reader of a book. Books frequently ended thus in the Middle Ages.

Sawles Warde:

> Hwa se þis writ haueð ired.
> Ant crist him haueð swa isped.
> Ich bidde par seinte charite.
> þat ȝe bidden ofte for me.
> Aa pater noster. ant aue marie.
> þat ich mote þat lif her drehen.
> Ant ure lauerd wel icwemen.
> I my ȝuheðe ant in min elde.
> þat ich mote ihesu crist mi sawle ȝelden.

A Moral Ode, Jesus College MS. 29 (Morris's *Old English Miscellany*, p. 71):

> To þare blisse bringe vs god. þat lesteþ buten ende.
> Hwenne he vre saule unbind. of licomliche bende.
> Crist vs lete such lif lede. and habbe her such ende.
> þat we mote to him cume. hwenne we heoune wendeþ. Amen.
> Bidde we nu leoue freond. yonge and ek olde.
> þat he þat þis wryt wrote, his saule beo þer atholde. Amen.

The Lay of Havelok the Dane, vv. 2994–3001:

> Forþi ich wolde biseken you
> þat hauen herd þe rime nu,

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Þat ilke of you, with gode wille,
Seye a pater-noster stille,
For him þat haueþ þe ryme maked,
And þer-fore fele nihtes waked;
Þat Iesu Crist his soule bringe
Biforn his fader at his endinge.

Genesis and Exodus 2525–2536:

God schilde hise sowle fro helle bale,
ðe made hit ðus on engel tale!
And he ðat ðise lettres wrot,
God him helpe weli mot,
And berge is sowle fro sorge & grot
Of helle pine, cold and hot!
And alle men, ðe it heren wilen,
God leue hem in his blisse spilen
Among engeles & seli men,
Wiðouten ende in reste ben,
And luue & pais us bi-twen,
And God so graunte, amen, amen!

Ibidem, 4155–4156:

Bi-seke we nu godes migt,
ðat he make ure sowles brigt, etc.[3]

Mandeville's Travels (ed. Hamelius, E.E.T.S.), p. 211: I biseche almyghty god fro whom all godeness & grace cometh fro, þat he vouchesaf of his excellent mercy & habundant grace to fullfylle hire soules with inspiracioun of the holy gost in makynge defence of alle hire gostly enemyes here in erthe, to hire saluacioun bothe of body and soule etc.

Canterbury Tales, conclusion of *Parson's Tale*: that thanke I oure Lord Jesus Crist and his blisful mooder, and alle the seintes of hevene; bisekinge hem that they from hennesforth, unto my lyves ende, sende me grace to biwayle my giltes, and to stodie to the salvacioun of my soule, etc.

(3) Prayers for both body and soul. These are not infrequent in the *Book of Common Prayer*, the most impressive being perhaps the "preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life" of the *Communion Service*.

The Sarum Missal, Order for the Solemnization of Matrimony (English Tr. of 1868, p. 555): The Almighty and merciful God, Who by His own power did create Adam and Eve, and by His own consecration did knit

[3] It may be added that in *Genesis and Exodus*, 626, Noah sacrifices for the benefit of his soul: "And sacrede he ðor-on for sowles frame."

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them together; Himself sanctify and bless your souls and bodies, and join you together in the union and love of true affection.

Ibidem, The Blessing of Salt and Water (p. 591): I exorcise thee, O creature of salt, by the living God, by the holy God, by the God Who commanded thee to be cast into the water by Elias the prophet, that the barrenness of the same might be healed, that thou become salt for the preservation of them that believe, and be to all who take thee salvation of soul and body.

Genesis and Exodus, 493–496:

> Of Seth, ðe was adam-is sune,
> Cam Enos; he gan ali wune
> Of bedes, and of godefrigtihed,
> for liues helpe and soules red.

(4) Other prayers for the souls of living persons:

Homilies of Ælfric (ed. Thorpe), I, 68: biddað forði mid inweardre heortan ðysne Godes apostol, eowerne lareow, þæt he eow fram ðam ecum forwyrde arære . . . . and he eowre saula, þe nu sind adylegode of þære liflican bec, gelæde eft to Godes gife and miltsunge.

Ibidem, p. 156: Se ðe rihtlice gelyfð on Crist, and geornlice bitt his sawle onlihtinge, he sitt be ðam wege biddende.

Blickling Homilies (ed. Morris, E.E.T.S.), p. 211, 7–9: Ac uton nu biddan Sanctus Michael geornlice þæt he ure saula gelæde on gefean, þær hie motan blissian abuton ende on ecnesse.

Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek der angel sächsischen Poesie*, II, 211 (*Prayer I*, vv. 3–5):

> Ic wat mine sawle synnum forwundod;
> ȝehæl þu hy, heofena drihten,
> & ȝelæcna þu hy, lifes ealdor.

Ibid., p. 213 (*Prayer III*, vv. 2–4):

> ȝetiþa me, tireadig kyninȝ,
> þonne ic minre sawle sweȝles bydde,
> ece are.

Ibid., p. 218 (*Prayer IV*, vv. 9–11):

> ȝetacna me, tungla hyrde,
> þær selast sy sawle minre
> to ȝemearcenne meotudes willan.

Ibid., p. 220 (*Prayer IV*, vv. 58–61):

> Forstond þu mec & ȝestyr him, þonne storm cyme
> minum ȝæste onȝeȝn, ȝeoca þonne,
> mihtiȝ dryhten, minre sawle;
> ȝefreoþa hyre & ȝefeorma hy, fæder moncynnes.

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Kentish Sermons (*Old English Miscellany*, E.E.T.S., p. 32): And yef ye bieþ leprus þurch diadliche senne. greded gode Merci: þet þo leprus yaf helþe in bodi: þet he us yeue gostliche helþe in ure saule.

Ibidem, p. 33: and sigge we him lord sauue us þet we ne perissi. and þet he us deliuri of alle eueles. and þet ha yef us swiche werkes to done in þise wordle. þet þo saulen of us mote be isauued a domes dai. and gon to þo blisce of heuene.

Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, A 299–302:

> But al that he mighte of his frendes hente,
> On bokes and his lerninge he it spente,
> And bisily gan for the soules preye
> Of hem that yaf him wherwith to scoleye.

Ibid., C 860: al-so god my soule save.

Ibid., D 1784–1787:

> 'God woot,' quod he, 'laboured have I ful sore;
> And specially for thy savacioun
> Have I seyd many a precious orisoun,
> And for our othere frendes, god hem blesse!'

Brome Play of Abraham and Isaac (Cook's *Literary Middle English Reader*, p. 502) Abraham prays: So God in hevyn my sowll mot save!

If the evidence so far adduced seems meager it may be added that there are various things in medieval usage analogous to the kind of prayer under discussion. Thus the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon charters abound in references to the soul of a living person, or even of a person not yet born, especially when a testator explains why he is making a gift to a religious organization, or seeks to protect his will by blessings and curses involving salvation to those who respect and damnation to those who break the will or tamper with it. The *Book of Revelation* ends with a similar curse on any scribe who shall miscopy the book, a curse which perhaps served the medieval testators with a model. In the *Preamble* to *Magna Carta* King John professes to act for the salvation of his own soul and for those of his predecessors and successors in signing that important document. It is recorded that masses and other services were appointed to be performed in the University of Oxford for the benefit of King Henry the Fourth and of his son "Prince Hal," both during their lives and after their deaths in recognition of their benefactions to the University.[4] I also find mention of a gild in Boston, Lincolnshire, established in the sixteenth year of Richard the Second—some six years before his

[4] *Munimenta Academica*, ed. Anstey, Rolls Series, pp. 250–252.

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death—for the support of two chaplains to "celebrate" for the souls of King Richard and Queen Anne.[5] I am tempted to believe that prayer for the soul of the king was, in England, generally for the reigning monarch.[6]

While I should be glad to see the subject developed further I believe I have pointed out a sufficient body of evidence to render the *a priori* assumption that the Nightingale prays for the soul of a deceased monarch unwarrantable. Let us examine the passage under discussion with an open mind. I quote exactly from my rotograph of the Cotton MS (*C*):

He dude me his oȝene shome.
Ac al him turnde it to grome. 1090
Þat underþat þe king henri.
Iesus his soule do merci.
He let for bonne þene kniȝt
Þat hadde idon so muchel unriȝt.
Ine so gode kinges londe.[7] 1095

At v. 1091 the copy from which our two surviving MSS are derived seems to have been obscure. The Jesus MS (*J*) instead of *underþat* reads *und'yat* (with a quirl above the *d*). This is the only variant that has a bearing on the point at issue. Should we

[5] See A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 137. This book contains much information concerning the chantries, foundations to support one or more priests to pray, sing or celebrate continually for the soul of the founder and of others. Unfortunately in most cases it is not perfectly clear whether the souls of living persons were included, though the frequently recurring phrase "for all Christian souls" probably requires that interpretation, and such a phrase as "for the sowles of his said founder and his heires" (p. 122) certainly requires it.

[6] It is not uninteresting to note that in the *Dialogus inter Corpus et Animam* (vv. 239–248), a poem nearly contemporary with the *Owl*, it is expressly and emphatically declared that, after a soul has entered hell no amount of prayer is of any avail; and that the poem represents damnation as taking place very shortly after death. Taken by itself alone, this might lead us to believe that people never prayed for the souls of the departed. We must beware of attributing to the Middle Ages complete uniformity either of religious faith or of religious practise. See the *Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. Wright, pp. 102–104. On the other hand, St. Gregory was said to have delivered from hell the soul of the Emperor Trajan, and St. Dunstan that of King Eadwig, by prayer.

[7] Every line begins with a capital, and after each line, except 1093, there is a point above the line. Is not v.1092 sufficiently like a tag (as if the writer desired a rime for *Henri* without caring how he got it) to justify us in saying that the form of benediction is, in this case, no evidence as to whether the King was dead or alive?

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read *underwat* or *underȝat*? In the former case King Henry is represented as still living, since *underwat*, though preterit in form, has the meaning of a present; but if we read *underȝat* it is not clear whether King Henry is living or dead, though the praise bestowed on him in 1095 might be held to show that, even so, he is alive.

I believe, however, that really good sense can be obtained only by reading *underwat*. The meaning is "King Henry *knows* that everything turned out to the knight's shame, since the King himself imposed a severe sentence on the knight."

If we read *underȝat*, "discovered, perceived" the meaning becomes "King Henry discovered the knight's misbehavior." This makes *þat* in 1091 refer to a distant and complex antecedent, meaning the story how the knight "murdered" a nightingale—a very forced interpretation. On the other hand, if we read *underwat*, the grammatical antecedent of *þat* (1091) is found in the immediately preceding verse (1090).

It should be added that in the Cotton MS, which is much the more authoritative, *þ* is miswritten for *w* (or wen) oftener than for ȝ. Furthermore, although it occurs nowhere else in English, the preterit-present *underwat* is corroborated by the cognate languages of the Continent. In Old Saxon we have *undarwitan*, opt, pt. 3 pl. *undarwissin;* and in Old High German we have *untarwissan*.[8]

I need not repeat here my argument that the Owl's remark: "Why don't you go to Norway and sing to men of Galloway"[9] assumes that Galloway is part of Norway, a mistake due to the fact that certain adjacent portions of the British Islands actually were at this time subject to the crown of Norway. This mistake of including Galloway among Norwegian dominions occurs elsewhere apparently only in the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* in the account of Vivian's embassy. Professor Atkins certainly does not clarify the matter when he translates the passage: "Why wilt thou not go *across* to Norway and sing to men of Galloway?"[10]

[8] Kenyon (*Mod. Phil.*, XVIII, 55–56), suggested that the correct reading is *underȝat*, "perceived," being an echo of *underȝat* in 1055; he also contended that if we must read *underwat* we must take it as a regular preterit of *underwīten* (with a long *ī*). I have already answered the first suggestion. And I know of no evidence that an English *underwīten* ever existed. Atkins misreports the Cotton MS. (*C*) as reading *underþat* or *underyat*, although the letter *y* rarely occurs in *C*, and then only in a later hand.

[9] *Owl* 909–910. See my article, *Mod. Phil.* XVII, 247–248.

[10] See *Owl* 909–910 and Atkins' edition pp. 166–167.

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As if continental Norway were a likely place in which to find Galwegians!

That the author of the *Owl* was a member of the escort furnished by the Bishops of Winchester and Ely to Cardinal Vivian on his embassy to Scotland, Ireland and adjacent parts is rather strongly evidenced by the fact that he is the first writer to mention the fact that there are no nightingales in Scotland or Ireland, information which a lover of nightingales[11] would be likely to pick up during a journey to those countries which took place partly during the nightingale season from the latter part of April to September.[12]

Besides the absence of the nightingale from Ireland there is another circumstance attending the poet's stay in that country which seems particularly to have impressed him. The Owl says to her opponent.

> Ich singe betere þan þu dest:
> Þu chaterest so doþ on Irish prest[13]

Evidently he had heard an Irish priest "chatter" as the Owl contemptuously expresses it. Perhaps, like an insular Englishman, he despised the Celtic languages. Later the author is equally uncomplimentary to the Irish priests. In verse 913 the Owl says:

> Hwi nultu þare preoste singe?

"Why don't you sing to the priests over there?" And the Nightingale, in a passage where the text and interpretation offer exceptional difficulty, may perhaps be held to retort (vv. 977–978): "If the birds should scream like you they might terrify even their priests (by outscolding them)?" But this interpretation of vv. 977–978 need not be insisted on. Without it, we have evidence of his feeling about Irish priests, whatever may be our own sentiments in the matter. His hostility to them would probably be in sympathy with Cardinal Vivian, who seems to have been graciously received only in the Isle of Man, who was roughly treated in Ireland, and who won ill-will by his avarice in Scotland.

[11] Cf. *Owl* 203: & leof him were nihtegale.

[12] *Owl* 905–910. In the *Encyclopaedia Brittanica, Eleventh Edition*, Mr. Alfred Newton remarks under *Nightingale:* "The range of the European Nightingale, *Daulias, Luscinia* is very peculiar. In Great Britain it is abundant in suitable localities to the south-east of a line stretching from the valley of the Exe in Devonshire, to York, but it does not visit Ireland, its occurrence in Wales is doubtful or intermittent, and it is extremely improbable that it has ever reached Scotland."

[13] *Owl* 321–322.

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Professor Atkins, who wishes to date the poem in the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion or of John, suggests that "So important an event as a papal embassy to the distant North would certainly not be forgotten by the early decades of the 13th century."[14] However this may be, the poet, who was seeking promotion, had every reason to write as soon after Cardinal Vivian's embassy of 1176 ff. as possible, to appeal while his alleged services in Scotland[15] were fresh in mind, to strike while the iron was hot. I am inclined therefore to believe that the proposal that Owl and Nightingale refer their differences to the Pope:

> Ich graunti þat we go to dome
> Tofore þe sulve Pope of Rome (745-6)

was written while Peter of Saint Agatha was in England summoning delegates to the Lateran Council of March 5th, 1179. Peter arrived in England in September 1178. We may therefore reasonably date the composition of *The Owl and the Nightingale* between September 1st, 1178 and February 1st, 1179. The later date would depend on the time necessary to journey from England to Rome.

Perhaps we may recognize a dig at Bishop Foliot in the passage:

> Þarto ich helpe God hit wot
> Ne singe ich heom no foliot (867-868).

Foliete would be the proper word to express "trickery," "deceit." But if a pun was intended the lines would have had more point if written before Foliot's death in 1187 than afterwards.

> Wepne beoþ gode griþ to halde:
> Ac ȝet þarmide beoþ men acwalde,
> Aȝeines riht an fale londe,
> Þar þeoves hi bereð an honde—

The above remark of the poet (vv. 1369–1372) may record a comment originally evoked in connection with a law promulgated by Henry the Second at Woodstock about July 1st, 1175. This law prohibited the bearing of arms by private citizens in time of peace. As we are expressly assured that the law was not long in force, this allusion—if allusion it be—cannot have been written long after the law was promulgated.[16]

[14] Cf. Atkins, p. xxxviii.

[15] *Owl* 1757–1758.

[16] See *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* (Rolls Series) I, p. 93: Praecepit [rex] etiam

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The reference to the efficiency of the King in keeping the peace (vv. 1730–4), and the frequent use of legal terms throughout the poem are more likely, on the whole, to have been written during the reign of a king who, like Henry the Second, was also a lawyer than under Richard or John. But too much attention must not be given to this point since legal terms, customs and forms are part of the paraphernalia of animal fables. There is one episode, however, the precise legal nature of which appears to have escaped notice.

We are told that on a certain occasion a knight tore a nightingale to pieces with horses on a charge of misleading the lady of the knight into "an evil affection," and that the "good" King Henry justly punished the knight by banishment and a fine of one hundred pounds.[17] Both Gadow and Atkins remark that this fine is excessive as a wergild for murder,[18] but as a punishment for breach of forest-law it is by no means unexampled. It is well known that offenses of this kind were very severely treated. Blinding, mutilation or death were meted out to the poor man and ruinous fines to the rich, the forest-courts being regarded by the king as a lucrative source of income. No other part of the administration of justice was so deeply resented by the people. John of Salisbury waxes indignant at the very idea that the snaring of a bird should be regarded as a crime at all, and alludes to the law of Justinian which declared birds "common" or free for anybody to capture.[19]

Now in the years 1175 and later King Henry added greatly to the offensiveness even of the forest-courts. During the war of 1173–1174 he had issued a license for the people to hunt and fish in the king's forests, no doubt in order to conciliate them at a time when his government was in apparent danger of being overthrown. But after the war, with a truly Plantagenet standard

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ne aliquis arma gestaret per Angliam citra Sabrinam scilicet arcum et sagittas et cultella cum punctis; et si quis hujus modi arma gestaret caperetur. Sed haec praecepta parvo tempore custodita sunt.

[17] See *Owl* 1047–1062, 1076–1104. The story has a considerable history. See Warnke, *Die Lais der Marie de France*, 2d. ed. Halle, 1900, pp. cxxvi–cxxxiii.

[18] See *Owl* 1101, and notes thereon by Gadow and Atkins.

[19] So Webb in his note on the following passage in his edition of the *Policraticus*, I, 30: "Quodque magis mirere, pedicas parare auibus, laqueos texere, allicere modis ut fistula, ac quibuscumque insidiis supplantare, ex edicto saepe fit criminis, et uel proscriptione bonorum multatur, uel membrorum punitur dispendio. Volucres celi et pisces maris communes esse audieras, sed hae fisci sunt, quas uenatica exigit ubicumque uolant."

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of honor, he conducted in person a series of prosecutions against those who had taken advantage of the license and others. The fines imposed "by the mercy of the forest" were unusually numerous and heavy. In each of the counties of Oxford and Bucks four persons were fined £100 apiece; while in Hants, close to Dorsetshire where the *Owl* was written, where was the great New Forest in which King William Rufus was killed, we find mention of two persons who were fined five hundred marks (£333, 6s. 8d.) apiece, and of another who was fined £200.[20] Conduct like this could not fail to excite criticism, and we learn with pleasure that the good justiciar Richard de Lucy "of happy memory" produced the writ in reliance on which certain of the defendants had hunted and fished. No wonder the swans did honor to the memory of de Lucy by conducting a trial at his castle after his death.[21] The heart of the people was with him, and it is in the heart of the people that such fables have their origin. That King Henry ignored the protest of the justiciar and continued the prosecutions was one of his most treacherous and hateful acts.

But under such circumstances kings always find apologists and I am afraid the author of the *Owl* was one of them. Master Nicholas was seeking promotion, and the terms in which he mentions the king and the bishops show that his hope was in the king. Accordingly, I would suggest that a few years later Master Nicholas invented, or adapted and expanded, the story of "The Murdered Nightingale." In order to make the knight's offense as great as possible the poet represents him as tearing an innocent little bird to pieces with horses. This detail is found elsewhere only in Alexander Neckam;[22] and it is clear that Neckam did not invent it, since he criticizes it as if it were a part of the story as he found it. The means are too elaborate for the end. Would not one horse have been enough?

Master Nicholas further adapted the story to his purpose by making the king impose a fine of only one hundred pounds, whereas in neighboring Hampshire he had imposed much larger fines.

[20] See *Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-Second Year of King Henry II*, A.D. *1175–1176*. Ed. J. H. Round, *Introd.*, pp. xxiii–xxiv.

[21] Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia XCVI*, gives an account of a trial conducted by swans in the castle of Angra in Essex, *quod bonae memoriae Ricardus de Luci, domini avi vestri illustrissimi regis Anglorum in Anglia quondam justitiarius, construxit.* Was this fable inspired by *The Owl and the Nightingale*?

[22] *De Naturis Rerum* ed. Wright, pp. 102–103.

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Truly the poet was no bad flatterer. The King becomes the champion of love, innocence and beauty. And he is merciful even in his severity. Louis XIV would have appreciated such fine perceptions. But Henry had probably a very limited knowledge of the English language in which our poem was written.[23] Master Nicholas does not appear to have received the reward which his literary gifts deserved. This explanation of the story of "The Murdered Nightingale" is, of course, a mere hypothesis. But it is wholly in harmony with every fact that we know, and it explains at least the difficulty in understanding why the nightingale was torn with horses, and why the king imposed a fine of one hundred pounds for killing a nightingale, a fine too large for a wergild but moderate enough for a decision of the forest-courts. It is also an argument for placing the composition of the *Owl* as near as possible to the excitements about the forest-law in 1175.

One of the arguments presented by Atkins for a date later than 1189 deserves particular notice. This scholar is unquestionably correct in saying that vv. 815–816:

> Vor he can paþes rihte & woȝe,
> An he can hongi bi þe boȝe

refer to the fox rather than to the cat; and unquestionably the fox is said by Neckam to elude the hounds by suspending himself from the bough of a tree.[24] It is also true that the phrase *paþes rihte & woȝe*, suggests a remark concerning the fox which Neckam quoted from Isidore of Seville: Est enim volubilis pedibus at nunquam *rectis itineribus*, sed *tortuosis amfractibus incedens.*"[25] From this Professor Atkins draws the conclusion that Neckam was the source from which our poet derived his misinformation and therefore that the *Owl* could not have been written as early as 1189.[26]

This conclusion, however, is hardly justified since both Neckam and Nicholas appear to have derived their idea from folk-lore, which ascribed to the fox the habits of the bat. This is particularly

[23] He was, nevertheless, a patron of letters. Cf. Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History*, pp. 110–155; Haskins, "Henry II as a Patron of Literature," in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, Manchester, 1925, pp. 71–77.

[24] See Neckam *De Naturis Rerum* (ed. Wright, Rolls Series), p. 204; ramo alicujus arboris suspensa [vulpes] canes errare cogit, quae vestigia sequi habeant incertos.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 205.

[26] Atkins, ed. of *Owl* pp. xxxvii–xxxviii. Neckam is generally supposed to have written his *De Naturis Rerum* about A.D. 1200.

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true of Neckam, who also tells how the fox sometimes suspends himself from the wall of a house, or clings to the back of a goat. Aristotle confuses the fox with the bat, remarking that both have "wings of skin."[27]

From a very early period certain large oriental bats have been regarded as foxes as they hung from the boughs of trees. Professor Wieland of Yale has kindly directed me to information concerning the "flying-foxes" or *Pteropodidae*, some sixty species of which are distributed throughout India, Eastern Asia, Polynesia and Africa. One of these, *Pteropus edilis*, is said to have a spread of wing of five feet. The muzzle is long and the face therefore "foxy" in appearance. It may be added that the true affinities of the bats (*Chiroptera*) have not proved easy to determine. They were at one time classed with the primates (apes, lemurs, etc.), and are still popularly described as "flying mice."[28]

I take it Neckam and Master Nicholas of Guildford drew their curious misinformation about the fox independently from folk-lore, or from some author whom I have not succeeded in discovering. There is nothing here to disturb our conclusion that the *Owl* was written between September 1178 and the following February.

II. THE AUTHOR

The date which I have proposed for the composition of the *Owl* decreases somewhat the likelihood, already sufficiently slight, that the author of the poem is the *Nicholaus submonitor capituli de Gudeford*, or the *Nicholaus capellanus archidiaconi* mentioned in documents of 1209 and 1220 respectively.[29] It is uncertain that either Nicholaus is identical with *Maister Nichole of Guldeforde*. Neither bears the title of *Magister* or "Master," and neither appears to have been known as "Nicholas of Guildford." *Nicholaus submonitor* would perhaps rather be known as "Nicholas Sumner." Moreover, the dates of the documents are decidedly late for the author of a poem written in 1178 by a man already somewhat advanced in life.[30]

[27] *Historia Animalium*, 1, 5, 4: τὰ δὲ δερμόπτερα, οἷον ἀλώπηξ καὶ νυκτερίς.

[28] See *The Cambridge Natural History*: *Mammalia*, by Frank Evers Beddard, M. A. . . . . , 1902, pp. 524–526; also *The American Natural History* . . . . by William T. Hornaday . . . . N. Y. 1904, pp. 66–67.

[29] This identification was propounded in Gadow's edition of the *Owl* pp. 12–13. It was suggested to Gadow by the late Dr. Felix Liebermann.

[30] Cf. *Owl* 203: Ich wot he is nu suþe acolede.

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A better claim to the authorship of our poem may, therefore, be advanced in behalf of a *Magister Nicholaus* who appears as a witness to a grant by the Bishop of Winchester, Henry of Blois, to the Cistercian Abbey of Waverley, which, like Guildford, is in Surrey.[31] The date of this charter must be before August 8th, 1171, when Henry of Blois died, and may be as early as 1141 when we find him at Guildford.[32] In fact the date 1141, which would make Nicholas fifty-five or sixty years old or more, in 1178, and which brings Henry of Blois to Guildford, satisfies prima facie requirements for the identification I am proposing.

It is of importance to note that *Maister Nichole of Guldeforde*, whom I have assumed to be the author of the *Owl*, is, according to my hypothesis, a member of an escort furnished to Cardinal Vivian by the Bishops of Winchester and Ely who met the Cardinal at Northampton, in 1176.[33] The then Bishop of Winchester, known as Richard of Ilchester, would not be unlikely to have taken over Nicholas, the clerk of the preceding bishop, into his own retinue, and to have offered him as one of an escort to the Cardinal on his embassy to Ireland and Scotland in 1176.

It is true that the witness, "Master Nicholas, my clerk," is not called "of Guildford," but neither is the *Maister Nichole* mentioned in the *Owl* except in the first of the three instances in which his name appears.[34] Both for the witness and for the poet "Master Nicholas" seems to have been the usual designation. I will add that according to Hervieux,[35] Odo of Ceritona, a contemporary Latin fable-writer with whose work the author of the *Owl* was apparently acquainted,[36] is regularly called *magister*.

In fact, while the evidence is much too scanty to warrant a confident conclusion, the identification of *Maister Nichole of Guldeforde* with *Magister Nicholaus, clericus meus*, witness to a

[31] Hiis testibus, Radulfo archid. Wynton. Roberto Archid. Surr. Roberto de Lunes, Alberto Summano, Will Tifell, Bernardo, Adam, Roberto, capellanis meis, magistro Herberto, *magistro Nicholao*, magistro Willielmo, Turstino . . . . clericis meis. . . . . Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. 1655, I, 703. The italics are mine.

[32] My information concerning the Bishops of Winchester is derived from the *Dictionary of National Biography* under *Henry of Blois* and *Richard of Ilchester*.

[33] *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, Rolls Series I, p. 118; Lawrie, *Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William*, p. 214.

[34] *Owl* 191, 1746, 1778.

[35] *Les Fabulistes Latins*, IV, p. 6.

[36] Master Nicholas certainly seems to allude to Odo's fable *De Rosa et Volatilibus* in *Owl* 1184. Cf. Hervieux, *op. cit.*, IV, 226.

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charter of 1141–1171, is decidedly more plausible than to identify him with either or both of the persons suggested by Dr. Liebermann.

As Master Nicholas has a better claim than anybody else to be considered the author of the *Owl*, and as he is represented as living at Portisham in Dorset, there is good reason to believe that the poem was written in this little village. It is likely that he learned about nightingales in Surrey, where he appears to have been born, and where the nightingale is still abundant, whereas in Dorset it is now very rare. A distinct touch of Dorsetshire (and even of Portisham) local color is the reference of the Owl to the disasters of shipwreck:

Ich wot ȝef sea shal shippes drenche (1205).

According to Darton[37] there is an "inhospitable beach," and there have been "various ship-wrecks" near the Fleet, a lagoon-like arm of the sea near Portisham. The faithful wife yearning for her husband who is gone into a foreign country is probably a seaman's wife whose husband has gone on a voyage.[38] At least that is the case with the speaker in *The Wife's Lament*[39] from which Nicholas may have taken a hint.

III. SOURCES AND ANALOGUES

The *Owl* represents three different types of literary composition. In form it is a contention-poem or debate—what the Germans call a *Streitgedicht*; in content it is an animal fable; and it is so thickly sown with proverbs and maxims that, with some reservations, it may be treated as a monument of gnomic literature. From one point of view, therefore, we may probably regard the *Owl* as having its origin in some proverb of a type now common in Germany in which the nightingale is contrasted with the owl. I select the following modern German examples from Wander.[40] Under the caption *Eule* he gives us the following:

10 Die Eule singt nicht wie die Nachtigall.
13 Die Eule will die Nachtigall singen lehren.

[37] *The Soul of Dorset*, p. 263.
[38] *Owl* 1583–1592.
[39] Cf. *Owl* 1587 with *Wife's Lament* 29b: *eal ich eom oflonged.*
[40] *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon*, ... Herausgegeben Von Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Wander. Leipsic, F. A. Brockhaus. 5 vols. including *Supplement*. 1867–1880.

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23 Een'n sîn ûl is'n Annern sîn Nachtigall.
27 Es singt kein Eul wie ein Nachtigall.
36 Eulen und Nachtigallen schlagen nicht aus einem Tone.
49 Was ist die Eule gegen die Nachtigall?
70 Einen sin Ul is'n annern sin Nachtigall.

And under the caption *Nachtigall* I find:

7 Die Nachtigall muss oft der Eule weichen. In Dutch: De Nachtegall moet voer den uil wijken.
24 Wer Nachtigallen fängt lässt Eulen fliegen.
36 [In the *Supplement.*] Eine Nachtigall hütet sich vor den Nachteulen und singt doch auch nachts.

Wossidlo[41] gives us this: "Droensnack is't doch man," säd de uhl, as de nachtigall utsungen hadd.

Outside of Germany I have found comparatively slender evidence of a traditional contrast between these birds, but what I have found is mostly more ancient than the record of the above proverbs. The earliest illustration that has fallen under my observation is from Calpurnius Siculus (*Eclogue* VI, 8):

vocalem superet si dirus aedona bubo.

There are examples of the contrast in Anglo-Latin of the twelfth century, one by Walter Map, another by Alexander Neckam, either of whom may have had our English poem in mind, though the date of Map's remarks is not certain, and may be sufficiently early to suggest that, like Master Nicholas, the author of the *Owl*, he was embroidering a popular proverb.[42]

Persian poetry, which is widely known as associating the nightingale with the rose, also contrasts the nightingale with the owl in a couplet of Sa'di's:

O Nightingale, spring's odors breathe,
Ill rumors to the owls bequeathe.[43]

[41] *Mecklenbürgische Volksüberlieferungen* II, 40. *Sparling* or *papagei* is sometimes substituted for *uhl*. Cf. Grimm's *Märchen* 69, *Jorinde and Joringel*. Here the maiden Joringel is transformed into a nightingale around whom her enemy, a witch transformed into an owl, flies three times crying "Schu, hu, hu, hu!'

[42] See Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. James, p. 143. For Neckam see his *De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae*, ed. Wright in *Rolls Series, Distinctio Secunda* vv. 101–102:

Hupupa, strix bubo tenebris, lu[s]cinia lucem
Appetit, haec [the kinglet] modulis secula mulcet aves.

Compare the mention of the Wren in *Owl* 1717 ff.

[43] Edward B. Eastwick, in Dole and Walker, *The Persian Poets*, p. 309.

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Rolland (*Faune Populaire de la France*, II, p. 280) gives a proverb in the dialect of Nice: Lou roussignou puorta li buoni nova, li marridi lou barbagiouan. "The nightingale brings the good news, the owl the sorrowful news."[44]

The frequency of such proverbs in Germany is certainly interesting, and one is tempted to ask whether *The Owl and the Nightingale* may not be based partly on some German material no longer extant, or conversely, whether the English poem may not have been known in Germany and have stimulated the circulation of these proverbs. Plausibility is added to either hypothesis by a number of other German proverbs which remind us of different situations presented by the *Owl*. The following list, from Wander, is not exhaustive:

Was soll die Eule unter den Krähen?
Es ist ein Eul unter den Krähen.[45]

Compare the Owl's parable of the Hawk derided by the Crows.[46]

Wo eine Eule vorkommt, da kreischen alle kleinen Vögel.

Compare the attach of the small birds on the Owl (vv. 65–70).

Wer die Nachtigall loben will muss nicht auf die Federn sehen.

Compare the Owl's remark (vv. 577–578):

Þu art dim an fule of heowe,
Þu þinchest a lutel soti cleowe.

Nachtigallen singen wohl schon aber nicht lange.

Compare the Nightingale's assertion (*Owl*, vv. 450–466) that she never sings long enough to weary her listeners.

Aus Eulen werden keine Falken.
Eine eule heckt keine falcken.

Compare the fable of the Owl who laid her egg in a Falcon's nest (vv. 101–138).

[44] For *marridi*, cf. Meyer-Lübke's *Wörterbuch* 5373; *barbagiouan*=Italian *barbagianni*=French *barbe à Jean*=owl.

[45] Used to signify "a laughing-stock to the company." Wander compares the French *Il était la chouette de la compagnie*, the Dutch *Dat is een uil onder de kraijen*, and the Latin *Asinus inter simias*.

[46] *Owl* 303–308. Observe that the Owl classes herself with "the kindred of the Hawk" in vv. 269–271.

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There is also evidence that the so-called *Proverbs of Alfred*, which the Owl-poet undoubtedly used, passed into circulation in Germany. Attention has been called to an inscription, dated 1575, over a fire-place in Lübeck which runs as follows:

Mennich man lude synghet,
Wenn men em de brut bringet:
Weste he, wat men em brochte,
Dat he wol wenen mochte.

This has been translated by Skeat:

Many a man full loudly sings,
When his bride he homeward brings:
Wist he, what he home had led
He well might weep and wail instead.

The quatrain closely resembles one in the *Proverb of Alfred*[47] and the lines recur at a later date in the *Proverbs of Hending*.

And indeed, whatever we may think of the possibility of Dutch or German influence on the *Owl*, many if not all of the proverbs in question must have been long familiar to the English people when the poem was written. Eleven proverbs in the *Owl* are expressly attributed to Alfred, others are found in versions more archaic than those of the *Owl*. Skeat even points out a certain resemblance between the concluding sections of the *Proverbs of Alfred* and a poem in the Anglo-Saxon *Exeter Book* called *A Father's Instructions to his Son*.[48] In fact *Owl* 293-294:

At sume *siþe* herde I telle
Hu Alvred sede on his spelle

may even be a reminiscence of these *Instructions*, since the Father gives his instructions on various "occasions" or *siþe*. The *Petit Plet* of Chardry professes to translate an English proverb.[49] It is reasonably certain that a version of the Fables of Alfred—perhaps

[47] See Skeat, *The Proverbs of Alfred*, p. xlv. Skeat's translation of the last line is incorrect. *wol* means "perhaps."

[48] Skeat *op. cit.* p. xlii. The poem is printed in Grein-Wülker, I, 353 ff.

[49] Cf. *Petit Plet*, ed. Koch, vv. 1279–1281:

Pur ceo dist li Engleis trop ben:
Tant cum l'amez, luez tun chen
E ta femme e tun cheval.

Also Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, V, p. 888 which cites Walter Map: Proverbium Anglicum de servis est "Have hund to godsib ant stent [*read* stenc = 'stick'] in thir oder hond."

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the original—was written early in the twelfth century in a Northern or West Midland dialect. This appears from the spelling of certain English words taken over from the fables by Marie de France when she translated them. Particularly important is the word *sepande*, for West Saxon *scieppend*, "the Creator." A phrase in a later fable, presumably one of Alfred's, *selde cumet se bet* indicates a date not later than 1135. Eduard Mall has ingeniously suggested that the author of the fables was an Englishman of the twelfth century whose name actually was Alfred. This may easily be true, but the efforts of Joseph Jacobs and others to identify this Alfred have been discredited.[50] It is possible that some of the occasional Midlandisms or Northernisms in the text of the *Owl* were taken over from the fables of Alfred.[51] For, as we shall now see, the *Owl* is pervaded from beginning to end with the influence of the English fables popularly attributed to King Alfred. They are indeed the most important definite source of the *Owl* to which we are able to point.

The English text of the fables has all but totally disappeared. There remain only a number of unimportant fragments, frequently of uncertain authenticity. But we can study them in the Norman French translation of Marie de France, whose fidelity to her original is strikingly corroborated by a comparison of her Fables with *The Owl and the Nightingale.*

There is a tendency in fables to take the form of a dialogue rather than of a story of action. One animal makes a remark, another retorts, and the author adds a moral. In view of this I am inclined to attach special importance to Marie's fable of *The Bee and the Fly.* It is even possible that this is the fundamental pattern which the Owl-poet has elaborately expanded. The fable is brief and may be quoted entire. I omit only the unimportant moral.

De Ape et Musca.
Une musche e une es tencierent
e ensemble se curucierent.
La musche dist que mielz valeit
e qu'en tel liu aler poeit,
u cele ne s'osot veeir:
de sur le rei poeit seeir;
quan que l'es tut l'an purchaçot

[50] See Warnke, *Die Fabeln der Marie de France*, pp. xliv–xlviii.

[51] Cf. the second persons singular in C: *clackes* 81, *wones* 985 and *bodes* 1155, which are Northernisms or West Midlandisms—if they are not errors.

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e atraeit e travaillot,
li ert toleit, si ert tuee
e de sa maisun fors getee.
'Jeo e mes cumpaignes manjuns
de tun miel tant que nus voluns.'
L'es li respunt: 'Vus dites veir.
Mes il est legier a saveir
que plus iés vils que jeo ne sui;
kar en tuz lius fez tu ennui.
Sié la u siez, va la u vas,
ja par tun fet honur n'avras;
jeo sui pur le mien fet amee
e mult cherie e bien guardee.'

Note that the disputants are both winged creatures;[52] that they are both angry; that the dispute is as to their relative worth, each asserting her own merits and disparaging those of the other; that the Bee, like the Owl, contends that she is useful whereas her opponent is not; that the Fly is a real personality; and that the fable is all dialogue—with no action—as is nearly the case with the *Owl*. There are, of course, many differences, but it is hard to find in all contention-literature a poem which bears a greater general resemblance to the *Owl*. Did the Owl-poet use the English version of it as a fundamental pattern?

The Owl-poet has also borrowed from the *Fables* of Alfred a number of details. Of these the most obvious is the incorporation into the *Owl* of Alfred's entire fable *The Falcon and the Owl*. This will be evident after a comparison of *Owl* 101–138 with the seventy-ninth fable of Marie.[53] There is, on the whole, a close resemblance between the two, extending in some cases to details of phraseology[54]

[52] In primitive science any winged creature is likely to be classed as a bird. Thus in Grimm's *Märchen* 102, *Der Zaunkönig und der Bär*, the insects side with the birds against the quadrupeds. In the Bible the bat is twice enumerated after the birds which it is forbidden to eat (*Leviticus* 11.19; *Deuteronomy* 14.19). See N. E. D. under *Fowl*, 2, "winged creatures," where the bee, the butterfly and the bat are all cited as "fowl" or "fowls." Further examples of bees classed as birds are adduced by Cook in MLN 21.111–112. Cook rightly contends that Chaucer uses *foules* (="birds") for "bees" in *Parlement of Foules* 353–354:

The swalow mordrer of the foules smale
That maken hony of floures fresshe of hewe.

There is also a beetle popularly known to-day as the "lady-bird."

[53] See the excellent analysis in Atkins, pp. lxiii.

[54] In this connection one may compare Marie's *lur deriere* (Marie 79 35) with *Owl* 596: *heore bihinde*; and *nurreture*="offspring" (79.32) with *Owl* 94: *fode*, of

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and both versions are followed by the same moral about the rolling apple.

The Owl-poet has also incorporated into his poem a discussion of the tricks of the cat and the fox which is clearly based upon Alfred's fable concerning those animals.[55]

The opening of the debate is distinctly reminiscent of the fable of the *Hawk and the Nightingale*[56] in which the Nightingale complains that she cannot sing while the Hawk is so near her. I may add that inasmuch as the Owl represents herself as one of the kindred of the hawk, this fable may have combined with popular proverb to make Master Nicholas substitute Nightingale and Owl for the Fly and the Bee in Alfred's fable.

Every reader has wondered why the frog is described as sitting *at mulne under cogge*,[57] and even the *New English Dictionary* is uncertain as to the meaning of *cogge*. The passage is an allusion to a fable of Alfred's.[58] A mouse lives at a mill where there is plenty of provender, and invites her friend the frog to dine and pass the night with her under the mill-stone. According to Warnke[59] this opening of the fable is found only in Marie. By her use of the words *muelne* and *piere* Marie makes clear the meaning of *cogge*. On the other hand the phrase *under cogge* in the *Owl* shows that in the text of the fable (vv. 23–28) we should read *suz* "under" rather than *sur* "upon." The mouse has her nest "under the mill-stone," that is to say at the base of it, or in a hole beneath it, or the mill-stone may have been laid aside in a tilted position and the mouse have had her nest underneath it. Later, on their

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the same meaning. Cf. L. *nutrimentum*, O. F. *norriture*. "a young animal." Furthermore Gadow is undoubtedly right in regarding *of twere twom*, "of the two," as a reduplicative (*pleonastisch*) phrase like A. S. *bā twā*. As Marie rather frequently uses *ambedous*, <L. *ambo*+*duo*, it is possible that *of twere twom* was taken over by our poet from Alfred's fables. Mätzner's emendations, *of þan twom*, *of þinge twom*, are unnecessary; while Atkins' *of twene* (<A. S. *twēona*, g. pl. of *twēo*, *twēon*, ="doubt") *twom* does not suit the context, since the Nightingale's question is merely rhetorical and implies that there is no doubt about the matter.

[55] Cf. Marie No. 98 with *Owl* 809–834. The *red-purs* (*Owl* 694) is an allusion to Alfred's fable. Cf. Marie 98.10 *pleine puche*, 98.11 *puche*; 98.28 *puchete*; 98.31 *sac*; 98.35 *puche pleine*.

[56] Marie No. 66. Cf. *Owl* 33–40.

[57] *Owl* 86, MS. *J* only.

[58] Marie No. 3.

[59] Warnke, *Die Quellen des Esope der Marie de France*, in *Festgabe für Hermann Suchier*, p. 168.

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way to the swamp, a hawk seizes both frog and mouse,[60] releases the mouse and devours the frog because it is the bigger animal.

In another place (v. 1184) the Owl accuses the Nightingale of having cursed her on a previous occasion. The poet here refers to a fable by his contemporary, Odo of Ceritona,[61] in which the owl is condemned by a council of birds with an inability to see or fly by day.

This reference to cursing is coupled with an ironical inquiry whether the Nightingale has been ordained a priest that she dares thus to pronounce a curse. This is an allusion to the fable of Alfred (Marie, No. 81) in which a priest endeavors to teach the alphabet to a wolf with discouraging results; also and more evidently to the fable[62] whose moral is that "You cannot make a priest out of a wolf!" The Owl wishes to insinuate "No more can you out of a nightingale." The moral of Marie's eighty-first fable has prompted still another passage in the *Owl* (vv. 673–678) in which the poet speaking in his own person, not the Owl's, again makes the Nightingale "the wolf."

The passage in which the Wren warns Nightingale and Owl not to break the king's peace[63] is a compliment to King Henry, whose efficiency is commended, but it is also reminiscent of the fable (Marie, No. 61) in which a fox tries to beguile a dove by assuring her that a letter from the king has decreed a peace between beast and bird. The mention of the *mose*, or titmouse, as ready to molest the Owl is perhaps reminiscent of the affront which the titmouse—*mesenge* in Marie—offers the cuckoo in another fable of Alfred's.[64]

Thus far we have considered the influence of Alfred upon details of the *Owl*. We may now turn to characteristics of a more general nature. And in the first place we may observe that, although the contest between Nightingale and Owl is a debate and not a trial, the poem not infrequently uses the language of legal procedure. This point has been very suggestively treated by Atkins.[65]

Here we are principally concerned to observe that in animal

[60] Cf. the statement (*Owl* 87–88) that the Owl eats mice.

[61] *De Rosa et Volatilibus*. See Hervieux, IV, p. 226.

[62] Given in Warnke's edition of Marie as No. 65b.

[63] *Owl* 1730–1734. Cf. especially *gripbruche*, "breach of the peace" in 1734.

[64] Marie No. 65. Cf. *Owl* 79–85.

[65] See Atkins, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, pp. lii–lv.

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fables there is occasional use of legal forms. Two of the *Fables* of Marie (Nos. 4 and 56) are of law-suits between animals, and a third concludes with an appeal to law and custom.[66] This is, of course, a rather slender precedent. Master Nicholas has expanded it to please his legal-minded sovereign, Henry II, as well as to insinuate his own proficiency in legal matters.

When we turn to the essentially artistic qualities of the *Owl*, we find evidence that the fables of Alfred furnished him examples of skillful narration, and of direct, forcible and picturesque language. But I would emphasize especially the comic power and the delineation of character exhibited in the fables. That the Owl-poet has not given us a stilted, academic and vacuous composition, for which there was abundant precedent in medieval contention-literature, is partly due to the brilliant example of "Alfred."

Certainly comic power has always been a tradition of animal-fables. Already in the fifth century before Christ Aristophanes[67] speaks of αἰσωπικὸν γέλοιον, "a funny thing from Æsop," and it has always been the function of the fable to provide amusement as well as instruction. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that in the fables of Marie comic power is both varied and abundant. The masterpieces of the collection, in this respect, are the delicate and urbane irony of *The Fox and the Dove* (Marie, No. 61), the vigorous horse-play of *The Jackass and the Lap-Dog* (Marie, No. 15)—which the author of the *Speculum Stultorum*, Chaucer's *Daun Burnell the Asse*, must have saturated himself with—and the highly seasoned irony of *The Eagle, the Hawk and the Crane*. To these we must add another fable, which is not concerned with animals but is equal to any of the collection in humor, *The Contrary-Minded Woman and her Husband* (Marie, No. 95). The woman after being drowned in the river is found to have floated up-stream. *Naturam expellas furca*! This last is humor of a type which we Americans are wont to regard as more or less peculiarly our own. The underlying principle is exaggeration. Besides these masterpieces there are numerous others which show real humor. *The Cock and the Fox* (Marie, No. 60) offers a parallel to Chaucer's *Nun's Priest's Tale*, though Chaucer was more indebted to other versions of the story. It is the exception rather than the rule

[66] Marie No. 77, v. 16: Tels e la custume e la leis.

[67] *Wasps* 1260. This play was produced 422 B.C.

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for one of Marie's fables to lack humor of some kind, and for the overwhelmingly greater part it is perfectly inocent humor.

With regard to the delination of character it stands to reason that in the brief fable this can be neither so complex nor so subtle as in a longer composition. The art of the fabulist is shown in his power to express character in a few swift strokes, and undoubtedly the natural gift of Master Nicholas in this direction was greatly stimulated by Alfred. Furthermore in certain cases it is possible, I think, to trace the influence on the *Owl* of a particular fable. The Owl vaunts her utility, and here no doubt the poet is serious. The Owl is as the Bee in the fable of *The Bee and the Fly*. And, in general, in the eyes of the Owl, the Nightingale is like the Fly—an unclean, pestilent creature who is somehow accorded social privileges which she abuses. But when the Owl vaunts that her singing is better than the Nightingale's—and she is a hoarse-noted, top-heavy Barn-Owl at that—she becomes like the Jackass who fancied he could play the Lap-Dog. This trait is repeated in the Owl's contention (vv. 639–654) that she resembles human beings in her household arrangements, and in her boast (vv. 1519–20) that the ladies turn to her for consolation. In fact the admirable Jackass—admirably ridiculous!—must have been thoroughly appreciated by Master Nicholas. Even the beating which rewards the Jackass seems to be echoed by the blows which are bestowed upon the hapless Owl.[68]

The influence on the *Owl* of the numerous contention-poems in Latin and in various medieval languages[69] is difficult to trace, neither has the history of these poems been adequately investigated. The poetic monologue, the vehicle of so many of the most brilliant successes of Tennyson and Browning, is found very early in English. *Widsith* is one example, and another is the *Wife's Lament*, a poem bearing a certain resemblance to the Owl's description (vv. 1583–92) of the unhappiness of a wife over the absence of her husband. Chaucer has three or four striking poetic monologues in his *Canterbury Tales*, namely the *Preambles* of the

[68] With *Owl* 1165–1168 cf. Marie No. 15, vv. 35–40:

chescuns tient maçue u bastun.
L'asne fierent tut' envirun . . . .
de si que l'asne unt tant batu,
qu'il le laissent tut estendu.

[69] On the debate in classical literature see especially the acute and learned article by Margaret Coleman Waites, *Some Features of the Allegorical Debate in Greek Literature*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* XXIII, pp. 1–46.

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Pardoner and the Wife of Bath, the *First Part* of the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* and the *Link* between the *Tales* of Miller and Reve. The occurrence in the Vercelli-Book of the *Address of a Sinful Soul*, immediately followed by that of a *Virtuous Soul* suggests the passage of monologue into dialogue. In *Solomon and Saturn* we have a type of contention-poem already—a riddle-contest.[70] And Jantzen rightly says that at the close of *Deor's Lament* we have an indication of the existence of the singers' contest in English before the Conquest.[71]

On the other hand, there are very numerous contention-poems in Latin and a few of these seem to have influenced Master Nicholas. The *Ecologues* of Virgil, which are largely dialogues, offer a few parallels. The *smale weode unripe* to which the Owl likens the song of the Nightingale, may, like Milton's "scrannel pipes of wretched straw," be a Virgilian reminiscence.[72] It seems trivial to suggest that a line like

> And ȝet hit nis of heorte islide (v. 686)

was suggested by Virgil's

> Quam nostro illius labatur pectore voltus.[73]

Virgil also presents the idea of owls singing against swans[74] so as to imply that the owl is a poor, or at least an indifferent singer.

On the whole, the evidence that Master Nicholas was influenced by Virgil is not convincing. That he knew Calpurnius Siculus or Nemesianus is equally uncertain, though Calpurnius contrasts the nightingale with the owl,[75] and brings all the birds to witness a singer's contest.[76]

The imprecation of the Nightingale upon the messenger of evil tidings (*Owl* 1173–1174)

> God Almihti wurþ him wroþ,
> An al þat werieþ linnene cloþ!

may be reminiscent of the *Conflictus Ovis et Lini* or *The Argument*

[70] See Grein-Wülker, *Bibl. der angelsächs. Poesie*, II, 92–107, III, 67–82.

[71] See Jantzen, *Geschichte des Deutschen Streitgedichtes im Mittelalter*, p. 29.

[72] Cf. Virgil, *Eclogues*, 1.2: *tenui . . . . avena*; *ibid.* 3.27: *strident miserum stipula disperdere carmen*; *Owl* 320.

[73] *Eclogues* 1.64. Cf. also *Cant. Tales* E 1002.

[74] *Eclogue* 8.55: Certent et cycnis ululae sit Tityrus Orpheus.

[75] Quoted above, p. 344.

[76] Calpurnius 2.11: cf. *Owl*, 1658–1664.

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between the Sheep and the Flax of Hermann of Reichenau, also called Hermannus Contractus, or Hermann the Lame, who lived from A.D. 1013 till A.D. 1054.[77] This is a poem in 770 Latin elegiac verses. The Sheep and the Flax discuss the relative merits of their respective products, wool and linen. Pertinent to the interpretation of the passage in question are the assertion of the Flax that no man is considered a man if he lacks linen. (*Conflictus* v. 142):

> sed nunquam lino nudus habetur homo;

the answer of the Sheep that those who forsake the world and hope to attain heavenly things wear an undergarment of wool (*ibid.* vv. 277, 281–283):

> qui mundum fugiunt, qui spe caelestia tangunt, ...
> talibus ergo viris est intima lanea vestis:
> haec est quippe viro congrua proposito,
> hi linum fugiunt, lanas ad corpora stringunt;

and the rejoinder of the Flax, who says that bishops wear linen at public worship and insinuates that the angels wear linen garments. Lynn Thorndike, in his *History of Experimental Science* (I, p. 378) says: "In *The Book of the Saviour*, Jesus not only utters several long lists of strange and presumably magic words by way of invocation to the Power or powers, but these are accompanied by careful observance of ceremonial. On both occasions Jesus and the disciples are clad in linen." Eusebius, quoting Hegesippus, says of "James, the brother of the Lord:" "He alone was allowed to enter into the sanctuary, for he did not wear wool but linen."[78]

Enough has been adduced to show that the superiority of linen to flannel or wool was a literary tradition; and it looks as if the *Conflictus Ovis et Lini* was known to Nicholas of Guildford, the more so, as in another passage (*Owl* 745–746) the Nightingale suggests that the case shall be appealed to the Pope, while in the *Conflictus* the Flax suggests an appeal to "the pontifical keys" (*Conflictus* 747–766). I have suggested[79] that the Nightingale's proposed appeal to the Pope may have been prompted by the

[77] Hermann's works appear in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* vol. 143. The *Conflictus Ovis* etc. is also published in Haupt's *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum*, XI (1859), 215–238. I quote the latter version.

[78] Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 2.23 (Lake's translation).

[79] See above, p. 337.

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presence of the Papal Legate, Peter of Saint Agatha, in England to summon delegates to the Lateran Council of 1179, but this would not prevent the proposed appeal from being a literary reminiscence as well.

In any case Coulton[80] is essentially right in contending that *al þat werieþ linnene cloþ* means "all decent unmonastic folk," rather than Wells who says it means "the clergy."[81] The Nightingale, it will be noted, is with the secular party.

The Latin contention-poems of the twelfth century must have been known to Master Nicholas, though it is difficult to trace their influence upon him unless it be in matter of meter, of which I shall say more presently. But it is impossible that the poet was unacquainted with some version of the only powerful poem in the whole collection, *The Dialogue Between the Body and the Soul.*[82] The immense popularity of the poem is shown by the fact that there have reached us one or more versions in numerous languages including many versions in English.[83]

The meter of the Latin contention-poems, with their disyllabic and occasionally trisyllabic or tetrasyllabic rimes,[84] and their

[80] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XVII, 69.

[81] So his note on *Owl* 1174. In the concluding stanza of the "Dialogue between St. Bernard and the Virgin," according to Camb. Univ. MS. Dd. 1. 1, it is stated:

"This ryme mad an hermyte . . . .
barfot he wente in grey habyte,
he werid no cloth þat was of lyn."—G. Kribel, *Eng. Stud.* VIII, 90.

[82] Miss Waites says: "Democritus apparently personified and contrasted the Body and the Soul so as to produce something resembling an allegorical debate." She cites passages concerning Democritus from Plutarch and Galen. See *Harvard Stud. in Class. Philol.* XXIII, 20. Of course Democritus would have treated the theme differently from a medieval writer.

[83] See Hall, *Selections*, pp. 232–234, where a dozen English compositions related to the theme are enumerated.

[84] The polysyllabic rimes of the *Owl* have not received due attention. Some of them are obscured by textual corruption, but they undoubtedly exist, and suffice for an argument that the meter of the *Owl*, so far as it is not of native origin, is based on medieval Latin models, rather than on Old French ones. The meter of the *Ormulum* is undoubtedly of Latin origin. For examples of polysyllabic rimes in the *Owl* cf. the following, which I have amended to make my point clear.

(143–144)	Þeos Ule luste *þiderward*,
	I heold hire ezen *niþerward*
(315–316)	Þu wenst ech song beo *grisilich*
	Þat þine piping *nis ilich.*
(401–402)	Ac noþeles heo spac *baldeliche*,
	Vor he is wis þat *hardeliche.*

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frequent presentation of quatrains riming on the same vowel, are likely to have influenced the versification of Master Nicholas, whose couplets are occasionally extended into quatrains like the four opening lines:

Ich was in one sumere dale,
In one suþe diȝele hale,
Iherde ich holde grete tale
An Ule and one Nihtegale.[85]

I have found no evidence of French influence on the *Owl* except the fifty or sixty words and one or two idioms of French origin.[86]

(687–688) Hwone þe bale is *alre hecst*,
Þonne is þe bote *alre necst*
(775–776) Hit berþ on rugge *grete semes*,
An draȝþ bivore *grete temes*.
(781–782) Ne mai his strengþe *hit ishilde*
Þat hit nabuȝþ þe *lutle childe*.
(899–900) Al þat þu singst is *golenesse*,
For nis on þe non *holinesse*.
(1707–1708) Þeos Ule spac wel *baldeliche*,
For þah heo nadde so *hwateliche*.

[85] With this opening compare, for substance not for meter, the opening of the fine poem on *The Last Judgment* in Grein-Wülker, II, 250,

Hwæt! ic ana sæt innan bearwe
mid helme beþeaht, holte tomiddes, etc.

[86] This conclusion is essentially that of Wells. See the *Introduction* to his edition of the *Owl*, pp. liii–lxiv. Atkins in his *Introduction*, §8 (pp. lxi–lxxii), suggests that Master Nicholas has borrowed from the *Laustic* and the *Yonec*, *Lais* of Marie de France. But this is pretty certainly wrong. More might perhaps be said for his contention that the account of the woman unhappily married (*Owl*, 1521–1560) is of French origin; but Atkins names no specific source, and the theme also occurs in the English *Hali Meidenhad* (ed. Cockayne). The phrase *wowes west* (*J MS* of *Owl*) v. 1528 (='deserted walls') is sufficiently like the *waste wahes* of *Hali Meidenhad*, p. 31, l. 13, to suggest a genetic connection between *Owl* and *H.M.* Now *H.M.*, according to Hall (*Selections from Early Middle English*, p. 506) 'was probably occasioned by the affair of the nun at Watton .... an account of which is found in Alfred of Riévaulx.' Hall adds that 'much of Hali Meidenhad is as old as S. Jerome.' Master Nicholas therefore may well have gotten his material independently of anything in French literature. In his note on *Owl*, 1340–1342, Atkins (p. 113) says this is 'a commentary on the doctrine of the Courts of Love, according to which love in marriage is impossible.' If so, Master Nicholas rejects the doctrine; neither is it certain that he knew it in a French form.

In estimating the possibility of French influence on the *Owl* it should be borne in mind that the author nowhere mentions France nor any place in France; neither does he mention any Frenchman unless we so regard Henry II. He refers to no French book. On the contrary the repeated references to King Alfred serve to

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Neither have I discovered that the English poem has been influenced by German contention-poems. Very few German poems of this type require consideration here. Jantzen mentions some poems of later date which discuss whether maidhood or wifehood is the more honorable, a theme on which the dispute between Nightingale and Owl as to whether the lapses of maids or of married women are the more reprehensible may be regarded as a variation.[87] It may also be mentioned that the combination of the substance of an animal-fable with the form of a contention-poem, found in the *Owl*, occurs also in a German collection of fables of later date. The fable *Von der Hennen und dem Fische* is a humorous poem of 78 lines. It tells how the poet, on his way to Oestern, overheard a hen and a fish disputing which of them was the more likely to be caught and eaten by a human being. Presently there arrive an otter who catches and eats the fish, and a fox who disposes of the hen.[88]

One passage in the *Owl* may possibly show Celtic influence. The likening of the Kingdom of Heaven to a basket which always remains heaping full however much is taken out of it[89] might be associated with the Gospel miracle of the loaves and fishes if the basket did not bear a far more striking resemblance to certain Celtic baskets, such as the Irish caldron (really a basket) of Dagda and the Welsh basket of Gwyddno Garanhir.[90] But Bruce declares that the conception of such magical objects is common folk-lore and found in every part of the world.[91]

It remains to consider the wooing of the nightingale by the rose:

> Þe blostme ginneþ springe & sprede,
> Boþ in treo & ec on mede.
> Þe lilie mid hire faire wlite

---

identify Nicholas with English sentiment and tradition; and his discussion of love, which is ethical rather than romantic, is as unlike the spirit of contemporary French literature as possible. Had he known the French language he would probably have written in it, especially in addressing King Henry.

[87] Jantzen, *op. cit.*, p. 60. He gives references to Lassburg, *Liedersammlung*, II, p. 343, No. 131; Bartsch, *Kolmar Handschrift*, p. 118, No. 144; *ibid.*, p. 571, No. 176. Cf. *Owl*, vv. 1417–1602.

[88] Adelbert von Keller, *Erzählungen aus alten Handschriften*, pp. 570–572, in *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, vol. 35.

[89] Cf. *Owl*, 357–360.

[90] Cf. *Notes on Celtic Cauldrons of Plenty and the Land Beneath the Waves*, by Arthur C. L. Brown, in the *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, pp. 234–249.

[91] J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, I, 218, note.

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Welcumeþ me þat þu hit wite,
Bit me mid hire faire bleo
Þat ich shulle to hire fleo.
Þe rose also mid hire rude,
Þat cumeþ ut of þe þorne wude,
Bit me þat ich shulle singe
Vor hire luve one skentinge.
And ich so do þurh niht & dai,
Þe more ich singe þe more ich mai,
& skente hi mid mine songe (vv. 437–49).

Does this whiff of exquisite fragrance come from the far-off gardens of Iran? Certainly the nightingale had long been associated with the rose in Persian poetry when Master Nicholas of Guildford wrote. The association occurs in Omar Khayyam, who died A.D. 1123; it occurs also in Baba Tahir, one of Omar's predecessors among the poets of Persia. Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, with whom I have had the privilege of corresponding on the subject, tells me that it does not happen to be preserved in the fragmentary verses of Persian poetry that have come down to us from 1000 A.D. or earlier, but that we have independent stanzas, one to the rose and another to the nightingale, by Kisa', who lived in the latter half of the tenth century.[92]

It is equally certain that Persian literary influence did reach Western Europe during the Middle Ages. A perfectly incontrovertible illustration occurs in the Latin *Salomo et Marcolfus*,[93] where Marcolfus claims as ancestors of his own, Rustam and Farsi, and, as an ancestor of his wife, Ferduch. Rustam must be the great national hero of Persia, and Ferduch is, in all probability, the same name as *Paridukht* ("Fairy-Daughter") the mother of Zal in Firdausi's *Shah-namah*, the Persian *P* having been changed to the Arabic *F*, as also in the apparently Persian name *Farsi* for *Parsi*. It is of some interest to our discussion that this Persian matter occurs in a work related to the *Solomon and Saturn* with which our Master Nicholas may have been acquainted.[94]

It is also certain that Persia had, and had long had, a literature of contention-poems when *The Owl and the Nightingale* was written. The best-known writer of Persian contention-poems or *manazarat*

[92] See Jackson, *Early Persian Poetry*, pp. 47–48.

[93] *Salomo et Marcolfus*, ed. Benary, p. 4. See variant readings for *Rustam*.

[94] Cf. *Owl*, 456, with *Solomon and Saturn*, 312–314: Lytle hewile leaf beoð grene:/þonne he eft fealewiaþ, fealla ð on eorðan/& forweorniaþ, weorðaþ to duste.

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is Asadi, who died A.D. 1041. Selbach[95] has, indeed, made a strong argument to show that the Persian *manazarat* had no influence on the extensive literature of contention-poems in the Romance languages, but this conclusion, which I am strongly inclined to accept, need not constrain us to disbelieve in Persian influence on an English poem so independent of Romance influence as the *Owl*.

Here an objection may be considered. The English poem makes the rose woo the nightingale, and not only the rose but the lily as well; whereas, in Persian poetry, the nightingale generally wooes the rose and the rose only. The objection is of some weight, but it should be observed that in some few cases the rose wooes the nightingale even in Persian poetry.[96]

Very tentatively, I would suggest that there may possibly be Persian influence on other passages of the *Owl* than the one which we have been considering. Thus the *writelinge* of the Nightingale, of which the Owl twice speaks (vv. 48 and 914), may remind the reader that Sir William Owsley described Persian music as consisting largely of "shakes and flourishes." Also when the Owl boasts[97] that she receives the confidences of married ladies, the poet may have intended to travesty a function of the nightingale in Persian poetry.

The considerations which I have adduced certainly do not prove that the *Owl* has been influenced by Persian poetry, either directly or indirectly; but if I am not mistaken they possess a very exceptional interest.

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[95] *Das Streitgedicht in der altprovenzalischen Lyrik, und sein Verhältniss zu ähnlichen Dichtungen anderer Literaturen*, Marburg, 1886.

[96] Cf. 'Thou art the Bulbul of this bright parterre,
And I thy rose—why not thy love declare?'
From Nizami, *Laili and Majnum* (Dole and Walker, *The Persian Poets*, p. 187).

[97] *Owl*, 1563–1570, 1593–1602.

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XIII

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF *FERGUS AND GALIENE*

THE French romance of *Fergus and Galiene*, composed in the first quarter of the thirteenth century,[1] is a conventional piece of Arthurian narrative, which has received comparatively little attention from scholars.[2] The episodes of the poem in themselves contain little indeed that is not over-familiar to readers of romances dealing with the matter of Brittany: giants, robbers, and lawless knights to be conquered; a difficult quest; outspoken maidens; a tournament for the selection of a likely husband; dwarfs and a magic spring and the inevitable mockery by Sir Kay. But what does give unusual interest to this romance is the fact, pointed out first by Martin in his edition in 1872, that the scene of the action is indubitably Scotland, described by one who must have known it at first-hand, and that among the characters who appear in this faery setting, two at least were Scottish chiefs of the twelfth century. Although the evidence already cited by Martin is sufficient to prove these general conclusions, his material was drawn entirely from secondary sources, which afford only brief, general statements about the persons involved. The possibility of augmenting this evidence by material from primary sources has hitherto been neglected.

A brief summary will serve to recall the substance of the poem, and will emphasize the quaintness of the merging of King Arthur's court with that of the Scotch King Malcolm.

One day while Arthur is out hunting with his knights, he passes the estate of a prosperous countryman, Soumilloit, whose three sons are at work farming and tending cattle. One of these sons, Fergus, is moved by a desire to be like these glorious strangers.

[1] J. D. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, II, 237; Alois Stefan, *Laut- und Formenbestand in Guillaume li Cler's Roman "Fergus,"* Klagenfurt, 1893.

[2] The poem was edited by Francisque Michel, Edinburgh, 1841, for the Abbotsford Club: *Le Roman des Aventures de Fregus par Guillaume le Clerc.* It was republished from an older MS by Ernst Martin: *Fergus, Roman von Guillaume le Clerc*, Halle, 1872. Stefan's book, cited above, concerns the dialect; W. Marquard discusses literary influence in: *Der Einfluss Kristians von Troyes auf den Roman "Fergus" des Guilaume le Clerc*, Göttingen, 1906; E. Brugger, building on geographical identifications already pointed out in Martin's edition, uses an episode borrowed from *Fergus* in *Huon de Bordeaux* to prove that the former is the earlier poem (*Mod. Long. Rev.*, xx, 158-173).

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He leaves his plough, inquires about Arthur's court from one of the followers, and announces to his father his intention of going to court and becoming a knight. Soumilloit is angry; but the boy's mother, a woman of gentle birth, intercedes for him. They finally equip him with a suit of armor (good, but long unused) and shield and lance. He demands his ax and club also; his father—who is really not qualified to do so—knights him; and he departs.

At Arthur's court he receives the usual scorn and mockery from Kay, who has been annoyed by a recent prophecy by the fool, that the next comer would achieve the difficult quest of the Horn and Veil. Fergus, hearing of these things, which are guarded by a lion and Black Knight, resolves to seek them. He is harbored that night by the King's chamberlain and his young daughter. From the older man Fergus receives instruction in deportment and the wearing of armor. When he has been properly clothed, he is re-knighted by Arthur, and sets out on his quest.

Again he is harbored by an older knight and his fair niece at Castle Lidel. The young lady, Galiene, is enamored of Fergus and visits his chamber that night after a long internal debate; but Fergus tells her that he must not swerve from his quest now; he will return later, after it is accomplished. Humiliated by this rebuff, she returns to her father's castle, Lodien, without taking leave of her uncle.

Fergus goes on. He reaches the steep ascent of the Black Mountain where the Black Knight lives. The chapel at the top is guarded by a huge man of bronze, which Fergus smites at first, thinking it is alive. Discovering his mistake, he enters the chapel, takes the horn and veil, blows the horn, fights the Black Knight and defeats him, and sends him back to Arthur with the trophies. On his return he hears that Galiene has disappeared, and, suddenly realizing that he loves her after all, he resolves to seek her. His next victories are won over a Knight of a Pavilion, whose monstrous dwarf insulted him; over a murderous robber in a castle; and over a group of knights who begrudge him food. All of these are sent to Arthur's court and tell of his prowess.

Fergus now goes mad for love of Galiene, and wanders about for a year in the forest, haggard and unkempt. He is cured by drinking of a magic fountain, the owner of which is a dwarf with powers of clairvoyance. He tells Fergus who he is and how he may regain Galiene. He must first win the White Shield of Castle Dunostre, which gives its wearer invincibility and victory. Fergus accordingly journeys through Lodien and by Maidens' Castle, and crosses an arm of the sea at Port-la-Royne. Here he defeats some thieves who had wished to deprive him of his armor. In order to obtain the coveted shield he must defeat and kill a gigantic hideous woman who guards it, and a monstrous serpent; and soon after he has obtained it he must dispatch a giant who was the giantess's husband. Thus he is able to release two maidens who are detained in the giant's castle.

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He now finds that he is near the castle of Roceborc in Lodien where, at the moment, Galiene is being besieged. After participating in the battle on Galiene's side, and greatly heartening her followers, he returns undiscovered to his own castle. In reply to a challenge on the part of her enemy, King Artofilas, Galiene pledges herself to obtain a champion within a certain time, and the outcome of the siege is to depend upon his single combat with King Artofilas and his son. But Galiene, not knowing where to find her unknown champion or another as doughty, sends her maid Arondele to Arthur's court for succor. Unfortuntely, Arthur's best knights are absent at the moment—seeking Fergus; but on her return she passes by the castle of Fergus himself and tells him of her mistress's need. Of course Fergus appears incognito once more and defeats Galiene's enemy; thereupon he returns to his castle without waiting for thanks, to the great disappointment of the citizens and of Galiene, who suspects the identity of the Knight of the Fair Shield.

Meantime Arthur has announced a tournament of all the greatest knights of Britain, hoping thus to lure Fergus to court again. Fergus does appear and fight incognito; soon after, Galiene also appears to ask Arthur to provide her with a husband—preferably the Knight with the Fair Shield. The tournament is made to serve this purpose also; and once Fergus has proved himself victor and has revealed himself, he and Galiene are married. Gawain, who has been the constant friend of Fergus throughout, gives a parting bit of advice:

> Que il ne laist chevalerie
> Por sa femme, que n'est pas drois.
> "De pluissors gabes en serois."[3]

Fergus and Galiene is strongly reminiscent of Chretien de Troyes, whose very tricks of wording, as Martin has pointed out,[4] are imitated. The description of Arthur's court at the beginning of *Fergus* recalls similar passages in *Erec* and *Yvain*; the account of the inexperienced country boy at Arthur's court runs very close indeed to *Perceval*, as Gawain himself reminds Arthur:

> Souviegne vos de Perceval,
> Que vos toli mesire Kois.
> Par ses dis et par ses destrois
> Le vos toli: bien le saves.[5]

[3] *Fergus*, 189, 21.

[4] *Ibid.*, Introduction. In the *Anmerkungen* Martin gives a list of verbal echoes: e.g., *Fergus* 48, 37, Grans vens ciet mais a poi de pluie; *Perceval* 6787, Mais grans vens ciet a poi de pluie.

[5] *Ibid.*, 37, 7.

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In a more general way the siege and rescue of Galiene suggest Perceval, as do also the earlier episodes at her uncle's castle and at the home of the chamberlain who taught him the methods of chivalry. The jesting advice of Gawain to Fergus quoted in the summary, was certainly written with an eye on *Erec and Enide;* no other romance written by the early thirteenth century would have suggested this warning against uxoriousness.

The author, it appears, was not very original in the invention and combination of incidents.[6] But his story is made unusual by the use of Scotland and Scottish characters. Martin has long since identified the chief localities;[7] Aroie, where Arthur's hunt takes place near the homestead of Soumilloit, is Ayrshire; Lodien, Galiene's country, is Lothian; Maidens' Castle was a name commonly used for Edinburgh in the Middle Ages; Port-la-Royne is Queensferry; Dunostre is Castle Dunottar in the Shire of Kincardine, the ruins of which exist to this day; Galiene's castle of Roceborc is Roxborough; Gauvoie is Galloway, and so forth.[8] These names are not used at haphazard; they appear in proper geographical sequence whenever a character undertakes a journey, although some of the journeys are accomplished with supernatural celerity. Moreover, many of the details about manners, customs, and clothing reveal a keen and interested spectator of thirteenth-century Scotland. The following remark about Ayr sounds like an anticipation of Robert Burns:

En Aroie vint erranment

[6] The prophesying dwarf who owns the magic spring is no more original than any other personage, but he does suggest interesting analogues, especially in Germanic lore.

[7] *Fergus*, Introduction, pp. xix–xx.

[8] Concerning Loenois in 28, 26 ("Doi biel vallet de Loenois") Martin says merely: "Das land wird öfters in den gedichten von Artus erwähnt." It seems to me very probable that this is the land Loonois or Lohenois of Tristan's childhood which "has been identified with the Pictish territory Lothian south of the Firth-of-Forth." (Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, Frankfurt and London, 1913, II, 273.) That the name was used in the thirteenth century—at the very time of the composition of *Fergus*—for the country which includes Lothian, is proved by an interesting passage in the *Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d'Angleterre* (ed. Francisque Michel, Paris, 1840). Here we read that in 1216 the King of Scotland joined Prince Louis of France at Dover to help him against King John, and "Lendemain fist li rois son hommage à Looys de la tierre de Loonois, puis s'en repaira en son pais" (p. 79). The author of *Fergus* need not have borrowed from *Tristan*; he could have got this name, like the rest, from personal knowledge of Scotland. That he did know *Tristan* we can infer from 114, 22.

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La u les bieles femes sont:
N'a plus beles en tot le mont.[9]

There is a reference to the impiety of the inhabitants of Southern Scotland (Pas ne leur calt di Diu proier: Tant sont niches et bestiaus, 6, 20); to the currency of the country (sol sterlenc, 90, 23); to the custom of going armed to the plough,

Kar la coustume tele estoit
En Ingeval que il portoient
Lor armes quant il en aloient
A lor herce u a lor karue;[10]

to the moors (16, 33- 17, 1); and to the use of an ax and a knotted scourge as weapons:

Une corgie a nels en son
Portent tos jors cil del pais.[11]

These spontaneous bits of description are thrown in parenthetically by the author, who is apparently drawing on his own experience.

Most interesting of all, however, is the introduction of historical persons in the midst of the Arthurian setting. Martin has pointed out that Fergus himself bore the name and owned the territory of a certain Fergus of Galloway in the twelfth century, a very powerful nobleman; and that Soumilloit likewise was modeled on the character of Somarled, Lord of the Hebrides and Argyle. Concerning these two chieftains (who were *not* father and son in real life) Martin quotes only from such secondary sources as Chalmer's *Caledonia* and Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, and he contents himself with the mere surmise[12] that Fergus and Somarlad were somehow related. A study of contemporary or nearly contemporary accounts—chronicles, charters, Icelandic sagas, documents of the Scottish court—proves not only that these two men were connected (by marriage) as Martin guessed, but that various other historical details are reproduced in the poem. It is the purpose of this paper to assemble the pertinent material from these sources in order to show the relation between the real and the literary characters, and also to indicate what political events

[9] *Fergus*, 6, 10.

[10] *Ibid.*, 11, 23.

[11] *Ibid.*, 17, 9. Short broadswords are mentioned also, 16, 23.

[12] "Mit diesem Somarled war vielleicht verwant Fergus, der damals die westlichen hochlande, namentlich Galloway, beherrschte." See Introduction, xxiii-xxiv.

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made it natural and likely for a French poet of the first quarter of the thirteenth century to visit Scotland and take an interest in almost legendary persons of the preceding century.

I.

Somarled, chief (or *Regulus*, as the sources call him) of Argyle, is a picturesque if lawless character of early Scottish history. He was apparently of Celtic ancestry, for his father's name was Gillabrigte; but he and his fortunes were early involved in the affairs of the Scandinavians of the Hebrides. Here the dynasty of Godfrey Crovan had been reigning; Godfrey's son was Olaf, whose illegitimate daughter was married to Somarled: "and she was the cause of the downfall of the whole kingdom of the islands,"[13] as one of the chronicles says. The reason for this is that Somerled turned against his wife's half-brother Godfrey—legitimate son of Olaf and therefore legitimate heir to the Western Isles,—fought a battle against him in 1156, and thus became ruler of the Islands himself, in addition to the neighboring country of Argyle in Scotland. Godfrey fled to Norway for help, but Somarled maintained his rule until his violent death in 1164.[14]

Somarled's whole life, it seems, was violent. Together with certain nephews (sons of a sister who had married Malcolm Macheth), he seems to have been in a pretty constant state of revolt against the King of Scotland.[15] The chronicles which record his death say that the period of revolt lasted twelve years.[16] Yet there is evidence that, after Malcolm Macheth and his son "Dovenaldus" had been captured and reconciled with the King, Somarled gave up his feud.[17] A charter of December 25, 1160 at Perth is dated "after the reconcilement" (concordia) between the King and Somarled.[18]

Four years later, however, Somarled appears once more at the

[13] Alan Orr Anderson, *Early Sources of Scotch History*, Edinburgh, 1922, II, 137.

[14] *Ibid.*, II, 231.

[15] For details see John de Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, Edinburgh, 1759, I, 448: "Erat enim iste Malcolmus filius Macheth, sed mentiendo dicebat se filium Angusii comitis Moraviae, qui, tempore felicis memoriae regis David, patriam depraedando apud Strucathroch a Scotis cum tota gente sua interfectus est. Quo mortuo, idem Malcolmus Macheth contra regem David, quasi filius mortem patris vindicaturus, assurgit. . . . . "

[16] Anderson, *op. cit.*, II, 254 (quoting the Chronicles of Melrose and of Man).

[17] Fordun, *loc. cit.*

[18] Anderson, *op. cit.*, 239 n.

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head of a marauding expedition, recruited from Ireland and the Hebrides, which landed at Renfrew opposite Somarled's own country of Argyle on the other side of the Firth of Clyde. Here Somarled and a son (to whom Fordun gives the name Gillecolanus) were slain—Somarled, apparently, by surprise or treachery.[19] This event has been commemorated in a poem called *Carmen de Morte Sumerledi*, with the explanatory subtitle "Quomodo a paucissimis interfectus sit Sumerledus Sicebi 'þe king' cum suo immenso exercitu."[20] The poem, which was written by a clerk of Glasgow named William, tells how, in the midst of the panic attendant on Sumarled's incursion, Bishop Herbert of Glasgow prayed to Saint Kentigern, through whose intercession one hundred men went forth and defeated the mighty foe. A priest cut off the head of Somarled and gave it to the Bishop, who piously wept for joy. In the last lines Clerk William assures us that he himself heard and saw the things of which he writes. Wyntoun[21] likewise tells of Somarled's death upon his ill-starred expedition to Renfrew.

Quite different from these accounts is that contained in the Orkneyinga Saga. According to the Saga, a certain Gillaodran who had killed a friend of Earl Rögnvald went west and took refuge with Somarled (Sumarliði Höld). Rögnvald, intent upon revenge, asked a certain Svein Asleif's son to "have an eye on Gillaodran if he had an opportunity." Svein followed out this euphemistic suggestion: he encountered certain ships of Somarled's; and, hearing that Gillaodran commanded one, he gave battle. Thus Somarled was killed, although Gillaodran escaped.[22]—Since this account varies so radically from other more credible ones, it has been asserted that this Somarled is not the one in whom we are interested.[23] Yet the Sumarliði of the Saga is given the very same relatives who are attributed to him in Scottish chronicles: in both, he marries the daughter of Olaf, King of the Isles (the Saga gives her name as Ragnhild); and the Scandinavian names of his sons, Dufgall, Rögnvald, and Engull, are patently the same

[19] James Gray, *Sutherland and Caithness in Sagatime*, Edinburgh, 1922, p. 82. In the "Book of Clanranald" quoted by Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, III, 400, Somarled was "slain by a page, who took his head to the king"—Malcolm IV.

[20] Appendix to Symeon of Durham in the Rolls Series, Vol. 75, pt. 2, p. 385,

[21] VII, 7, l. 1491 ff.

[22] J. Anderson, Orkneyinga Saga, Edinburgh 1873, ch. 104 and 105.

[23] James Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 82: "Somarled . . . . was not Somarled the freeman, who is said in the Orkneyinga Saga to have been slain by Sweyn in the Isles, in his pursuit of Gilli Odran."

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as Dugald, Reginald, and Angus in the Latin sources. Apparently there was but one Somarled, but the Saga has changed the manner of his death.

After the death of Somarled, there was a battle in 1192 between his sons, Reginald and Angus, in which Angus won; but in 1210 Angus and his own sons were slain.[24] Dufgal, the third son of Somarled, was one of the Scottish chiefs who took the oath of allegiance to Henry II at York in 1175; in the same year he "received the fraternity" of Durham cathedral, offering two gold rings to St. Cuthbert, and pledging himself to give one mark a year to the convent so long as he lived.[25] We also learn that grandsons of Somarled, sons of Reginald, gathered a fleet of ships and ravaged Derry of Columcille[26] in the year 1212. This performance of Somarled's descendants was sufficient to keep interest in the clan alive as late as 1212, which is the approximate date of composition of the romance.

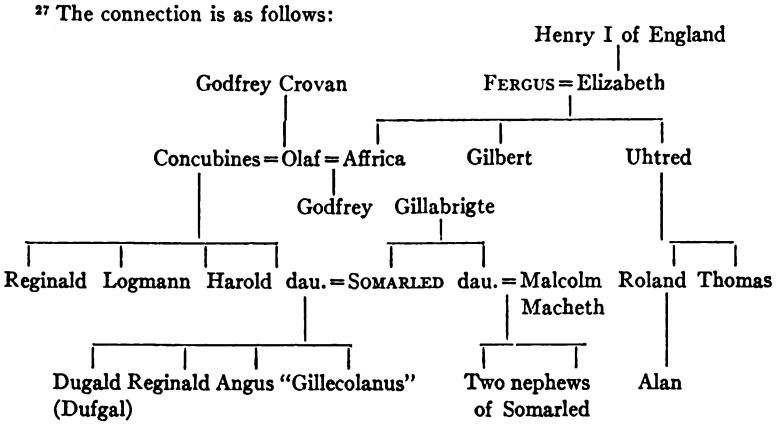
The family of Fergus, prince of Galloway, was connected with that of Somarled in life as well as in fiction, for a daughter of Fergus, Affrica, married the father of Somarled's wife.[27] Moreover,

[24] Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 327, 378, and 387.

[25] A. C. Lawrie, *Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William, 1153–1214*, Glasgow, 1910, p. 204: "Anno ab incarnatione Domini MC. LXXV quo rex Henricus major accepit ligantias et fidelitates de Scottis apud Eboracum Dufgal filius Sumerledi et Stephanus capellanus suus et Adam de Stanford receperunt fraternitatem ecclesiae nostrae ad pedes S. Cuthberti, vigilia Sancti Bartholomei, et idem Dufgal obtulit ibi duos annulos aureos Sancto Cuthberto et promisit se singulis annis quamdiu vixerit daturum conventui unam marcam sive in denariis sive in equivalentia."

[26] Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 393. Quoted from the *Annals of Ulster*, II, 252.

[27] The connection is as follows:



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as we shall see, descendants of both Fergus and Somarled were given to violent quarreling among themselves, and branches of both families united in revolting against the King of Scotland. Nevertheless the family of Fergus seems to have been more distinguished than that of Somarled. Fergus had married Elizabeth, illegitimate daughter of Henry I of England [28] and therefore half-sister of the Empress Mathilde. Henry himself, it will be remembered, had married Maud, daughter of King Malcolm of Scotland, thus strengthening the connection between England and Scotland, for the moment at least. That Fergus was connected with the Scottish court we learn from a charter (*ca.* 1136) in which King David granted Perdeyc to the church of Glasgow. It was signed by "Fergus de Galweia" and "Uchtred filio Fergus," among others, "apud Glasgu."[29] A few years later (1139–1141) "Fergus de Galweia" signed another charter of King David;[30] but under King Malcolm IV he became estranged from the royal court. Fordun tells us that Fergus was among the nobles who resented the familiarity between Malcolm and Henry II of England at Tours, whither Malcolm had gone to be knighted, and that this led to a revolt. Certain it is that Fergus was in arms against the King in 1160; but after invading Galloway thrice, Malcolm finally subdued it to the crown. Fergus was forced to yield his son Uhtred to the King as hostage, and he himself took the religious habit at the church of Holyrood, Edinburgh.[31] Before his death he seems to have made a number of gifts to the church—the "insula Trail cum terra de Galtweid"[32] and the village ("*villam*") of Dunroden[33] in Kirkcudbright,—besides being the founder of the Priory of Whithern and of the Priory of St. Saul's Seat.[34] He died in 1161.

[28] Frank, Adam, *Clans, Septs and Regiments of the Scottish Highlands*, Edinburgh, 1924, p. 49; A. C. Lawrie, *op. cit.*, p. 115 n. and p. 191.

[29] A. C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters*, Glasgow, 1905, pp. 85–6.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

[31] Fordun, I, 450; Lawrie, *Annals*, p. 56: "Malcolmus rex tribus vicibus cum exercitu magno perrexit in Galweia et tandem subjugavit eam" (from the Chronicle of Melrose); "Fergus princeps Galwaie habitum canonicum in ecclesia Sanctae Crucis de Ednesburch suscepit et eis villam quae dicitur Dunroden dedit" (from Holyrood Chronicle).

[32] A. C. Lawrie, *Annals*, pp. 67–68; also *Charters and Documents Relating to the City of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, 1871, p. 13.

[33] See note 31; also A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources*, p. 245 and note. It is said that he also founded the Abbey of Dundrennan in 1142 (Anderson, p. 204), though Fordun says King David was the founder.

[34] A. C. Lawrie, *Annals*, pp. 67–68.

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Uhtred son of Fergus, who had been given to the King as hostage at the end of his father's revolt, must have maintained a connection with the court for some years, for he appears in royal charters of 1163 and 1166.[35] But in 1174 he and his brother Gilbert took advantage of the King's captivity under Henry II of England: they revolted, and drove out all the English and French bailiffs from Galloway. They were quite as turbulent and insubordinate as the sons of Somarled; and like Somarled's descendants, they also quarreled within the family. For Gilbert, the elder son of Fergus, jealous of his brother's power, took advantage of their own insurrection and the King's captivity ("capto autem rege, liberatus hoc metu") to seize his brother and put him to death after many horrible tortures. These events must have been widely noised about at the time, for the English chroniclers record them at some length.[36] The murdered Uhtred had a son Roland who avenged his father's death; and it was Alan Roland's son who first enjoyed the heritage of Fergus, apparently, in comparative peace. He was active in the service of Henry III, and achieved considerable fame before his death in 1233. In the words of an ancient couplet:

> Francia Pipinis, Brabantia milite signi (cygni),
> Anglia Ricardo, Galwidia gaudet Alano.[37]

It is surmised by Martin that the poem of *Fergus* was composed for this Alan, in order to glorify his family and Somarled's. We have seen that Fergus and Somarled were indeed connected, by marriage; and when we discover that Thomas, Uhtred's son, joined with Somarled's grandsons in 1212 to ravage Derry,[38] we perceive that the clans were still connected at a time not long before the composition of the poem. Whether or not it was meant for Alan of Galloway, it certainly followed popular interest and the course of events in uniting such famous worthies as Fergus and Somarled in a single work of fiction, although with changed relationship and in a changed setting.

[35] Joseph Bain, *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1881, I, items 90 (Uhtred son of Fergus accounts for 53s. 4d. which he delivered to the Treasury, and is declared quit), and 105 (Uhtred as signatory). Items 154 and 155 mention Uhtred's brother Gilbert.

[36] E.g., William of Newburgh, Rolls Series, I, 186–7.

[37] Quoted by J. Verdam, *Ferguut*, Groningen, 1882, p. ix, from Fordun.

[38] See note 26. "Thomas, Uhtred's son, with the sons of Reginald, Somarled's son, came to Derry of Columcille with seventy-six ships."

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Let us now inquire to what extent the additional historical data here presented are reflected in the poem. In the first place, the estate of the wealthy "villein" Soumilloit is located by the author in Argyle, on the West coast—precisely that part of Scotland which the real Somarled possessed. The poem says it was

9, 17 Assez pres de la mer d'Irland;

and it describes the high, well-fortified *manoir* overlooking the sea. Particular emphasis is laid on the fact that he had inherited Argyle:

9, 33 il avoit a justicier
Tot le pais et en baillie,
Et si l'avoit d'anchiserie,
Ke nus tolir ne li povit.

No less emphatic is the statement that Soumilloit's wealth had enabled him to marry a woman of higher connections than himself:

10, 1 Por sa mervillouse richece
Prist feme de molt grant noblece.

The contrast in families is referred to later, when the wife defends the desire of Fergus to become a knight by saying that there had been others in the family on her side:

14, 33 En son lignage de par moi.

Later, when Fergus has cause to reproach himself for discourtesy, he exclaims

73, 21 Ainc me vint de nature,

and infers that he must have inherited his "villeiny" from his father. All this may refer to Somarled's connection with the royal family of the Hebrides, the territory he finally claimed and usurped by virtue of his marriage with a daughter of King Olaf of the Isles. Or it may be merely the consistent attempt of the poet to exalt the family of Fergus at the expense of Somarled's, since the chiefs of Galloway were more closely connected with the English and Scottish courts, or because they may have been the patrons of the poet. At the end of the poem he says distinctly of Fergus and his bride: "Sires et rois est apieles, Et ele apielee roine—" titles which were almost, if not quite, justified by the chieftainship and royal connections of the real Fergus.

According to the romance Soumilloit has three sons who work for him on his estate. Whether or not this accident I do not know

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(one must always reckon with the fondness of story-tellers for assigning sons and daughters in groups of three); but it is true that both Icelandic and Scottish accounts mention three sons of Somarled who were closely associated with him; Dufgald, Reginald, and Angus. Too little is said about the hero's brothers in the poem, to make any identification certain.—As for Galiene, whom Fergus marries, I suppose that the name is as fictional as the princess to whom it is attached. Considering that Fergus was Prince of Galloway, I was tempted at first to see in her name a geographical epithet, "Galwegian." But the equation is contradicted by linguistic principles (the *l* should have vocalized before *v*). Moreover, the term itself would not have been a complimentary one to give a heroine of a romantic poem, for in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the word Galwegian was used as an opprobious epithet. Chretien de Troyes speaks of "Galvoie, Une tiere molt felenesse;"[39] the author of *Fergus* himself, as we have seen, says of its inhabitants

6, 19 Que ja n'enterront en mostier.
Pas ne leur calt de diu proier;

the author of *The Owl and the Nightingale* condemns them for the same reason;[40] and we learn from a curious document of the thirteenth century that this particular epithet might provoke a man against whom it was used to commit murder.[41] Perhaps this explains why the connection of Fergus with Galloway is almost obliterated in the poem. It is more likely that Galiene's maid Arondele is named from the earldom of Arundel, than that she herself is named from Galloway.

It may not be inappropriate to mention here two other literary echoes of the civil war in Scotland which we have been reviewing here. Muret, in his edition of Beroul's *Tristran*, suggests that the reference to "the rich King in Galloway, against whom the Scotch King made war"[42] may concern the internal struggles of the royal faction with the unruly princes of the clan of Fergus. In

[39] *Perceval*, 7966.

[40] L. 905 ff.

[41] *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, I, Item 2176 (A.D. 1259): the suit of a certain Richard, who says he was provoked to murder because, among other things, the man against whom he defended himself in a brawl called him a *Galuvet* (Galwegian)—i.e., thief!

[42] See vocabulary, under the word *escoz*, line 2631.

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fact, it may refer to Fergus himself. At least, we may surmise that Beroul knew something of the events which interested the author of *Fergus*.—Less definite is the allusion in the contemporary Middle English poem of *The Owl and the Nightingale* to the great disorder and spiritual bankruptcy of Scotland, particularly "Gala-weie"; but the author seems to have definite events in mind,[43] and the description of conditions runs close indeed to similar passages in *Fergus*.

II

With so much clear evidence that the author of this romance knew Scottish tradition as well as Scottish geography at first hand, the question naturally arises: Who was this French poet, and how did he get into Scotland? I am afraid we shall not be able to point to any one historically attested person and say, "This is the man;" but we can at least make some not altogether idle surmises about him. In the closing lines of the poem the author names himself:

189, 35 Guillarmes li clers trait a fin
De sa meters et de sa trove;

but more he does not tell. It was formerly supposed that this was the Guillaume li Clers who, about the same time, wrote the Anglo-Norman *Bestiary*—*i.e.*, during the reign of Philip Augustus in France and John in England.[44] Even Martin accepted the authorship of both poems by one "William the Clerk," but Alois Stefan proved on linguistic grounds that we are dealing with two men of the same name.[45] The author of the *Bestiary* wrote Norman French; the author of Fergus wrote a dialect of north-central France. Had he, too, written Norman, it would be quite in the natural order of things to find him moving about in Scotland in the early thirteenth century. A mere casual glance at the list of men eminent in Scotland shows a number of Norman names: for instance, William Malveisin, chancellor, and later Bishop of Glasgow; Ralph Malveisin, canon of Glasgow, William of Blois, chancellor of the King.[46] Moreover, the intercourse between the English and Scot-

[43] J. W. H. Atkins, in his edition of the poem, Cambridge, 1922, suggests to which events the rather long digression may refer.

[44] Thomas Wright, *Biographia Britannica*, London, 1846, I, 426–33.

[45] *Laut- und Formenbestand*, p. 48: " . . . . [es] ergibt sich für uns der sichere Schluss, dass der Autor unseres Gedichtes mit dem Normannen Guillaume gewiss nicht identisch ist."

[46] Anderson, *Sources*, II, 436 n. and 388; *et passim*.

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tish courts meant the traveling of Anglo-Norman nobles and ecclesiastics to Scotland; and where they went, simple clerks would naturally go too, as secretaries. But it was less usual, we may assume, for Frenchmen other than Normans to take that path.

In the year 1216, however, a political event of some importance occurred which would make very plausible indeed the connection of a poet from central France with Scotland. This was at the time when King John's reign had become so displeasing to the barons (particularly the northern barons) of England that they decided to appeal to Prince Louis of France (later Louis VIII) and offer him the crown. One of the chief reasons urged for this step was John's murder of Arthur of Brittany—who was, by the way, a descendant of the Scotch as well as of the English royal family.[47] King Philip Augustus, father of Louis, agreed to the attempt,[48] but the Pope befriended John and tried, through his legate Galo, to prevent the expedition. The latter forbade Louis' departure: whereupon (so Matthew of Paris tells us) Philip exclaimed indignantly, "Regnum Angliae patrimonium Petri nunquam fuit, nec est, nec erit."[49] Despite the legate, Louis sent a letter to the barons of England announcing his coming; and in 1216, together with many French noblemen and soldiers, he set sail from France. The fleet was delayed by a storm, but landed in safety. Louis was joyfully received in London, and he gained a great part of southern England with little effort. Meantime his ally the King of Scotland coöperated with the northern barons to gain over Northumbria,[50] and Louis undertook the siege of Dover castle, which was holding out against him. He had sent word to the King of Scotland and the English barons to come thither to do homage to him, and many of them responded.[51] The King of Scotland

[47] In 1160 King Malcolm of Scotland gave his sister Margaret in marriage to Conan IV, Duke of Brittany. Their daughter Constance married Geoffry, son of Henry II, and was the mother of Prince Arthur.

[48] In 1213 a list of promises and conditions was drawn up between Louis and his father, limiting Louis' rights and activities in case he should become King of England (Leopold Delisle, *Catalogue des Actes de Philippe-Auguste*, Paris, 1856, Item 1437). For detailed discussion of the expedition, and of Louis' theoretical claims to the English crown, see Alexander Cartellieri, *Philip II. August, König von Frankreich*, Leipzig, 1921–22; Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Étude sur la Vie et le Règne de Louis VIII*, Paris, 1894.

[49] *Chronica Major*, Rolls Series, II, 647.

[50] *Ibid.*, 650–63.

[51] Roger of Wendover, Rolls Series, II, 181: " . . . . scripsit etiam regi Sco-

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himself came down to Dover with some of the northern barons (they were called *les Norois;* the word occurs in *Fergus*, 174, 34), and was cordially received by Louis. The anonymous author of the *Histoire des Ducs de Normandie* gives very detailed information at this point. In fact, his day-by-day account of Louis' expedition at this period suggests an eye-witness: probably he was one of the Anglo-French who went over to the side of Louis. He says:

puis vint li rois d'Escoce au siege de Dovre, por faire son hommage à Looys; et Looys ala encontre lui jusques à Cantorbire, et l'en amena en l'ost à Douvre à grant joie. Lendemain fist li rois son hommage à Looys de la tierre de Loonois, puis s'en repaira en son pais.[52]

The Scottish chroniclers make particular mention of this trip of their King into hostile territory, and his safe return after doing homage to Louis. It seems to have impressed them, as well it might.[53] The whole expedition of Louis, brief as it was (for it came to an end in 1217, with the death of John), furnished occasion for an unusually close connection between French and Scotch at precisely the time when we should look to find it, in order to explain the presence of "William the Clerk" in Scotland. The poet may or may not have got into the North Country in this way: I merely suggest it as a very likely way.

"William the Clerk" is too general a name to give us much clue in identifying the poet. It is therefore futile, as I have found, to look through charters and accounts of the Scotch court and noble houses, or of the French court at the time of Louis' expedition, in the hope of trailing him to his setting and patron. There are clerks a-plenty named Guillame in both places, but which of them, if any, is ours, remains a mystery. He may have been like his namesake of Brittany, Guillaume le Breton, who lived at the same time, was closely connected with the French court, wrote a Life of Philip-Augustus, and describes the expedition of Prince Louis to England in some detail. He too writes as one who knew the surroundings and events of his narrative first-hand. He announces himself as "moi Guillaume, Armorican de nation et revêtu de prêtrise, qui me suis trouvé présent, non seulement a la plus grande partie de ces ac-

torum, et cunctis magnatibus Angliae, qui nondum sibi homagium fecerant, ut ad ejus fidelitatem venirent vel a regno Angliae cum festinatione recederent."

[52] Ed. Francisque Michel, Soc. de l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1840, p. 179. For Loonois, cf. note 8.

[53] Anderson, *Sources, sub anno* 1216.

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tions, mais encore aux actions précédentes du même roi, et les ai vues de mes propes yeux."[54] Although it is unlikely that this William went to England with Louis, he writes as one who had at least talked with eye-witnesses, describing the details of the voyage, and mentioning Louis' seasickness. Our William, author of *Fergus*, must have been like him in his liveliness of interest and keenness of observation; and the two men were further similar in their literary method. When Guillaume le Breton wished to compose a poem in honor of his patron Philip Augustus, he turned to a literary model established long before him in Augustan Rome, and wrote a Latin epic called the Philippeid. So too, when our Guillaume li Clers wished to compose a poem, presumably in honor of a noble patron, he turned to the Arthurian romances of Chretien de Troyes for a model, and followed his master both in plot structure, material, and details of style. It was a very natural thing to do, considering the time and place in which he wrote.

These suggestions concerning the author and his possible background may seem too inconclusive, to be worth the making. But it is not waste effort to look into any background and conditions which help us to visualize the life of a French poet of the thirteenth century, even if we do not emerge with a neat identification as a result. The importance of such a study is perhaps more cultural and historical than it is literary; but it has an importance for literature none the less. We are reminded once more by the author of *Fergus* that the folk of the Middle Ages, particularly the vernacular poets, did not necessarily remain stationary all their lives, hearing and speaking the dialect to which Heaven had appointed them. Like the Anglo-Norman writers who migrated to Sicily during this period, they were apt to move about pretty freely on the face of the earth. Perhaps this has not been sufficiently realized by linguistic and literary students. Stefan, for instance, in his study of the dialect of *Fergus*, though freely admitting in his general discussion that the author had apparently traveled widely and knew Scotland well, yet, in localizing his birthplace, argues from a "vague" reference to the city of Namur, that the poet's home could not have been in near-by territory, else he would not have referred to it as a place remote and strange. I submit that a French poet such as ours would not consider Namur far from his home; at least, not in comparison with Edinburgh!

[54] *Vie de Philippe Auguste* par Guillaume le Breton. *Collection des Memoires relatifs a l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1825, XI, 1.

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As a matter of fact, an examination of the use of *Namur* in the text shows that it is worthless evidence, for it appears in a literary tag-line

78, 34 N'a si hardi dusqu'a Namur,

and its position at the end of the line in such a context shows clearly that it was used merely to obtain a rime. It is no more valuable than the equally vague references to the Donau River, which occur in just such expressions, always at the end of a line.

After all, it matters little that we are not able to identify the poet himself. He left enough evidence within the poem to enable us to trace some of his wanderings with a fair degree of probability; he has given us an example of a rather unusual combination of contemporary history with Arthurian romance; and he has conferred upon those picturesque worthies, Somarled and Fergus, a literary fame which they would not otherwise have enjoyed. This achievement is enough to make Guillaume le Clerc an interesting figure among the minor poets of his time.

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XIV

A SOURCE FOR THE MIDDLE ENGLISH ROMANCE, *ATHELSTON*

THE Middle English romance of *Athelston*,[1] preserved in a unique MS of the fourteenth century, has of late received some share of the recognition which its excellence deserves. The poet's narrative and descriptive powers have struck each reader with something of the effect of a discovery. But the full realization of his constructive skill and independent creative gift has only become possible through the light thrown on his sources by the studies of Gerould, Miss Hibbard (Laura Hibbard Loomis), and Beug. Each of these renders more unnecessary Zupitza's assumption of a French original and correspondingly raises our estimate of the English author. It is the purpose of the present paper to call attention to a further source, one that reveals still more clearly the workmanship of the poem. For convenience the story may be summarized briefly:

Athelston and three other messengers come together on the edge of a wood and swear blood-brotherhood. Shortly thereafter, through the death of a cousin, Athelston becomes king and bestows suitable honors on his newly made brothers. He makes one the Earl of Dover, another the Earl of Stane (giving him his sister in marriage), and the third the Archbishop of Canterbury. After a time the Earl of Dover grows jealous of Stane's popularity with the king and secretly charges him with treasonable intentions. The king, credulous and intemperate, lures Stane with his wife and two sons to London and throws them into prison. The countess is shortly to give birth to a third child. Moved by the plight of the unfortunate family, the queen, who is likewise bearing a child, intercedes and urges the king to grant them a trial. Athelston refuses to consider her request, and, when she persists, puts an end to her pleading by a well-directed kick. The son to whom she soon gives birth is killed by the blow.

Thereafter events move swiftly. The queen appeals to the Archbishop to use his influence with the king. The Archbishop rides with all haste to London, and, as a reward for his pains, is relieved of his mitre and ring. But the Archbishop is a man of spirit. He excommunicates the king and puts all England under an interdict. This brings Athelston to terms. He begs the prelate to accept his office again and agrees to a trial. The archbishop decides on an ordeal by fire. Nine red-hot stones are prepared, and first the earl,

[1] Ed. Zupitza, *Englische Studien*, XIII (1889), 331–414; XIV (1890), 321–344.

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then his two sons, and finally his wife are made to walk across them. All are unharmed. In the midst of her ordeal the countess is overtaken by the pains of childbirth and immediately after completing the test gives birth to a son.

The king now realizes his error and is filled with remorse. He puts the treacherous Earl of Dover to death. Then as the climax of the story, realizing that his own folly has cost him his heir, he declares the new-born son of his sister his successor. The child is no less a person than Edmund, king and martyr.

Needless to say, history knows nothing of such incidents in the reign of Athelstan. Nothing is known of Athelstan's wife. His successor was his brother Eadmund, not his nephew, and the identification with Edmund Martyr is romance and not history. An exhaustive examination by Beug[2] of the evidence in the chroniclers yielded only distant reminiscences: the story of the romance is not found there. But considering the romance as a work of fiction it is possible to distinguish three or four elements which the poet has combined and which can be paralleled elsewhere. Gerould[3] has studied the blood-brotherhood motive in the beginning and in addition has called attention to the similarity of the breach between the King and the Archbishop to the quarrel between Henry II and Becket. Miss Hibbard[4] has shown that the principal elements of the story are found in the legend of Queen Emma and the plowshares as told by Richard of Devizes and others. With some shifting of rôles and certain additions the romance follows this legend in its main outline. The legend is sufficient to account for the machinations of the Earl of Dover, for the imprisonment of Stane and his family, and for the striking scene of the ordeal. It does not explain the denouement which introduces Saint Edmund or the device which makes that denouement possible, namely, the kick whereby the King kills his unborn heir. What is the source of this device?

Parallels are not numerous. The earliest which I know is in Suetonius's life of Nero.[5] There we read that Nero "married Poppæa twelve days after the divorce of Octavia, and entertained a great affection for her; but, nevertheless, killed her with

[2] K. Beug, "Die Sage von König Athelstan." *Archiv*, CXLVIII (1925), 181–195.

[3] G. H. Gerould, "Social and Historical Reminiscences in the Middle English *Athelston*." *Eng. Stud.* XXXVI (1906), 193–208.

[4] Laura Hibbard, "*Athelston*, A Westminster Legend." *PMLA*, XXXVI (1921), 223–244.

[5] *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, Life of Nero, chap. xxxv.

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a kick which he gave her when she was big with child, and in bad health, only because she found fault with him for returning late from driving his chariot." A more distant parallel is offered in several accounts of William the Conqueror, among others the account in the *Heimskringla* of his departure for the invasion of England. "The day he rode out of the city to his ships and was come on to his horse, his wife went up to him and would speak with him. But when he saw that, he kicked at her with his heel, and drove the spur against her breast, so that it sunk deep in; and she fell, and got her death forthwith."[6] Here there is no question of an heir. Still different is the incident in the romance of *Yder*.[7] There the hero is promised knighthood by King Ivenant on condition that he prove able to resist the queen's attempts to seduce him. When the hero finds her not sufficiently discouraged by mere words

> Yder la fiert del pie al ventre,
> Si qu'el chei ariere enverse
> E qu'el en devint tote perse. (376-378)

The kick seems pleasing to the court—is the cause even of great hilarity—and Yder is knighted.

But the closest parallel to the episode in *Athelston* is to be found in an anecdote told by Walter Map in the *De Nugis Curialium*, Dist. I, Chap. XII:

The King of Portugal who yet lives, and still reigns after his manner, was once beset by many enemies, and almost forced to submission, when there came to his aid a youth of noble build and remarkable beauty. He remained with the King, and so distinguished himself in warlike deeds that his achievements seemed beyond the power of any individual. He re-established peace to the hearts' desire of the King and the kingdom, and was as of right received into the closest intimacy with his Sovereign, who showed him more favour—sending for him constantly, visiting him often, rewarding him richly—than tended to his prosperity. The nobles of the Court, seeing themselves less honoured than before by their lord, imagined that the favourite had by so much diverted favour from them, and the more highly they saw him exalted in the King's affection complained that they were defrauded by him to that extent. Maddened with envy, they used every effort to overthrow by malice him whom pre-eminence in virtue had raised to favour. They shrank from openly attack-

[6] Chap. 99 (tr. Morris and Magnusson, III. 180). For an account of other versions in this wholly unhistorical incident, see Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, III. 483; 661-662. I am indebted for this reference to Mr. M. L. Hollander.

[7] *Der Altfranzösische Yderroman*, ed. Gelzer, Dresden, 1913.

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ing one who was forearmed or in any way prepared for it; so they sank to the lowest form of persecution, that is, accusation. They directed their aim to the spot in which they knew their lord to be bare and open to attack. They knew him to be madly prone to groundless jealously, and sent to him two of their number, (commissioned) like the elders of Babylon, to accuse the queen—a second Susanna—of undue familiarity with the youth. The King, pierced to the heart, through that spot where the mail-coat of wisdom left him bare, was smitten with mortal anguish, and with blind rashness ordered the inventors of the crime to avenge him on the innocent man with the utmost savagery and secrecy. Thus was innocence delivered over to the snare. The traitors, warned to say nothing of the crime, ingratiated themselves with the youth by words, acts of courtesy, and every feigned appearance of affection, and climbed into his good graces by a false ladder of friendship. They took him away under cover of a hunting expedition to the depths of a forest in a distant lonely region; there they slew him, left him to the wolves and snakes, and divulged the murder only to the dupe whom they had made to order it. He (for his madness had not yet abated) hastened homeward, burst into the bed-chamber, an inner room which he scarcely ever entered, dismissed its other occupants, and furiously attacked the queen—now near her confinement—brutally setting upon her with feet and fists, and thus put an end to two lives by a single onslaught. He then privately summoned to him his villainous accomplices in crime, and in their presence proceeded to boast himself in exaggerated terms for his threefold offence, as having accomplished a righteous vengeance. They on their part extolled him with lavish praise for his spirit and valour, hoping to keep their dupe under a lasting delusion. For a time the conspiracy, kept within doors, made no sign; but, since, says the proverb, a secret murder cannot be long hid, at length it crept into the ears of the people, and the more firmly the fear of the tyrant repressed their voices, the more bloody did his infamy appear by the incessantly whispered reports. A forbidden tale, when it does break out, travels swifter than words which are licensed, and a wonder, passed from mouth to mouth, gains the wider publicity from the secrecy of its propagation. And why? Because every one who is told of a matter which he must not divulge always commits it to another for safe keeping. The King perceived that his Court was depressed, and kept an unwonted silence when he went abroad; the city was in evident sympathy with the Court. His conscience divined somewhat: he feared for his good name, and—how common a mistake it is with us!—after the deed was past, he saw what he had done. From many a mouth he learnt of the hateful scheme by which his betrayers had led him astray. His grief was inconsolable. He sated a wrath, now at last justified, upon the contrivers and accomplishers of that wickedness,

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whom he blinded and mutilated and so left them to a living death. . . . .[8]

It is easy to see how neatly this story could be grafted upon that of the accused Queen Emma. The king is in both cases hasty and gullible. Jealous courtiers like the Earl of Dover (or Archbishop Robert in the story of Emma) lead to the persecution of the accused. The victim is lured by false gestures of friendship to his death or intended death. As in the romance the treachery of the conspirators is eventually discovered and they are punished.[9] And—what is a feature of the romance and is not found in the Emma legend—as an incident to the main action, the king in a rage destroys his unborn child. In other words, the story of the King of Portugal and the legend of Emma and the plowshares have a sufficient number of salient features in common to permit the one to be easily superimposed on the other; but in certain small particulars the story in the *De Nugis* is closer to the romance than is the Emma story and it accounts for an important feature of the plot.

It is necessary to dwell on this feature of the romance since Miss Hibbard, in explaining the romance in terms of the story of Emma and the plowshares, passes lightly over the incident of the kick and considers it merely a gratuitous "horror," like the pangs of childbirth which overcome the countess while she is passing through the ordeal. But this is to miss the structural importance of the incident. The poet's obvious purpose is to exalt the power of the church and to glorify Saint Edmund. To this purpose the episode is fundamental, since by leaving the king without an heir it opens the way for him to designate the newly born child as his successor. In doing so, Athelstan both makes amends for the suffering which he has caused its parents and by implication seems to recognize the saintliness and future fame of the infant.

Thus, an examination of the fabric of *Athelston* in relation to its sources leads to a result none too common in the Middle English field,—increased respect for the English poet and a fuller appreciation of his gifts as a constructive artist. He does not offer us a loose combination of the ordinary themes of romance—dis-

[8] *Walter Map's "De Nugis Curialium,"* trans. M. R. James and J. E. Lloyd, London, 1923, pp. 17–19. No source for this story has been found by editors of the *De Nugis,* or by Liebrecht in his "Zu den Nugae Curialium des Gaulterus Mapes" (*Zur Volkskunde,* Heilbronn, 1878, pp. 25–53), or James Hinton in "Notes on Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium,*" *SP,* XX (1923), 448–468.

[9] In the story of Emma the accuser escapes.

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tant adventures, sieges raised, single combats with the inevitable conclusion, and lovers native and foreign, lost and won, sundered and united. He chooses less familiar elements and combines them in a firmer unity than is usual in English romance. The older view that *Athelston* "is too short and too unified to be regarded as a composite" hardly does the poet justice. The evidence that has accumulated over the last twenty years suggests rather that the author made his story out of elements derived from a faint and confused historical tradition, from ballad motives,[10] from the Emma legend, and from the story of the enraged king as told by Walter Map. His skill in combining these elements into an ingenious and effective plot gives him a genuine claim to originality. The climax which the events lead to in the recognition of Edmund Martyr as heir apparent is one of the minor artistic triumphs of English romance. If the threads out of which the story is woven are not of the poet's invention, he has at least interlaced them with dexterity and given them a new twist at the end.

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[10] See Miss Hibbard's penetrating treatment of these (*op. cit.*, 230–3).

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XV

ANGLO-NORMAN BOOKS OF COURTESY AND NURTURE

IF THE Normans were, as ten Brink has called them, the foremost representatives of chivalry, they certainly had good measure of instruction to fit them for the part. Among the flood of Anglo-Norman didactic literature which has come down to us, we find a number of treatises on manners for the benefit of budding chivalry; they differ from the many Continental *Arts d'aimer* in that they are mostly written for quite young boys, and the elaborate doctrines of courtly love are replaced by practical details of a page's service, mingled haphazard with moral precepts of a more general nature. Even when the pupil is considered as having emerged from pagehood and attained to the dignity of a lover, we never exchange an atmosphere of reality and common-sense for the complex artificiality of the first part of the *Roman de la Rose*, any more than we approach the literary grace and finish of that poem. The little Norman pages were instructed in no fantastic chivalry, such as bound the heroes of the romances, but in a doctrine calculated to assure their success in this world, without endangering their chances in the next.

The five Anglo-Norman treatises on Courtesy whose text is given here, have been found in eight MSS, five of which are in the Bodleian Library, two in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and one in the Cambridge University Library. Four of these treatises exist only in a single version; of the fifth, commonly known as *Urbain le Courtois*, eight versions have come to light up to the present. Most of these versions differ considerably from each other, and their somewhat complicated relationship forms an interesting study. Six of them were known to Paul Meyer, and are listed by Vising;[1] the seventh has been published by Stengel without recognizing its identity, and the eighth, a fragment, is a fresh contribution to the group.

The Manuscripts

Bodleian Library.

1. Selden supra 74. 2nd half of the 13th century. Fol. 33d–35c contain an *Urbain* version (259 lines), published by Stengel under the title "De

[1] J. Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*, Oxf. 1923, No. 247, in the detailed catalogue of works.

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Courtoisie" (*Zsft. für französ. Spr. und Lit.*, XIV, p. 151, 1892), where he describes the MS fully. [Vising's list no. 182.]

2. Bodley 39. The body of this MS is composed of Latin records, dating from the early 14th century, but the fly-leaves contain a fragmentary 124 lines of an *Urbain* version, which date probably from the end of the 13th century (followed by a fragment of a version of Walter of Biblesworth's grammatical treatise).

3. Douce 210. c. 1300. Fol. 43–45 contain an *Urbain* version (164 lines). The MS is very fully described by P. Meyer in the *Bull. de la Soc. des Anc. Textes Fr.*, 1880, p. 49. [Vising's list, no. 163.]

4. Bodley 425. 14th century. Contains consecutively:
   (a) fol. 107, a poem beginning "Edwars, entendez bonement," (332 lines).
   (b) fol. 112, a poem beginning "Bon enfant doit a son lever" (89 lines).
   (c) fol. 113, in a later hand, an unfinished *Urbain* version (136 lines) mentioned by Paul Meyer in his notice of Douce 210 (see above) [Vising's list no. 146.]

5. Bodley 9. c. 1430. Contains:
   (a) fol. 55v–58r, an *Urbain* version (128 lines), also mentioned by Paul Meyer in his notice of Douce 210.
   (b) fol. 61v–67r, *L'Apprise de Nurture* (237 lines).
   (c) fol. 81v–85v, *Un Petit Traitise de Nurture* (190 lines).

This MS is beautifully written, and illuminated with flowers and leaves. From the Latin prayers it contains, it seems to have been written in a nunnery. [Vising's list no. 141.]

Cambridge University Library.

Gg.1.1. early 14th century. Fully described by Paul Meyer in *Romania*, XV, p. 283. Fol. 6c–7c contain an *Urbain* version (184 lines). [Vising's list no. 226.]

Trinity College Library, Cambridge.

1. O.1.17. 14th century. Fol. 265–266 contain an *Urbain* version (146 lines), published by P. Meyer, *Romania*, XXXII, p. 68, where he describes the MS fully. [Vising's list no. 279.]

2. B.14.40. c. 1415. Fol. 83–102 contain an *Urbain* version, with interlinear English translation (456 lines in all). It is fully described by P. Meyer, *Romania*, XXXII, p. 45. The *Urbain* text is printed by W. A. Wright for the Roxburghe Club, 1909, as part of the treatise *Femina*. [Vising's list no. 277.]

F. Spencer published the Gg.1.1. version in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, IV, col. 101–6, with variants from Douce 210 and Bodley 9. He

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knew of the existence of O.1.17 and Bodley 425, but made no use of them. P. Meyer (*Romania*, XXXII, 68) mentions another edition of the Gg.1.1. version by L. Biadene, per Nozze Crivellucci-Brunst, Pisa, 1895; I have not succeeded in tracing this.

The four poems, which it is convenient to term respectively *Edward*, *Bon Enfant*, the *Apprise* and the *Petit Traitise*, call for no further comment here. The *Urbain* versions must next be considered; they are given below in approximate chronological order, together with the letters by which they will be designated:

S Selden supra 74. 2nd half 13th century.
F The fragment on the fly-leaves of Bodley 39. End of the 13th century.
D Douce 210. c. 1300.
G Cam. Univ. Gg.1.1. Early 14th century.
O Trin. Coll. Cam. O.1.17. 14th century.
U Bodley 425. 14th century.
T Trin. Coll. Cam. B.14.40.
C Bodley 9. c. 1430.

In the first place it must be noted that the name of Urbain le Courtois is only given in *G*, which bears as a rubric, "Ici comence Urbane Curteise," while lines 3 and 4 run:

Urbane esteit il apelé,
Ki en sun tens fust amé.

However, since it has become the accepted title for the poem, there seems no reason for discarding a distinctive name. In *Romania*, XXXII, 68, Paul Meyer discusses two Latin poems entitled "*Liber Urbani*" of which we have record. One, written by Daniel Churche for Henry II, exists only in two fragments in MS Bibl. Nat. lat. 3718. The other is a poem beginning "Cum nihil utilius," described by Fabricius (*Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae latinitatis*, I, 352, under Churche) as being Churche's *Urbanus*. In reality there is nothing in this poem to connect it with Churche, although in some of its many MSS it is called *Liber Urbani;* its accepted title is *Facetus*, and it has been wrongly attributed to Jean de Garlande. Both these poems are on manners, but, beyond a general similarity of subject, there is no resemblance between them and our French *Urbain*. The attention paid to table-manners in the *Facetus* makes it more akin to the *Apprise* and the *Petit Traitise* than to the *Urbain*. Paul Meyer decides against any

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connection between the Latin and our *Urbain*, and the fresh material brought to light since his article does not invalidate this conclusion.

With the exception of *C* (the latest of the MSS), which follows *D* very closely, all the versions contain a good deal of individual matter besides their common material; this is to be expected in a poem of moral instruction for the young, which each teacher would elaborate according to his own temperament or the needs of his pupils. The divergences of order in the different versions are easily comprehensible, for the poem is by no means a consecutive whole, and no one arrangement of the subject-matter is outstandingly better than the others. It is likely, too, that the children learnt their instructions by heart, and oral tradition would work havoc with a poem of this kind, devoid of narrative or of any compelling sequence.

The Earlier and Later Versions of Urbain

It is possible, however, to reconstruct the original *Urbain* from the confusion. On a first inspection the versions fall into two groups; *D*, *G*, *O*, and *C* draw together, while *S*, *U*, and *T* have a different common ground. The two groups are linked, firstly, by a little prologue of ten lines, which figures in all the first group and in *U*, and, secondly, by the fragment *F*, which contains subject-matter from both groups. The fragmentary state of *F*, and particularly the absence of the opening pages, are much to be regretted, for *F* represents the earliest form we have of the fresh material preferred by *S*, *U*, and *T* to the original. The difference between the two groups, henceforth called the Earlier Version and the Later Version, warrants the publishing of both.

The Earlier Version (D, G, O, C, and part of F)

This group subdivides itself again, *C* following *D* closely, while *O* and *F* are more nearly related to *G*. Thus *D* and *C* have 18 scattered lines in common which are not found in *G*, while of 31 lines in *G* and *O* or *F*, and not in *D*, 10 are in all three MSS, 12 in *G* and *O*, and 9 in *G* and *F*.

We have then arrived at the following grouping, in which the missing links in the chain are represented by small letters; there must be a large number of these, since the existing versions differ so much.

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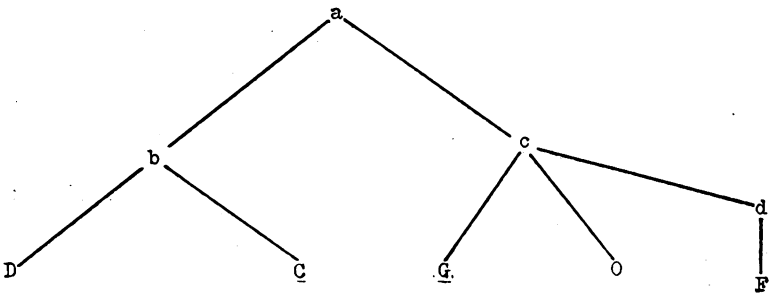

The grouping *DC*, *GOF*, which is supported by all the versions for the main body of the poem, breaks down utterly, however, in the prologue, the short introduction which is the distinctive feature of the *Urbain*. The versions give two forms of these few lines, differing from each other in a series of small details which, however, become important through their exact repetition in different MSS. As will be seen in the variants, the words in *DOU*, *longe tens* (l. 2), *enfant* (l. 5), *beau* (l. 7), are replaced in *GC* by *jadis*, *fiz*, *chier*, while l. 12, which in *D* runs *Ly home est honiz qe nest norie*, and in *O Honyz est ki ne est norie*, in *GC* is *Qe* (*C Mult*) *poi vaut le desnurri* (*U* omits this line). Since the beginning of *F* is lost, this MS offers us no help.

Any one of these small changes might have been made by a scribe of his own accord, but it would strain the bounds of coincidence too far, to suppose that the scribes of *G* and *C* happened to make four identical alterations in the text before them, or that *O*, which follows *G* in the main, happened to revert in four places in the prologue to the wording used by *D*. We have thus to conclude that, for the prologue, *O* followed a version similar to *D*, and *C* one similar to *G*, though for the main poem they reversed this procedure as is shown by incontrovertible evidence. There seems no satisfactory explanation of these cross-currents; perhaps the scribe had learnt the poem as a boy, and carried the opening lines in his head, while he took the main body of the text from a MS before him.

D, the earliest MS (with the doubtful exception of the fragment), seems also on the whole the best, since it contains but six lines not found elsewhere. It has therefore been taken as the basis for reconstructing the Earlier Version; that is to say, I have in the main followed its order and adopted its readings, although in 17 cases *G* or *C* has been preferred, and *D* relegated to the variants. The most reliable text would have been made up only

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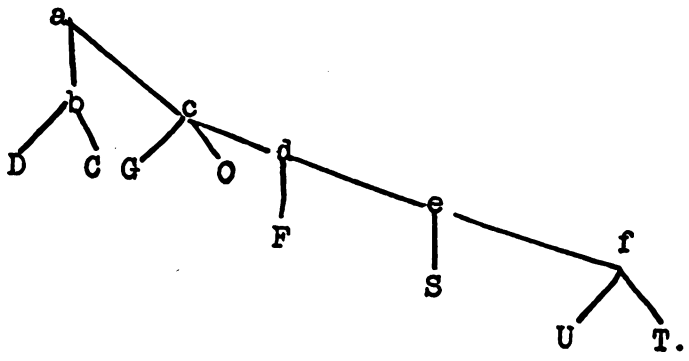
of lines which had cross-support from another group—*D* or *C* supported by *G*, *O* or *F*, or vice versa. Such a selection would, however, have excluded so many lines, containing so much of interest, that it has seemed preferable to work the whole of each version into the framework provided by *D*. Lines figuring in only one MS have been starred, while passages which are obviously an inferior rendering of lines in another MS, have been inserted in the variants. It should be noted that 22 lines of this poem are also found in the Later Version.

An attempt to reconstruct the original *Urbain* must have been highly conjectural, owing to the disappearance of so many of the versions, and would have necessitated an appendix of rejected material, almost as long as the poem itself. The loose construction of the poem lends itself particularly well to the amalgamation I have attempted, and the whole seems no less readable than the parts. Short of printing each version separately, there appeared to be no less cumbersome way of presenting the texts.

The Later Version (part of F, and S, U, and T)

The scribe of *F*, or his model *d*, evidently found the subject-matter of the *Urbain*, as he knew it, becoming insufficient and antiquated, and being rather more than a mere scribe, he added a fresh section of some length, whose tone, as we shall see later, differs somewhat from that of the Earlier Version. This new matter achieved some popularity, and is preserved to us in three MSS, *S*, *U* and *T*, besides the *F* fragment. Of these, *S* is the closest to *F*, since they have ten lines in common which are not found elsewhere, while *U* and *T* are nearly related, all except some forty lines of *U* being found in *T*. We may therefore set out the table of both Earlier and Later Versions as follows:



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The reconstruction of the Later Version is less satisfactory than that of the Earlier, in that it lacks an ending. *F* ends with a mutilated form of the final lines of *O*, *S* and *U* break off unfinished, while *T*, a 15th century MS with an interlinear English translation, goes off long before the end into excerpts from the Distichs of Cato. We have therefore to stop abruptly with *S*, instead of ending on a pleasantly pious note, as was the mediæval custom.

The same method of reconstruction has been adopted as in the Earlier Version; taking *U* as our basis, since all but 8 lines of it is common to two or more MSS, we have worked in the other versions, *S*, *T* and *F*. The starred lines mostly represent *S*, which has many passages peculiar to itself, including some hundred lines at the end of the poem. Since *U*, though beautifully written, contains several omissions and misreadings, *S* has been preferred to it in nine cases, and *F* and *T* in one case each. The only lines we have not included are those in the latter part of *T* which are taken avowedly from the Distichs of Cato or other sources; these are dealt with fully elsewhere.

One passage of the Later Version, found also in the Earlier, calls for further comment. Eight lines of the Earlier Version (17–24), taken from *D*, disappear from all other MSS except *T*, the farthest removed from *D* in date and matter. When they do reappear in *T*, these lines are placed much further on in the poem, and are divided into two passages, separated from each other by some twenty lines. The passages run as follows:

(*D* 17)
Seez deboneir et curteise
Et ke tu saches bien parler fraunceys,
Car molt est langage alosé
De gentil home et mout amé.
Ore retenez cest de moy
O les biens que jeo mettrai,
Si en serrez le plus sachaunt,
Ore escotez, mon douce enfaunt.

(*T* 81)
Frank bonere e curteys
Et pour bien parler en fraunceys,
Car mult est langage alosé
De jentyl home et bien amé. . . . .

(*T* 137)
Et ore retenez ceo de moy
Ovesque les bones vous mettray,
Tout jour serrez le muz sachant,
Le muz amé, le pluis vailant.

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Since there is no other evidence to support the theory that *T* knew *b* or *D* independently, we must conclude that the *D* passage originated in *a*, and was preserved in *c*, *d*, *e* and *f*, as well as in *b*. *C*, *G* and *O* certainly did not reproduce it, but *F* may have done so, in its missing portion, while *S*, though it omits both the prologue and the passage in question, does give the couplet which in *D* stands between the two, and which occurs also in *U* and *T*, following the end of the prologue, though it is not found in MSS of the Earlier Version other than *D*. This part of the original poem was therefore known to the scribes of the Later Version; to account for the omission of our particular passage in so many MSS, we must consider its subject-matter.

It advocates the social importance of speaking French well, since that tongue is beloved of gentlefolk. Such a recommendation would be a commonplace towards the close of the 13th and beginning of the 14th centuries, when French was still firmly established as the language of the Court and good society. The other 13th and 14th century scribes may therefore have thought it superfluous to include this passage, especially as they were actually writing in French, but by the 15th century matters had changed. English had supplanted French in every sphere except that of law; the oft-quoted passage of Trevisa's commentary on Higden's *Polychronicon*, describing the substitution of English for French in school-teaching, refers to 1385. " . . . . Even the nobility have now ceased to teach their children French" (ch. LIX).

We are therefore not surprised to find the scribe of *T*, who wrote about 1415, giving an English translation of the French, and it would be natural for him to include the passage under discussion. He seems to have thrown in the second and unimportant half of the passage in a haphazard way, since it has no particular significance in its isolated position. We are grateful to him for including it, however, since it gives a more intelligible form of the sixth line of the whole than does *D*. Against this theory we must mention the absence of the passage in *C*, which is slightly later even than *T* (c. 1430), and very much closer to *D* in its text; we can only consider it to be an accidental omission.

Sources

The general stock of moral ideas in these Courtesy Books seems to have been drawn largely from those widely-popular aphorisms which the Middle Ages attributed to the third-century

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Dionysus Cato, and called the *Disticha Catonis*. Certain phrases of the *Urbain* strongly recall lines in the French versions of Cato, particularly in the anonymous translation published by Stengel from MS Harl. 4657, together with other versions by Elie of Winchester and Everard (*Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie, no. 47*, 1886).

Stengel,	p. 110, l. 17.	Cf.	*Urbain*,	Earlier Version,		31.
"	p. 110, l. 7.	"	"	"	"	47–8.
"	p. 112, l. 75.	"	"	"	"	96.
"	p. 114, l. 21.	"	"	"	"	117.
"	p. 121, l. 21.	"	"	"	"	187.
"	p. 127, l. 25.	"	"	"	"	209–10.
"	p. 114, l. 31.	"	"	Later Version		209–10.
"	p. 112, l. 99.	"	"	"	"	228.
"	p. 140, l. 3.	"	"	Earlier Version,		95.
"	p. 142, l. 69.	"	"	"	"	163.

In the second case, Cato's lines,

> Ore beu fiz te voil aprendre,
> Cum te deis de mal defendre,

even seem to explain an unintelligible corruption in Urbain.

Since three of these passages (E.V. 95, 96 and 163), occur only in *O* and *F*, the scribes of these MSS seem to have been more imbued with Cato than were their fellows, always excepting the scribe of *T*, whose excerpts from Cato, as well as from other sources, are numerous and avowed. He has introduced 14 Latin maxims, which he translates and expands in 66 French lines and 96 English. He quotes Cato as his authority thrice, and Solomon twice; elsewhere he says vaguely "l'autor" or "l'escripte." Six of these Latin tags are recognisable in the version of Cato's Distichs published by F. J. Furnivall for the E.E.T.S. (*The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, p. 553 seq.).

Furnivall	p. 582.	Cf. *T*	245 for 2nd half of line.
"	p. 565.	"	" 310–11.
"	p. 573.	"	" 330.
"	p. 579.	"	" 367.
"	p. 577.	"	" 383.
"	p. 568.	"	" 277.

This MS gives Everard's French translation and an English one, but neither of these corresponds to the French and English of *T*.

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Mention has already been made of three French versions of Cato published by Stengel. A translation of the third and fourth of the above quotations is to be found there, in the parallel versions of Elie of Winchester and of Everard (pp. 122 and 126 respectively).

Five more quotations occur in Bozon, *Proverbes de Bon Enseignement*:[1] strophe 2 (cf. *T* 399); strophe 3 (cf. *T* 408); strophe 6 (cf. *T* 420); strophe 9 (cf. *T* 442); strophe 12 (cf. *T* 432).

It is interesting to note that the Bozon variants which correspond most closely to both the Latin and the French of *T*, are those of the Vernon MS already mentioned in connection with Cato.

One couplet of *T* has had a varied career:

T 268 Si sapiens fore vis, sex cerva (? corr. serva) que tibi mando,
Quid loqueris et ubi, cur, cui, de quo, quomodo, quando.

This has its French counterpart in the *Enseignements de Robert de Ho* (ed. Mary Vance Young, Paris 1901), lines 447–9, and subsequent disquisitions on each word, but Miss Young gives no source. This is to be found in St. Thomas Aquinas, who, following Aristotle, teaches that the circumstances affecting a human act are comprised under these seven heads: Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando. (Aristotle adds an eighth, namely, circa quid.) The line is not only to be found in a theological context, however, for it figures in a modern German handbook of criminal procedure[2] in the guise of a legal maxim, attributed to the 18th century philosopher Joachim Georg Daries, to be used in the solving of a crime. Its final stage is in English doggerel in the English adaptation of Gross:[3]

> What was the crime, who did it, when was it done, and where,
> How done, and with what motive, who in the deed did share?

Another couplet of *T* is to be found in Bozon, *Contes*,[4] p. 18, where there is a note on its frequent appearance in didactic literature, and its existence, graven on a buttress, in a Crusader's castle in Syria:

[1] Ed. A. Chr. Thorn, Lund 1921.

[2] Hans Gross, Handbuch für Untersuchungsrichter als System der Kriminalistik, 7th edition, Leipzig, 1922.

[3] J. Collyer Adam, Criminal Investigation, London, 1924.

[4] Ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith and Paul Meyer, *Les Contes Moralisés de Nicole Bozon*, Paris, 1889.

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T 294 Si tibi copia seu sapiencia forma que detur
Sola superbia destruit omnia si comitetur.

One quotation still awaits identification:

T 393 Qui sit, laudatur, qui nescit, vituperatur.

Popular proverbs, on the other hand, do not seem to have been made use of; there is but one couplet,

Car beau promesse et rien doner
Se fest li fole recounforter (E.V. 115-16, L.V. 189-90).

which figures in Morawski's *Proverbes Français antérieurs au 15e siècle* (Classiques Français du Moyen Age, 1925), where it is marked as only found in Anglo-Norman collections. There is, then, nothing to be said against Paul Meyer's dictum on the *Urbain* (*Romania*, XXXII, p. 70): "L'ouvrage est un recueil de préceptes dont aucun ne peut passer pour bien original, mais dont la rédaction et l'arrangement peuvent constituer une oeuvre personnelle."

The contrast between the tone of the Earlier and Later Versions is marked enough to show a change of ideas. The Earlier Version begins as if it were addressing quite a little boy, and its precepts are simple and redolent of the Ten Commandments. Love and serve God, and go to church (25), honour thy father and mother (31), slander no one (105). These maxims are interspersed with advice as to a page's behaviour at table, where he is to stand, to what ranks he is to kneel, and how he is to offer tankards of beer before the meal, and water afterwards. He is to kneel, too, if anyone gives him a present, and to say thank you, and moreover to remember his benefactors if he himself becomes powerful. The Urbain poet is less self-seeking in his counsel than the Edward writer, who says naively (and we shall see that he got it from Cato): "When someone gives you a present, do not forget to thank him prettily, and you will have things from him more often" (295–8). If he goes to school, the boy must respect his master; it is interesting to note that *F* adds "and likewise the mistress" (97).

The poet of the Earlier Version then looks ahead, warning the boy against taverns and evil company (117–20), and advising him to settle disputes amicably and legally, rather than by force (129–36). On the subject of marriage, *O* interpolates a warning against

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choosing a wife either for her beauty or her learning, for such an one will be deceitful and flighty:

> Mes pernez une que soit sage,
> Que vous ne poise la mariage (155–6).

This may be either the result of bitter experience, or the sweeping generalisation of a moralising clerk; in any case it is not prompted by courtesy, which only allowed good qualities in a lady of nurture.

If the youth becomes rich, he must still remain modest and moderate; if wise, he is to give sincere counsel to those in need of advice (181–90). He may have to plead in the law-courts, in which case the rich will make him gifts, but he must help the poor for the love of God. He must answer according to the law, and be especially restrained in his bearing. All the poems condemn excessive gestures under all circumstances; this may perhaps be regarded as a protest of English stolidity against foreign vivacity, for in general the display of violent emotion was encouraged in the Middle Ages, witness the manner in which even hardened warriors in epic wept and swooned in their thousands. The Version ends (213–234) with a frank warning against the folly of spending your hard-earned gains on women, who will drain your purse and then cast you off. The page in question was to be fitted for town and camp as well as court and castle.

When we turn to the Later Version, we find the same exhortations to love and serve God (91), and to be humble, gentle and moderate in behaviour (15–20, 31), but the practical table-details are gone. The page is no longer a restless little boy, lounging about and scratching himself, but a perfect knight in embryo. *S*, in an interpolation (67–80) containing the only literary allusions to be found in any of the poems, utters a solemn warning against pride, for a proud youth thinks himself more valiant than Roland and Oliver, more courteous than Gawain, and fairer than Horn or Ypomedon. Where the Earlier Version talks of tavern-wenches and of a sober, plain, unlettered wife, the Later Version (97–114) commands a youth to honour great and small, but especially women, for from them come all the good things of life—prowess, honours, dignities, wealth, favours—so that he who incurs woman's hatred is indeed a fool, and will come to a bad end. The evil of boasting of one's mistress is stressed in *S* (125–30) as bringing down on one's head the hatred and disdain of every well-nurtured woman.

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Here we have the all-powerful lady of chivalry, who is the mainspring of cultivated society, and whose love is an ennobling influence. We know that she had a historical origin, for during the prolonged absence of their lords on the Crusades, the châtelaines came into their own; on them devolved the governance of the estates and the defence of the castles, so that social life in general did centre much more round them. Yet their overwhelming supremacy, as portrayed, first by Provençal poets, and later by Italian and North French, was much exaggerated by the poetic imagination of the South. In the less rarefied atmosphere of the *Urbain* we find a greater sense of proportion. Ladies occupy but thirty lines of the Later Version, so that the recipient of these admonitions, though accustomed to the idea of feminine importance, is not of that company of enslaved lovers who abound in the French romances; he is far removed, for instance, from the Lancelot of the *Roman de la Charrette*, who is expected to sacrifice even knightly honour to his lady's whim. Love is presented to our Norman page as but one part of life; to Lancelot it is life itself.

The young man has next to turn his attention to the need of talking soberly (133), of getting to know the right people (143), and of completing his education by going about everywhere (149). Moreover he must love horses and arms, and know how to choose the best (157), and (notwithstanding that all good things come from women), the knight will have substantial favours to distribute, and must know how to make them appear trifling (159–60). Meat and drink, girdles and garlands, horses and lands—something must be bestowed on all ranks (165–184). When he becomes lord of the manor, he will have the right to give in marriage the wards and widowed ladies under his protection, to allot benefices to favoured clerks, and to reward his squires with escheats, or lands accruing to him through lack of heirs (175–80). After this lordly picture of future greatness, the counsellor hastens to add a warning against promising more than you can perform (185–90), despising others, however much they seem to be your inferiors (209–222), and boasting of your good deeds; let them speak for themselves (241–9).

Phonology

The usual characteristics of Anglo-Norman are all to be found, and it is unnecessary to enumerate them here. Perhaps the only rhymes worth noting are;

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ai:*ei*(<*e*)	*V*	53 cerveise:eise. 21. moy:mettrai.
	L	290 fere:crere.
	E	115 meffete:dreit.
	A	141:4 faire:pere (<pedere).
	P	78 wassail:consail is of little help, as the exact value of the tonic vowel in the borrowed word wassail is uncertain.
ai:*ie*	*E*	299 manere:detrere. (If it is right to correct *E* 300 to detrere.)
ain:*in*	*E*	271 fausin:main.
en:*on*	*P*	127 respondre:defendre. This has no support elsewhere.
i:*e*	*P*	41 petis:creez.
ue(<*o*):*e*(<*a*)	*L*	163 queor:doner. 238 queor; garder (MS.*S* only).
ui:*i*	*A*	16 amy:luy. 33:36 amy:luy.
ui:*u*	*E*	231 deduire:nurture.
u(<*o*):*u*(<*u*)	*L*	248 vous:ensus.
	A	31 juwe:mue. 61 lu (locum):cognu. 84 conquereüre (conquerour):denorture.
	P	149 fu(focum):sentu. Cf. the spellings lu and fu with *A* 4 lieu, and *A* 226 liu. Cf. also *V* 40, neüe (<nuda) where the first *e* is a graphy to distinguish *u*(<*u*).

Declension

In all the texts, the rhymes show that *s* in the nominative singular was sometimes kept but more often disregarded.

	s kept	*s not kept*
In *V*	3 times. (14, 119, 137.)	6 times
L	3 " (12, 41, 286.) (12 is same line as *V* 14.)	12 "
E	once (233).	4 "
B	not at all	7 "
A	3 times. (76, 88, 164.)	8 "
P	4 " (26, 63, 136, 177.) (177 is borrowed from *V* 119.)	not at all

The nominative plural is thrice used without *s*: *L* 318 sage (:curage). *E* 25 planté(:volunté). 131 sages (scribal *s* added) (:damage).

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Versification and Language

From a linguistic point of view, all the texts are comparatively uninteresting, and not worth a detailed study; any remarkable words and meanings are to be found in the Glossary. The unliterary nature of the poems, and their careless craftsmanship, make them an unsatisfactory field for close enquiry into matters of language and metre; the writers were not interested in the poetic side of their efforts, and were content with monotonous phraseology and approximate metre. Hence it would be useless to attempt any contribution, based on these texts, to the vexed question of the origins of Anglo-Norman versification.

Metre. The form of all the poems save the *Apprise* is octosyllabic couplets, but the absolute license in the use of unstressed *e* renders it difficult to make positive assertions about many of the lines. Unstressed *e* is frequently disregarded in the scansion, while on the other hand there are many cases where an octosyllabic line demands non-elision of final *e* before a vowel; as, however, 7-syllable lines abound, we cannot be sure that the poet did not elide the *e* in these cases. A good many of the over-long lines seem to have had an unimportant word interpolated by the scribe.

The *Apprise* is in strophe form, riming aabccb. Some scribe has lost sight of the fact that every 3rd line should be 6 syllables long, and many of them are longer, but a large proportion of these overgrown specimens can be reduced to their right length by the elimination of an unnecessary word such as en, et, ensi, vous, ceo. Even after this process, however, there still remain 13 of these lines which are too long, and 8 which are too short; this out of a total of 71 lines.

In the Later Version one rime is obviously corrupt: 181 menestreux(:deniers) should be menestriers.

The rimes in the *Petit Traitise* are particularly monotonous, roughly half being in -ez and a fifth in -er. In 4 places a rime lacks its pair: 59, 120, 159, 162.

TEXT OF THE EARLIER VERSION OF URBAIN

In establishing the text, I have divided words run together, added punctuation, capitals and apostrophes, distinguished between *j* and *i*, *u* and *v*, and expanded all contractions. Furthermore I have accented the stressed *e* sound in ambiguous cases, indicated the soft *c* by a cedilla, and added a diaeresis where it is

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quite clear, from the rime or the scansion, that the two vowels were pronounced separately. Otherwise I have reproduced the MSS faithfully, making no attempt to standardize the spelling. MS *T* has some glosses which are of interest as regards 15th century spelling, but have no bearing on the establishment of the text. A fresh collation of the MSS has revealed a few errors in the two *Urbain* versions already published.

Un sage home de grant valour,
Qe longe tens vesqui od honour,
*(Urbane esteit il apelé,
*Ki en sun tens fust amé),
De son enfaunt se purpensa,
Et de son bone sen ly mostra,
Et dist: Beau fitz, ore escotez,
Si jeo die, bien le entendez.
Noreture vous voile aprendre
Taunt come estes d'age tendre,
Car pur veires a vous le di:
Ly home est honiz ke n'est norie.
Ore escotez, moun beau douce fiz,
Coment jeo voile qe seez noriz.
Je voile tot a de primoure

S follows a different version, except in lines 15 & 16, & 89–92; F omits 1–62, T 1–8. D has 4 preliminary lines: Ci comence noreture Curteisie et grant mesure Coment ly sages soun fitz aprent Poez oer apertement. *G has rubric:* Ici comence Urbane Curteise.

1. *U* h.e de g.
2. *GC* Qe jadis v. en h.; od honur]*O* a grant h., *U* od grant h.
3, 4 *only found in G.*
5. enfaunt]*GC* fiz.
6. bone sen]*OU* bien;mostra]*GCU* demoustra.
7. beau]*GC* chier;ore]*O* me.
8. die bien]*C* bien die;le]*O* sil
9. *T* Ore n.jeo v.a.;aprendre]*G* enprendre.
10. *T* A totez que sount d'a.t.; estes]*GCU* vous estes, *O* tu es.
11–12 *not in U.*
11. *D* Car pur verite et veir vous die, *T* Et pur verite je vous die.
12. *GC* Qe (*C* Mult) poi vaut le desnurri, *O* Honyz est ki ne e.n., *T* Hony est il qe n'e.n.
13–30 *not in GC.*
13. beau douce]*TOU* chier.
14. *O* C.v.; *U* C.v. qe vous s.n.
15–30 *not in O.*
15. *U* Ceo v.t.a. p., *T* J.v.t.al p., *S* Il covent al p.

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Que tu seez sages et pleyn de douçour;
Seez deboneir et curteise,
Et ke tu saches bien parler fraunceys,
Car molt est langage alosé
De gentil home et mout amé.
Ore retenez cest de moy
O les biens que jeo mettrai,
Si en serrez le plus sachaunt.
Ore escotez, moun douce enfaunt:
*Vous devez amer le Dieu pussaunt;
*Tenez la ley et soun comaunde.
*Voluntiers alez a mouster,
*Si escotés le Dieu mester,
*Car de la servise Dieu oyr
*Ne poet nule male avenir.
Piere et mere honurés
Et bele grace en averés,
Bone saunté et longe vie;
De ceo, chere fiz, ne faudrez mye.
Beau fiz, vos devez esteer
Devaunt toun seignor a manger,
Et par ta bone volunté
Vous serrez deschaproné.
A pilere ne devez apoer,
Ne ta neüe chare grater,

16. *US* Qe vous soietz, *T* Qe soiez; sages et]*UT* humble et, *S omits*. *U henceforth follows different version*. *T separates* 17–20 *&* 21–24, *& places them later*.
17. *T* Frank bonere et c.
18. *T* Et pour bien p.en f.
20. mout]*T* bien.
21. *T* Et ore.
22–4. *T* Ovesque les bonez vous mettray Tout jour serrez le muz s. Le muz ame le pluis vailaunt.
25–30 *only in D, but preferable to shorter versions in GC & O: GC* Al primer tuit avise (*C* Ore a la primer aprise) Servez dieu et sente eglise, *O* Al primer tut a devise Amez deu et sent eglise.
31–112. *T follows different version.*
32. bele]*O* bone; en]*G* Vous.
34. D.c.ch.f.]*GC* D.c. vous, *O* De cestes choses; faudrez]*G* faudras.
35. *GO* Li bon enfant deite.
36. toun]*GO* son.
37 & 8 *not in O, G puts them after 42*
38. serrez]*G* esterez.
39. *G* Il ne deit a p. ne a., *O* Il ne se deit point a.; apoer]*C* acuter.
40. ta]*G* sa; neue]*D* neu; *O* Ne nul membre doit g.

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Ne rier ne reschiner,
Ne a nuly moker.
Taunt come vostre seignor beit
Genuler devez de droit,
E a ta dame ensement,
Car ceo a nurture apent.
De servise devés aprendre,
Que tu sachez toy defendre
A mangere devaunt la gent
Bien e curtoysement.
*Quant bone gent sunt assiz,
*Et de pain avez mis,
*Mettez hannapes de cerveise
*Pur fere la gent bien a eise,
*E puis potage tout aprés,
*En poursewaunt, autre mes.
Od dulce semblaunt et beale chiere,
Come apent a la manere,
Vos en irrez tot entour,
Come apent a toun labour.
Les hostez devetz soulacer
Et bealement les honourer;
Si ceo seit aprés manger
Et del eawe devez doner,
A baroun ou chivalere

41. *C* Ne rire ne devetz ne r., *O* Et nul home doit eschuer; *G* richinel.
42. *O* Ne nuly ne doit m.; *G* amoker.
43–6 *not in O, G puts them after 68.*
43. *C* A taunt.
44. Genuler]*GC* Engenuler.
45. *G* A ta d. tuit e.
46. *G* Cum a n.a.
47. deves aprendre]*G* d. enprendre, *C* d. vous a., *O* deit a.
48. *O* Si il voille bien entendre; tu]*GC* vous.
49–70 *not in O.*
50. *G* Cum a nurreture apent.
51–6 *only in G.*
57–8 *not in D, G reverses their order & puts them before 61.*
57. Od dulce]*G* Donnez.
58. *G* Curteisement en toute m.
59. Vos]*G* Puis.
61–2 *not in D. G* Pur les homes s. Et b.conforter. *F puts* 63–8 *after 114.*
63. *G* Si s., *D* Si i s., *F* (*mutilated*) Beau fiz si . . . . (*rest illegible*).
64. *D* Del e.; *F* . . . . del ewe d . . . .
65. ou]*GC* ou a; *F* . . . . baroun u. . . . .

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Vous devez engenulere,
A chapelayn ou a persone,
Car ceo a nurture condoune.
De language apernez,
Que entendre le savez
Et parler apertement,
Come a nurture apent.
Si langage ne savez
Ne aprendre ne volez,
L'em porra parler de vous
Grant male et deshonours.
Si l'em vous doin petit ou grant
Taunt come vous estez enfaunt,
En genulaunt le pernez
Et belement ly merciez.
Pensez de vous bienfesours,
Si les rendez en honours;
Quanque vous soiez de poer
Vous le devetz remembrer.
Si vous aletz en chiminaunt
Et vos encountrez petit ou grant,
Toste ta bouche overez

66. *F* A luy devez genoy. . . . .
67–8 *not in OG*. *F* has 2 illegible lines.
67. chapelayn]*D* chevaler.
68. *C* Et ceo nature c.
69–85 *not in F*.
69. apernez]*G* enpernez.
70. *G* Que bien e.; savez]*GC* sachez.
71. *G* E bien p. devant la gent, *O* E de langage ensement; parler]*C* parles.
73–6 *not in O*.
73. *G* Car si.
75. *G* L'em p. dire devant vos. *G puts* 77–84 *after* 94.
77. *C* Si ben v.
78. enfaunt]*G* petit e., *O* joe ne e.
79. pernez]*GO* receviez.
80. belement]*O* doucement; ly]*C* lour.
81–4 *not in O*.
82. *G* Et le r.par amurs; les]*C* lour.
83. *GC* Quaunt vous estes de p.
84. *D* Vous li d. mercier, *G* Jeo vous prie bele fiz chier.
85. *O* Et si.
86. *F begins here, mutilated; G* Si countrez, *O* Et enc., *F* Et vus encontrez petit . . . . (*rest missing*).
87. *G* Soit ta b., *O* Voluntiers lui saluez, *F* Ta bouche mainten . . . ; overez] *C* en o.

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Et belement li saluez.
Si vous en alez coy avaunt
E ne responez meyntenaunt,
L'em vous dirra deshonours
Et que vous estez dedeignours,
E ke vous estez maunori;
De ceo pensez, jeo vous pri.
Si les escoles volez haunter,
Vostre maistre devez duter,
*Et a la mestrés ensement,
*L'un et l'autres sur apent;
*Et si vous savez voster lesçoun
*Avant ke tun compaignoun,
*Voluntiers lui apernez
*Et belement a lui parlez,
*Et ceo vous doint nurreture,
*Curteisie et mesure.
Ne seez pas medisaunt
A home, a femme ne a enfaunt.
Et vous gardez bien touzjours
Que vous ne responez a rebours.
Noveles avaunt ne portez
Si avower ne les poez,
Car l'em vous dirra deshonour,
Qe vous estes fort mentour.
A nuly ne promettez

88. *O* Et b. a lui parlez, *F* E doucement le. . . . .
89. *F* Car si vus alez surde . . . . ; en]*C* vous, *OG* omit; coy]*OG* cum surd.
90. *O* Et ne diez tant ne quant, *F* E ne seyez mots s. . . . .
91. *D* Lem porra toust parler de vous, *O* Om dirra delez vous, *F* Tenuz serrez d. . . . .
92. *DGO* Ke; *F* Vileyns verbel . . . . ; dedeignours]*D* mout deynous
93–4 *not in O. F* Saluez la been . . . . Cum a lour. . . . . *F puts* 95–104 *after 122*
95–104 *not in DCG.*
95. *F* Si a les e. pensez a . . . . (*rest illegible*).
97–8 *only in F.*
99–104 *only in O; F has 4 almost illegible lines.*
105. *F* E ne seyez . . . . ; *G* maldisaunt.
106. *C* A h.f.ne e., *F* A home nee . . . . ; a f.]*G* ne a f.
107–12 *not in OF.*
107. *CG* Ne de nul rien (*G* Ne a nuly) dedeignous.
108. *C* Ne res. a r., *G* Ceo vous prie pur vos honurs.
109–12 *not in G.*
110. ne les p.]*C* nes pores.
113–16 *not in O, G puts them after 190.*
113. *F* Ne vers . . . . , *ST* E pur (*T* Pur) dieu gardez vous ent bien (*T* vous bien).

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La chose qe vous ne avez,
Car beau promesse et rien doner
Se fest li fole recounforter.
Fues puteynes et hasardrie
Et la taverne de vynetrie,
Car ki est holers e taverners,
Toust avera gasté ses deners.
Od bone gent sovent alez
Et les mauveis fuir devez.
Si acune amy en avez,
De ceo vous bien avisez;
Ja por vostre fou delite
A li ne facez nule despite.
Toun amy devetz bien amer
Et toutdiz luy honourer.
Si nule home a vous trespace
Ou de fait ou de manace,
Le maundez toust par bone gent
Ke il vous face amendement.
Vos ne prendrez la venjaunce

114. *F* Ne beau par . . . . , *S* Ke vous ne promettez rien, *T* Ne promettez nulle rien. *After* 114 *T adds* Sur esperance dautry Par venture nest preste a luy.

115–16 *not in F.*

115. *S* Si vous nel voilletz d., *T* Qar mult promittre et peu d.; rien]*C* poi.

116. *GC* Fait, *T* Ceo f., *S* Kar ceo f.; recounforter]*GS* cunforter, *T* mult conforter. *T henceforth follows different version; O puts* 117–18 & 121–2 *after 158.*

117. *F* Fuez pucels et hasar. . . . .

118. *FG* E tute (*G* Et autre) fol compeyngnie; de vynetrie]*O* ne hauntez mie.

119–20 *not in OF.*

119. *G* Celui qi.

121–2 *not in DCG. F* Mes od le gens alez E de m. vous r. . . . . *F has 2 illegible lines.*

123–54 *not in F. G puts* 123–36 *after 170, & O after 168.*

123. acune]*G* nul, *O* vous une; en avez]*G* a. conquis, *O* avez.

124. *O* De une chose vous porpensez; vous bien avisez]*C* b.v.a., *G* soiez bien apris.

125. *GCO* Que ja.

127–32 *not in O, which substitutes 8 lines:* E si enemi en avez Bien avisie soiez Se il tence vers vous Ceo vous pri par amours A lui ne devez respouns doner Mes la place devez fuer Si vous responez le jugelour Le pys averez a chief de tour.

127. bien amer]*D* touzjours a., *G* amer.

128. *D* Et t.h., *G* Parfitement en vostre quer.

129. nule home]*G* nulli, *C* ascun; a vous]*G* vous ad.

130. *D* De dite de fete ou m., *G* En defet ou en m.

131. *G* Lui envoiez par, *C* Lui m.par.

132. vous face a.]*G* face la a., *C* en face la.

133. *GO* De lui ne prenez; la v.]*G* nule v., *O* ja v.

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De espeye ne de launce,
Mais autrement purrez conquere
Amendement par lay de terre
Ne seez pas trope hastifs,
Ceo vous prie, moun chere fiz.
Fole hastivesce mout poy vaut
De simple home ou de haut,
Car cely que poet bien soeffrir
Sovent avera son pleyser.
Si riche homme devenetz,
Belement vous portés;
Ne vos portez ja trop baud,
Ne trope simple, ne trop haut,
Mes vous portez menement,
Cum a mesure appent.
Si femme volez esposer,
Pensez de cei, mon filz chier;
*Pernez nule por sa beauté
*Ne nule ke soit en livre lettrié,
*Car sovent sunt decevables
*Et relement sunt estables,—
Mes pernez une que soit sage,
Ke vous ne poise la mariage.
Ta femme demeine amerez
Et nule autre desirer devez.

134. *G* Ne de e., *D* De cotel de e.
135. Mais a.]*D* Hastivement, *O* Car autre foiz; purrez]*DG* devez, *O* poez.
136. Amendement]*GO* Vostre dreit.
137–142 *not in GO.*
138. Ceo]*C* Je.
139. hastivesce]*C* hardiesse.
141. *C* Celui qui purra b.s.
143–208 *not in C; O puts* 143–158 *between 106 & 117.*
143. *D* Entre riches et menes.
144. *O* De une chose vous porpensez; portés]*G* enportetz.
145. *G omits* ja.
147. portez m.]*G* enportez belement, *O* p. ouvelement.
148. mesure]*G* vostre honur, *O* nurreture.
149–170 *not in DC. G puts* 145–50 & 155–70 *after 180.*
150. *G* De ceo devez aviser.
151–4 *only in O.*
155. *G* Pernez une femme s., *F* . . . . une femme s.
156. *O* ne i poise; *F* . . . . peysez la m.
157-8 *not in F.*
157. amerez]*G* bien amez.
158. *G* E autri femme ne desirrez.

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Si vous enfaunz engendrez,
Bone mesteres les enpernez,
Qe il puissunt par lëauté
Lur vie defendre de poverté.
Si pourez home devenez,
Ja trop dolent ne soiez,
Car Jesu Crist omnipotent
Cescours maund a toute gent
Qi unt a lui bon esperaunce:
Ensewrs les fet sanz dotance.
*Pur ceo devez Dieus prier
*E la grace mercier.
Ne seez pas trope orgelous,
Vos prie, chere fiz, per amours;
Orgule regne un poy adés,
E grant hount vient aprés.
*A autri table ne parlez trop,
*Qe tu ne soiez tenu pur sot,
*E autri table ne blamez,
*Ne la viaunde qe vous mangez,
*Mes volunters le pernez
*Manger e beivre qe vous trovez.
Si sage home devenez,
De ceo vos bien avisez:
Si nulli devez conseiller
Qui ad a vous grant mester,
Lui conseillez solum la ley,

159–162 *not in O.*
159. *F* . . . . unz engendrez.
160. *F* . . . . ter lour apernez.
161. *F* . . . . en leaute.
162. *F* . . . . ender de poverte.
163–190 *not in F.*
164. *O* Trop esmaer vous ne devez.
166. *O* Fait sucours a t.g.
167–8. *O* Ke en lui bien se affie Succurs fait et bone aye.
169–70 *only in G.*
171–74 *not in O.*
172. *G* Ceo vous prie pur vos honurs.
174. vient]*G* avient.
175–180 *only in G.*
182. *O* Chier filz de ceo pensez; bien avisez]*G* envisez.
183. *D* Ke acun d.c., *O* Si nul conseil devez doner.
184. *O* A celui ke de vos ad m.
185. conseillez]*D* c. bien.

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E ly diez la droit fey.
Ne li blaundez, jeo vous defent,
Ja pur or ne pur argent,
Mes ly diez la droit verité,
Que puys aprés vous sache gré.
E si plaidour devenez,
De ceste chose garni seiez.
Si vous seez en assise,
Ou en court ou en justise,
Si l'em counte ver tei,
Responez bien solum la ley;
Saunz manace u serement
Devez counter devant la gent.
Mein en autre ne ferrez
Taunt cum vous od la gent parlez.
De li riche receverez douns;
Les povirs aidez pour Dieu amurs.
*De ceo ke ai a vous counté
*Vous turnera a grant bounté
*Si vous le voillez retener;
*Sachez por voir, mon filz cher.
*De une chose vous dirrai;
*Uncore entendez a moi.
Les biens qe vous porchacez,
Sagement le despendez,
Hors de fole compaignie,
Beau fiz, et ceo vou prie.

188. *D* Pur or.
189. *O* Lui diez; *G omits* droit.
190. puys aprés]*GO* autre fiez.
191–208 *not in DC.*
191. *F* . . . . aydour devenez.
192. *O* Bien avise vous s., *F* . . . . ensi apernez.
193–4 *not in O.* *F* . . . . assise, ... aunt justise.
195. *F* . . . . vers toy.
196. *O* R. beal par bon l., *F* . . . . la laye. *O puts* 197–8 *after 199–200.*
197. *G* S.m.et arnement, *F* . . . . serment.
198. *F* . . . . gent.
199. *O* Piez ne mains devez mover, *F* . . . . mains. . . . .
200. *O* T.c. devez as genz parler, *F* . . . . parlez.
201–2 *not in O.* *F* . . . . rez ies . . . . , ... eydez pour dieux. . . . .
203–8 *only in O.*
209. *F* . . . . qe vus porchacez, *O* Des biens ke vous avez avant conquis.
210. *G* S.d., *C* S. les d., *F* . . . . les espendez, *O* Porpensez vous en tun avis.
211. *F* . . . . fole compaynie, *O* Les despendre en dreiture.
212. *G* Chier f. ceo v.p., *C* Beau dulce f. jeo v.p., *F* . . . . vus surd vileynie. *O* Je vous prie et en mesure.

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Car nous veoms mult sovent
Une grant partie de fole gent,
Ke vendent tere et tenement
Et altre chose qe a ceo pent,
Lour eritage tot enters,
E mettent tot en deners;
Et robent ceo beau damoyseles
Que sount en chambre si beales,
Et achatent lour viaundes,
Figes e resyns e almandes,
Bone vyn, chapouns et owes;
Puys aprés eles fount lour mowes,
Et mokent cele despendour
Ke lour fist si grant honour.
*Quant il ne puit plus durer
*Ne despender a lur voler,
*Si lui fra tost un despit;
*Un autre vendra en son lit.
Car taunt come la bourse poet dorer
Amour de femme poez aver,
Et quant la bourse par defaute se close,
De femme ne averez fors un glose.

213 *not in OF.* *GC* Nous; mult]*G* m. ore, *C* ore m.

214. *G* Qe une p., *C* Une p., *O* Ne vous medlez od f.g., *F* . . . . veez qe mult de gents.

215. *G* Vendunt, *F* . . . . ndunt teres et tenement.

216–18 *not in O*, 216 *not in F.* A ceo pent]*G* apent, *C* i apent.

217–18 *reversed in C.G* Les heritages; *F* . . . . eritage.a. . . . .

218. *D* Mettent t.en diners, *F* . . . . ttunt . . . . ; tot]*C* toust.

219. *GC* E r. les d., *O* E roflent les d., *F* . . . . unt cele damoysels.

220. en chambre si b.]*D* si avenaunz e b., *C* avenauntes e b.; *F* . . . . ount en chambre bels.

221–6 *illegible in F.*

221. *G* Et chatunt, *C* Ils a.; *O* Il a. riches v.

222. *O* Figes rys et alemandes, *DC* Tot apres lour demandes.

223. *O* Bone servoise e bon vins; chapouns e]*G* et graces.

224. *C* Et puis; *G* Et p.a. funt; *O* Riches oisels et graces gelins.

225. *O* Et al drein m. le d.; cele]*G* li, *C* le.

226. fist]*O* ad fet; si grant]*GC* tel, *O* tant.

227–30 *only in O.*

231–4 *not in C.*

231 *illegible in F.*

231. *GO* Taunt. *F has* 232–6 *unmutilated.*

233. *F* Mes la b.; par defaute se close]*G* si est c., *O* soit enclose, *F* deveynt c.

234. ne averez fors]*G* averez, *O* ne a., *F* nen a.; un glose]*O* autre chose. *After* 234 *F puts* 239–40, *& puts* 235–8 *&* 241–4 *after L.V.* 222.

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Por ceo garnez vos compaignouns
Ke vous avez envirouns,
Ke il poent le melz faire
Et de lur folies retraire.
De ceo seez bien garny,
Beau douce fiz, jeo vos prie,
Et issi menez vostre vie
Ke vos amez le filz Marie.
Ore Dieux nous doint issi overir
Que fere pussom soun douce pleyser. Amen.

235–8 *not in DCG.*
235–6. *F* Si apernez v.c. Qe vus seient en viru. . . . .
237–8. *F* Si qil pussent le meuz . . . . , Et de foluy eus retrere; folies]*O* foiles.
239–40 *not in O; F puts them after 234.*
240. *G* Chier f.; *F* Nul pru en averez ceo vous plevie.
241–2 *not in DCG. F* Issinke demenez vostre . . . . Qe vus eyme le fyz ma. . . . .
243–4. *C* Dieu vous donne issi o. Que faces soen p., *G* Plus ore a vous ne dirrai Mes a dieu vous commanderai, *O* Plus ne dirrai meintenant Chier filz a deu vous comant, *F* Plus ne vus die mes s . . . . Beau filz a dieu vus com. . . . .

TEXT OF THE LATER VERSION OF URBAIN

Un sage homme et de graunt valour,
Qe long temps vesquit od graunt honour,
De son enfant se purpensa
Et de son bien li demostra,
Et dit: Beau fitz, ore escutez,
Si jeo dye, bien l'entendez.
Nurtur vous voil aprendre
Taunt come vous estez de age tendre,
Et pour verité, je vous di,
Hony est il qe n'est norry.
Ore escutez, mon cher fitz,
Coment voil qe vous seez nurrys.

U is headed Ces sount les curtesyes qeux le sage homme aprent son fitz. *S omits* 1–14, *but substitutes* Qui veolt oir une partie De sens e de curteisie Ore entende a ma parole Lessoun lui durai de bon escole. *F omits* 1–20, *T* 1–6.
1. *D* h. de g.v.
2. *D omits* grant.
4. *D* Et de son bone sen ly mostra.
6. *U* l'endentez.
7. *T* Ore n. jeo v.a.
8. *D omits* vous; *T* A totez qe sount da.t.
9–10 *not in U.D* Car pur v. e veir vous d. Ly home est h. qe ne.n.
11. cher]*D* beau douce.
12. *DT* C. jeo voile qe s.n.

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Seez franke et deboner,
Saunz mesdit et saunz mesfere.
Jeo voile tout al primour
Qe soiez humble et plein de doulçor;
De beale portour entre la gent,
Nent trop haut, mes menement.
Par taunt serrez le meuch praisé
Et de sage gent appellé.
De yvresse, beau fiz, vous gardez,
Car quainte home, ceo sachez,
S'yl ad nul vice en corps,
Demayntenaunt le jettra hors,
Mes de ceo ne pensunt pas plusours;
Mes si vus desiderez vus honours,
Veez touz jours qe seez sage
Et qe vous ne facez houterage
A nulle homme q'est vivant,
Ne vers femme ne vers enfant.
Et quant tu serras entre la gent,
Gardez ta lange sagement.
Si vous avez acheson
De moustrer avaunt vostre reson,
Curteys et brief soit tun langage;
Le meuch serrez oy de le sage.
Et quant vous voillez parlere

13–14 *not in D. T puts them after 16.*

13. *T* S. ensy f. et bonere.

15. Jeo voile tout]*U* Ceo v.t., *S* Il covent; al p.]*U* a p., *D* a de p.

16. *US* Qe vous soiez, *D* Que tu s.; humble et]*D* sages et, *S omits.*

17–20 *not in S, which substitutes* E de grant deboneretez Sur tute rien vous engardetz.

17–48 *not in D.*

17. entre]*U* entour; *T* Et de b.p. entre le g.

18. *T* Ne t.

19–20. *T* De totez gentz serrez le pluis ame E sagez serres alose.

21–6 *not in UT. S* De iv. ceo vous pri Quant home ivre sachetz de fi Ad nule male v. en c. Meintenaunt le launcera h. Et ceo re quident mie les fous plusors Mes si vous voletz aver amours. *After 26 S puts* 57–62 & 67–82; 27–90 *not in F.*

27. *S* Apres estut qe, *T* Toutzjours vous prie qe.

28. *S* Qe ja ne f. outrage, *T* Et qe v.n.f. nullez outragez.

29–38 *not in S.*

29. *U* Vers veil homme ne enfaunt.

30 *not in U;* femme]*T* enfemme.

31. tu s.]*T* vous serrez; la]*T* le.

32. ta]*T* vostre.

33–7. *T* Et sy a. ascun enchesoun Pour demoustrer v. r. Court et b. s. vostre l. Et le muz s. ame du s. Et quant voilez p. *S puts* 39–46 *after 293.*

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Et vostre resoun demoustrere,
Ou si vous soiez aresonee
De june homme ou de eyné,
L'entendez bien, ne soiez hastifs,
Et quant sont passez touz lour disse,
En my le frount les regardez.
Vous peez ne voz meyns ne crouellez,
Mes sagement et sanz mesdist
Respounez a touz lour dist.
Et fauseté et fause gent
Sur tout rien vous defent.
Seez deboneir e curteise,
Et ke tu saches bien parler fraunceys,
Car molt est langage alosé
De gentil home, et mout amé.
Ore retenez cest de moy:
Ovesqe les bonez vous mettray,
Tout jour serrez le muz sachant,
Le muz amé, le pluis vailant.
*[A] verité pensetz tous jours,
*Et lëal soietz en bon amurs,
*Treez tousjours a franchise.
*Jeo ne vous defend pas quointise,
Mes jamés, a vostre voil,

39. *S* Et quant v., *T* Et si v.; soiez a.]*S* estes enresone.
40. *S* Del plus j. ou del e.
41. *T* Luy e.; *S* Gardez le en milu son vis.
42. sont]*ST* serrount; touz lour]*S* ses.
43. *T* En my lour f. r. ly, *S* Dunc responetz si sagement.
44. ne voz]*T* et; *S* Ke vous re blame nule gent. *S adds* Vos pietz vos mains tant ne quant Ja ne movetz en parlaunt.
45–6. *S* Mes de la lange soulement R. e ceo brevement. *T adds* Pour dieu amour soiez bonere E cointez et sagez pour bien faire Et de beale affaitement Pour bien acoynter ove le gent Ne soiez pas dissafaitez Jeo voile qe soiez affaitez.
47–8 *not in S. T puts them after 52.*
47. *T* Fauxcete.
48. vous]*T* jeo vous.
49–56 *not in US.*
49–50. *T* Frank bonere e c. Et pour bien p. en f.
52. mout]*T* bien. *T puts* 53–6 between 98 & 99.
53. *T* Et ore.
54–6. *D* O les biens que jeo m. Si en serrez le plus s. Ore escotez moun douce enfaunt. *D henceforth follows different version to 188.*
57–60 *only in S.*
61–2 *reversed in U.*
61. *U* James, *T* Ne j.

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Ne vous lessetz veintre orgoil,
Kar ceo est la surtz de touz maus
Et chef de pecché criminaus,
Et ceo est le peché qe fet la gent
Purrir et finer malement.
*Cil q'est orgoillous,
*Il quide tantost crestre tous,
*Qe unkes certes Rolland
*Ne valut de la meité taund
*Cum il fait, a soun quider,
*E si ne vault mie Oliver,
*E plus quide estre curteis
*Ke Wawain, li niez li reis,
*Ke unke ne fist vilainie,
*Certes, ceo dit, en sa vie.
*E plus quide estre beaus
*Qe ne fust Horn le juvenceaux,
*Ou Ypomedes esteit,
*Ke tute beauté aveit.
*Lessetz cele vice ester,
*Si apernetz de vous humilier.
*Unquore vous prie sur tout rien
*Qe de pecché vous gardez bien,
Et totes choses qe fere devez,
Premerment vous purpensez
A quel chef vous puissez trere;
S'il est bone, bien est a fere,
S'il est mauveys, si lassez,
Et pour meutz fere vous purpensez.
Seez touzdis bone cristien;
Amez Dieu sur tote rien,

62. *T* Ne avez en cuer ascun o.
63–6 *not in S.*
65. *T* Cest.
66. *T* Morer et f. *After* 66 *T puts* 149–50, *then* 153–4, *then* 225–6.
67–82 *only in S.*
83–4 *only in T.*
85. *S* Mes de tute rien que f.d., *T* Et en chescun rien qe comencez.
86. *T* De la fyn tout foitz purpensez.
87–90 *not in T.*
87. puissetz]*S* purretz.
89–90. *S* Sil est mal si le lessetz Si freetz qe pruz et qe senetz.
91. *T* Et s.; touz dis]*ST* tut jour, *F* tenuz.
92. *F* Et a.

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*E vostre preome, cume vous,
*Tut soit il busoignous,
Et si ametz saint, eglise
Lëaument e le servise.
A tute gent fetes honours,
Si bien a meyndres cum a seygnours,
Et a femmes nomement,
Kar ceo est del mound afaitement
Ke l'em prent plus a gree
E plus i est alosé;
Car d'eles venent les pruesces,
Les grauns honours et lez hautesces,
Les biens, les joyes, tout a une mot;
Dount me est avise q'il est sote
Ki d'eles se fet hayr;
Ja ne verrez bien finer.
*Pour quele chose jeo vous prie
*Qe a bone femme soiez amy,
Et sanz folye et sanz pecché
Amez le bien sanz fauxceté.
*Si voil, qe vous ametz par amurs,

93–4 *only in S.*

95–6 *not in UF.*

95. *T* Dote dieu e s.e.

96. *T* Amez luy byen et soun s.

97–8 *reversed in UST.*

97. *F* Et puis a t.

98. *UST* Le meuz vous avendra a touzjours (*S omits* a). *T adds* Et vous covient destre amable Vers tout gent et compaignable De beal porte vers chescun homme De beal semblant ceo est la somme Et as femmes faitez honours En vostre vie a toutz jours.

99. femmes]*T* femme.

100. *T* Quele est ensigne d'a.; del mound a.]*S* grant enseignement, *F* un fayte-ment.

101–2 *not in T.*

101. *S* Dieu le prendra bien a gree; l'em]*F* le mond.

102. *S* Et il nous ert bien alouue, *F* Com plus vus ert aloye. *After* 102 *F puts* 143–4, *& omits* 103–132.

103. d'eles venent]*S* de femmes vient, *T* deux v.; pruesces]*U* prues.

104. *ST* Les ho. et les ha. (*T* hautissez).

105. *T* Les b. e les j. tout a un.

106. *S* Dunc; est]*S* fet cum; sot]*T* soun[?].

107. d'eles]*T* deux, *S* de eles.

108. *T* Jammez ne luy v. b. chevir; finer]*S* achevir.

109–10 *only in T.*

111–12 *not in S.*

111. *U* Que ceo est f. ou grant p.

113–14 *only in S. S puts* 113–18 & 123–30 *after 162.*

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*Ke vous en serretz le plus prus.
Plus ameretz les curtaisies,
Et lerretz les vilainies;
Plus ameretz les nectetetz,
Les ordures enchiveretz.
Mes de une rien vous gardez,
Ke ja en femme ne affiez
Pur sa valour ne pur son pris,
Saunz counsail de voz amys.
Veez qe en vostre vie
Ne vous avauntez de vostre amye.
*Kar si porretz vous saun faille
*Perdre les eofs e la maille.
*E tutes les gentils femmes del mond
*A tousjours mes vous harrond,
*Eschiveront vostre compainie
*Pur cele soule vilainie.
*Ametz sen e lëauté,
*Eschiwetz folies e pecché,
E si ne parletz mie trop,
Ke janglour tient home a sot;
Mes quant vous voillez parlere
Et vostre resoun demoustrere,
Veiez q'il soit resoun,
Saunz mesdit et saunz tensoun,
Issi en serretz plus duté
Et pur sage alosee,

115–18 *not in T; U puts* 117–18 *before* 115 *& omits* 116.
115. *U* Et pus a.
117. *U* Et pus a.
118. *U* E les o. eschuerez.
119–22 *not in S.*
119. rien]*T* chose; vous]*T* v. bien.
120. *T* Jammes en f. en affiez.
122. *T* S. bon c.
123. *S* Mes gardez qen, *T* Et jammez en.
125–132 *only in S, which puts* 131–156 *after 108.*
133–4 *not in UT.*
133–4. *F* Mes surment neni trop Car j. t. h. sots.
135–8 *not in F.*
135. *UT* Et quant; voillez]*S* vodret.
137. *U* Gardez quil ert r.; soit r.]*S* i eit vive r.
138. *T* S. m. e t. *T adds* Portez vous bien entre la gent Et toutfoitez menement.
139–48 *not in T.*
139. *F* E si s.; *U* Si s. le meuch ame.
140. *S* Plus ame e plus preisé, *F* Que si vos trop sovent parlez.

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*Kar si tute jour jangletz,
*Dunc serretz plus aviletz.
Aquayntez vous a bones gent
Et parlez curtesyment.
*Servetz les petitz e les grantz
*Et apernetz les nounsachantz.
*Et sur tute rien vous en pri
*Ke vous ne mesdietz nulli.
Aletz partout entre la gent,
Si orrez de plusours afaitment,
Kar jammés, jeo vous affye,
Ne serrez altrement nurrie.
Seez de bele conteinment
Si vous portetz meienement,
Nent trop haut, ne trop baas,
Qe nul se puisse fere de vous gas.
Amez les armes et les chivaus,
Si les averez bones et beaus,
Si les donez autresi vilement
Come ils vausissent nïent.
Mes si tere devetz doner,
Pensetz bien de l'empleer.
*Ore mettez cest en vostre queor,

141–2 *only in S.*
143–4 *not in U.*
144. *S* Et p. deboneirement.
145–8 *only in S.*
149. *F* Alez sa et la qurante, *T* Et a. toutfoitz e. le g.; entre*U* entour.
150. *F* Pur tudis estre apernaunte, *T* Pour oyer et aprendre faytement; de p. a.]*S* p. enseignement.
151–2 *not in T.*
151. jeo]*S* Ceo bien, *F* ceo.
152. altrement nurrie]*S* dune court bien n., *F* en un lu bien .... (*last word illegible*).
153–64 *not in F, which has 2 illegible lines.*
153. *T* Et s.
154. *T* Et p. v. m., *U* Ou que tu vas entour la gent.
155. *ST* Ne trop.
156. *S* Qe n. ne pusse f. sa g., *TQ* e lem ne face de v. g. *After* 156 *S puts* 223–41.
157. *T* Amez armez et c.; *S* A. les chiens et les oisaux.
158. *ST* Et si (*T* Si) vous les avetz.
159–60 *not in T.*
159. autresi]*S* ausi.
160. ils]*S* si eux ne.
161–92 *not in U.*
161. *T* Si t.
162. *T* P. bur [?] bien esploiter.

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*Si apernetz de bien doner.
Vous durretz au comencement
Mangier e boire franchement
A trestouz ceux del païs,
E les beux chivauls de pris
As chivalers vaillauntz,
E les maneres bien séauntz;
As dames durretz les fermauls,
Les ceintz de soie e les aneaux,
E as beles damaiseles,
Les gerlaundesches [?], les bukebeles [?].
*Puis si dorretz as esquiers
*Gardes, escheites e mestiers,
*Eglises as clerks qe sunt sages,
*As sergeauns les mariages
*De veve dame, quant il vous escherra;
*Nul ne vous en blamera.
*Puis si dorretz as menestreux
*Beles robes e deniers,
*Chapes, runcins, chaucëure;
*D'aultre chose ne unt il cure.
Pour Dieu gardez vous bien
Ne promittez nulle rien
*Sur esperaunce d'autry;
*Par venture n'est preste a luy,
Qar mult promittre et rien doner
Ceo fait le fool mult conforter.
*Et ore ne lerrai ke nel vous die,

163–4 *only in S.*

165. *T* Si v. d. tout al c., *F* (*rest of line missing*) . . . . orrez a comenc. . . . .

166. franchement]*F* largement.

167. *T* A prodez hommez du p., *F* A bone gents du p.

168. *T* Robes et chivalex du prys. *F* (*rest missing*) . . . . gardra votre pris.

169–209 *not in F.*

169–73. *T* E as les vaylauntez chivalers Chivalez villez et maneres Et a lez damez beaux jewes Cotez de say fymaux dorrez Et a bourdez et damyselez.

174. *Corr.* Les gerlaundes et beubeles; *T* Symplez garlandez et chosez beales.

175–84 *only in S.*

185. *S* Et pour; bien]*S* ent b.

186. *S* Ke vous ne p. rien.

187–8 *only in T.*

189. *D* Car beau promesse et r. d., *S* Si vous nel voilletz d.

190. *D* Se fest li f. recounforter, *S* Kar ceo fet le f. c. *D henceforth follows different version.*

191–2 *only in S.*

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*Certes ceo est grant vileinie.
*Ore escutez qe jeo vous die;
*Vous gardez bien de tote folie.
*Des maus qe veynent de orgoil
*Chastier mon enfaunt voil.
Sur tote rien vous requer
Qe orgoil ne proche vostre cuer.
Veez qe ne seez lousengour
Vers amy ne vers seygnour,
Et s'il desirent qe vous diez
Tote le male qe vous savez,
Ne pensez my pur eus paiere,
Mes pur bien dire sanz cuer grevere.
*Et a la meuz qe vous poez,
*Plus beal counsail lour donez,
*Et s'il crusent a cele foez,
*Pus aprés vous savrount grez.
Et pour Dieu ne vous acustumez
D'escharner homme qe vous veez
Tout seyt il pour et bosoygnus,
Que il ne seyt si beal come vous,
Ne si prodome, ne si sachaunt,
Ne si curteys, ne si vaillaunt;
Ja pur ceo n'echarniez,
Kar pur escharner, bien sachez,
Ne serrez jamés alosez,

193–6 *only in U*.
197–208 *not in S*.
197. *T* Et s. t. r. jeo v. r.
198. ne proche]*T* naproche.
199. *T* losenger.
200. amy]*T* dame; seygnour]*T* s. per.
201. diez]*T* moustrez.
202. *T* Toutz les mals.
203. *T* Ne p. m. eux enpaier.
204. *T* sanz grever.
205–8 *only in U*.
209. *ST* Pour d.
210. *F* (*henceforth mutilated*) Decharnir homme qe v . . . . (*rest missing*); veez]*T* poiez.
211. *T* Tout qil soit; *F* Tut seyt il pours u . . . . ; et]*S* ou.
212. *T* Ou qil; *S* Ou il ne soit b.; *F* Que cil ne seit si bea. . . . .
213. *T* Si; *F* Si riche ne si avena . . . . ; prodome]*S* pruz; sachaunt]*ST* vaillaunt.
214. vaillaunt]*T* sachant, *S* bien chantant; *F* Si queytez ne si sacha. . . . .
215. *F* Pur ceo ne luy escharnise . . . . ; n'echarniez]*ST* ne luy e.
216. *F* Car pur escharnir ceo sac . . . . ; bien]*S* ceo.
217. *S* Ne s. alosetz ne enhausetz; *F* Ne serrez avaunte a. . . . .

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Mes haie et rebutez.
Et moult soleit Dieu haier
Ceux qe ament l'escharnir,
Et serra li escharnisour
Escharny al chef de tour.
*Pernetz garde de tute ren;
*Lessetz les mauls et fetes le bien.
Ne seez pas envyous,
Ne plein de ire, ne covetous.
Et si homme te voet mesdire,
Ne saillez pas pur ceo en ire,
Lessez les dire tout lour voler,
Kar meutz ne li poetz hunir,
Et quant il avra tout counté
Si serra il pur fole clamé,
Et tu a sage tout tenuz,
Le meuz amé et cremuz.
*Le home qe va tensaunt
*Et tute la gent enparlaunt,
*De li ne vous chaut tant ne quant,
*Mes celi qe se covre al queor,
*De li fet il bon garder.
*Ja ne verretz sage home haustif,
*Ne sot, qe il ne soit mellif.
Si vous avez rien bien fet,
Ja par vous ne soit retret.
*Ne de rien vous avauntez,

218–21 *not in F.*
218. *T* Mes h. mult e rebette, *S* Ne li escharnisour en blessetz.
219–24 *not in T.*
219. *S* Ainz vodra d. h.
220. *S* Ke trop aime e.
222. *F* Mes escharni a chef de . . . . ; al chef]*D* de c. *F has 2 lines*, De ceus aprisez seyez a. . . . . Qe de nurtour vus ay vo, ... & *ends with E.V. 235–8, & 241–4.*
223–4 *only in S.*
225. *T* E ne s.; pas]*S* mie.
226. *T* Ne plein d'ire ne anguissous. *T henceforth follows different version.*
227. *S* Et si nul h. vous v. m.
228. pas]*S* mie.
229. *S* Mes lessetz lui d. t. son pleisir.
230. *U* Kar m. ne lour purrez venger.
231. *S* Kant; counté]*S* tente.
232–4. *S* Il en serra p. sot c. Et vous pur s. tenu Dute ame e c.
235–41 *only in S.*
242–3. *S* E si v. a. de rien b. f. James p. v. ne s. r. *U ends here; rest only in S.*

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*Mes pes eez e taunt facez
*Ke tous li aultres del païs
*Parougent bien de vous tutdis.
*Treez vostre lange ensus,
*Suffretz vos fetz parler pur vous.
*Jeo vous lou, manaces guerpir,
*Kar tel manace qe n'ose ferir.
*Si vous usetz ore manacé
*E vostre ire fu ja passé,
*Si la parole fust siwie,
*Hom la tendroit a vilainie.
*Hunte serroit, si parole
*De prodhome fu tenu a fole.
*Pur ceo vaut moult l'apensé,
*Kar ceo ne set nul hom for Dé.
*Quant vous aletz par le païs,
*Le veu chemin tenetz tutdis;
*Kar sovent en la novele veie
*Avient pis qe venir ne deiue.
*Ametz vostre viel compaignon;
*Si fretz sens e reison.
*Plus est mestrie de garder
*Un amy qe del purchacer.
*Jammés a maveise gent
*Ne vous compaignetz ascient,
*Kar de malveis compaignon
*Ne vendra ja si mal noun.
*A prodes hommes vous treez,
*Dunke quiderunt gent qe vous seetz
*Sages, tut ne fusetz vous.
Tousjours ametz les beaux geus,
*Par quei estrif ne tenson
*Ne pussetz surdre; qe le bricun,
*Quant il veit qe il pert l'aver,
Tut iert ennui en son penser.
*Tost avera fet une folie
*Ou dit un mot par envie,
*Ke li aultres qe serront pres
*Nel mettront en obli jamés.
*Le consail qe oi averetz,
*Pur rien qe soit, nel descoveretz.
*Bien devetz, si estes léaux,
*Vostre ami garnir de ses maux.
*Ceo qe prodhomme vous dit

277. *Corr.* pussent.

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*Ne devetz tenir en despit,
*Ne vous ne devetz pas tutdis crere
*Ne aprés jescun dit fere,
*Mes en les ditz q'om vous dit
*Gardetz la reison, s'il i gist.
*E quant vous vodretz beau parler,
Parletz saunz rire e saunz jurer.
*Ne juretz mie par le corps Dé,
*Ne par la buele, ne par le pé,
*Ne par nul aultre tel serment;
*Kar cil que jure faus, sovent
*Il pecche en millu son frount,
*E li plusors le mescrerunt.
*E ceo vous di je bien pur moi,
*Cum plus juretz, le meins vous crei.
*La chose qe veü avetz
*Ja a tort ne coveitetz.
*Ki aultri chose en emblé prent,
*Il desert qe l'en li pent.
*Mes de la chose qe vous avetz—
*E en cele vous bien paietz—
*Seit ceo pouerté ou richesce,
*Pernetz le tousjor en leësce,
*E mercietz Deu le tut pussant
*Ke vous puet fere honur grant,
*Le mal tolir a soun pleisir.
*A tiel seignur fet bien servir.
*Fuetz tavernes e teles places
*Ou surdunt mesfetz e manaces,
*Kar teus sunt au matin sage
*Qe al seir chaungent lur curage;
*E ki trop beivent, entrent en rage,
*Par quei sovent avient grant damage.

306. *MS* chose emblé enprent.

The two poems, *Edward* and *Bon Enfant*, add little to the picture of manners given by the *Urbain*. They are even more disconnected and lacking in any literary distinction, except perhaps for the pleasant ending to Edward, where the reader is besought to put himself in such a frame of mind that at last he may live eternally with God,

Ou home n'ert jameis lasse
De regarder sa bele face.

Edward has a distinctly clerical flavour throughout. It stresses complete subservience to God (17–32), though at the same time

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you should be cheerful, lest you resemble a "papelard," and all sorts of games, especially chess and backgammon, are essential to the well-nurtured (229–232). Then you should seek out people of holy life and "bone gent de religioun" (37–44), and remember that God takes away earthly things to test your love of Him (35–148). After a passage (155–170), glorifying women and their all-powerful influence (four lines of which (159–162) are almost word for word the same as 103–4 and 107–8 of the *Urbain* Later Version), you are hastily brought back to a reminder of God and the Virgin (171–6), and lengthy instructions on church-going (177–200), while the pious peroration, instead of being confined to a few couplets, extends over 28 lines. There is moreover a passage (223–8) against swearing, which solemnly advises you, if you are quite unable to restrain your feelings, to swear by fox and cat, "Seynt Reynald e Seint Tiberd."

Bon Enfant is a much shorter poem of the same nature as *Edward*, but of less interest, and calling for little comment. The general stock of ideas in both is much the same as in the *Urbain*, though the same wording appears only in the *Edward* passage mentioned above, and in *E* 151–2, which is an interpolation from the Later Version (266–7). Parallels to Cato are again noticeable in a few places; *Bon Enfant* 49 is reminiscent of the Cato line (already quoted). Anonymous Version, p. 111, l. 75, and *Edward* 295–8 resembles Cato, p. 110, ll. 23–4, which run:

> E du doner sais remembrers,
> Ke autre fiez te durrunt plus volunters.

The tone on the whole is general, but there are some practical details, such as keeping your hands still while talking to a lord or lady (*E* 91–2), and seeing that everyone besides yourself is served at table (*E* 287–294). The lack of any sort of literary style is especially noticeable in the way in which, in both poems, the writer leaps from broad principles to minute details and back again, without any attempt at sequence or grouping.

TEXT OF "EDWARD" (MS BODLEY 425)

1 Edwars, entendez bonement [f. 107r]
De[1] ma comandement, Deu m'aprent
De tai garder et doctriner,
Pur ceo q'il veut qu'est mester.

[1] MS Deu.

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Ore priom a Dieu nostre sire
Qu'il me doint sen et matire
Que jeo te puisse bien apprendre;
Et Dieu te doint si ben entendre
Que prodhome puissez devenire
Et a grant honor avenire.
Drescez la teste contremunt,
Sin me gardez en mi le frount,
Et voz orailles enclinez,
Et de bon corage m'escotez.
En ton quoer doucement reten
Ceo que jeo te dirroi pur ton bien.
Amez Dieu a ton poier;
Ceo est comencement de saveir,
Qu[e] li deis duter et amer
De quoer, d'alme, de penser.
Tote ton poier et ton desire,
En fete, en dit e en oyer,
Ton espirit, ta volunté,
Ta esperaunce, ta seurté [f. 107v]
Seient ferment en Dieu planté;
Tretote est a sa volunté.
Quantque est vivant en terre, en mere,
Sur tote rien le dois loiere.
Douce enfant, met quoer et entent
De li amer en ta juvent,
Et seiez jolifs[2] devant la gent,
Et servez Dieu priveement.
Chantez et volunters juez,
Que papelard ne resemblez.
Quar tute gent fount grantz parlanz
De riche home et de sa contenance.
Amez et portez companie
A genz qui sount de seinte vie;
Seiez amie et compaignun
A bone gent de religioun.
Chescun pur toi priera
Que ja male ne lin avendra.
Les serjanz Dieu touz jours amez,
En terre honuré serrez.
Pere et mere devez doter
Et chier tener et mult amer,
Et par grant humilité

[2] MS jolivifs.

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Les dois servir a volunté.
Cum plus les verrais enveiler,
Plus les dois amer et suffrir;
De lur biens ne avez ja envye,
Et Dieu te durra lu[n]ge vie.
Saluez volunters la gent,
Et parlez amiablement.
Amez et portez compaignie
A lëaux genz et bien norri,
Et mult bele semblant lez facez;
Qu'il soient de voz privez, [f. 108r]
En eus voz beus douns esploitez
Mult franchement quant temps verrez.
Unquore te comande et defende
Que ne promettez rien al gent
Que vous prestement nel donez
Al hure que primes saverez.
Et la ou verrez rebaudie,
Fauce parlonces[3] e jang[l]erie
Et gent qui sunt de male escole,
Ne recordez ja lur paroule;
Nule conseil a els ne moustrez,
Mes lur compaignie eschiez.
Unquore te pri et comande
Que tuz jours seiez vers disant.
Jeo ne sei hunt greniour
Que estre tenuz a mentour;
Mes touz jours dites veritéz,
Si averas bone renoméz.
Seiez lëauz et seinz irour;
De touz choses ceo est la flour,
Kar lëauté est fundement
De touz bien communaument.
Seiez lieauz vers Dieu et home,
Et de bele paroule t'acustome.
Les losengers ne creez mie;
Amez la gent de seinte vie.
De fauce gent ne tenez pleste,
Tute est perdu quantque home lour feste.
Quant entre bone gent serrez,
Apertement vous contenez;
Avisiez bien tute entoure
A qui deviez porter honure.

[3] *Corr.* parlances.

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Quant a seignur ou a dame parlez,
Paisiblement voz mains tenez; [f. 108v]
Seiez de bone entendement,
Et responez curteisement.
Tote coi te ten sanz movir,
Tantque il uunt dit lour volir.
Ne janglez trope devant la gent,
Ne a manger, jeo te defent;
Celui qui voet trope jangler,
Prodhomme nel doit escoter.
En ton corage dois penser
De bene fare et male leisser.
Unquore te pri que ne parlez mie
De ordure ne de vilanie;
Les bels contes dois reteinere,
Et vilainis paroles haier.
Ton meistre et ton seignur suffrez,
Lour [c]hastiement recevez.[4]
Seiez humbles et beles parlante
A tote gent petite et grant,
E lez amez et honurez
Solunc les biens que en els verrez.
Le sen qe d'els orras, retein;
En ascun tens te fra plus bien.
Si ascun gent te eient meffete,
Seit a tort ou a dreit,
Et tu ne te purras venger,
Ne devez pas trope manacer;
Celui qui voiet mult manacer
Et puis ne se savera venger,
Escharz suffra sovent
Et meinz ert prisé de la gent.
Met ton poier de bien aprendre
Et bien retenir et bien entendre.
De mut saveir t'estut penser, [f. 109r]
Si grantz terres dois guyer;
Si tu n'as bone entendement,
Tes consaillers mult sovent
Te frunt meint bosoigne fere,
Dount en averas pert et contrere.
Si te lorunt li plus sages
Pur lur pru fere ton damage;
Pur ceo covei[n]t mult saveir,
Que tu sachez aparceyver.

[4] MS recever.

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Ne mettez pas trop ton desire
De amer chose qui doit failler,
Ne filz ne file ne autri aver,
Mes pensez et sachez pur veir
Tute est prest a Dieu le creature,
A li rendez grez et honure.
Et de ceo bien apris,[5]
Ke Deu tut sovent a ses amis
Ceo que plus eyment par desire,
Pur fere eus de lui sovenire.
Pur ceo ne fetes ja semblant
De trope amer chos failliant,
Mes Dampnedeu sovent priez
Qu'[i]l garde quantque vous amez.
Ton veil ami dois tener chier,
Et partut le dois honurer;
Meuz valt ami proveu garder
Que autre novel purchascer.
Seure serrez del ami conu,
Et de le novel sovent desceu.
Dames et puceles amez,
E les servez et honurez;
En parole, en fete, en semblant
A dames seiez bienvoillant. [f. 109v]
Des femes venent les pro[e]sces,
Les honours et lez hautesces;
Qui de femes sei fete haier
Ja ne verrez bien acheveir.
El monde n'as plus cher aveir
Que bone feme, sachez de veir.
A pain verrez nule home vaillant
Qu'il n'en aime ou ait amé avant.
Par tote les dois honur porter,
Si tu voes a haut pris munter;
Portez lur bone compaignie,
C'est un treble curtesie.
Sur tote chose jeo te pri
Que ne mettez Dieu en obbli,
Ne la douce virgine honuré,
Dount il prist humanité.
Quant serrez en greignur turment
En Dieu t'afie seurement
Alés volenters a muster

[5] Corr. Et de ceo seiez b. a.

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Les servis Dieu a escoter.
Si devez continuelment
La messe oier devotement;
Ne devez juer ne gaber,
Ne a home ne feme conseiller,
Mes priez Dieu le soverain pere
Qu'il te[6] doint sa joie entere.
Oier, paroule et penser,
Tretote devez a Dieu doner.
Gardés qe bien eiez en vous
Que tu li serves a genuls
Mult humblement, ceo vous comand,
Tantqe la messe seit en disand.
Mult vous coveit pener sovent
Pur server a terene gent, [f. 110r]
Qui nous faudront sanz achesoun
Quant plus en eus nous affierun.
En le secle n'ad fors desaynanz,
Ore seit en Dieu nostre asseuranz.
Escutez la messe par delit
Tantque "In principio" seit dit,
Et voz bosoignez, ceo sachez,
Tote jour melz[7] cheverez.
Ton linage dois[8] mult amer;
Ceux que verrais a bien turner
Entour toi les dois acoiller
Et avancer et cher tener.
Pur toi lur vies metterount
Quant les estranges te faudrount.
Li estrange truvera son aver
La ou quidra[9] son pru faier.
Plus te derrai[10] de mon corage:
Si tu as foles en ton linage,
Qui a folie se sunt apris,
Et volunt devenir falis,
Voisent failler o les failans,
Et retener avretz taisanz.
Li taisant partut taira,
Et li falis partote faudra.
Beu fiz, te prie et defende
Que ne facez fole serement.
Qui ascient se[11] parjura

[6] MS ta.
[7] MS nelz.
[8] MS doit.
[9] MS quidrai.
[10] MS derra.
[11] MS ses.

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Dieu ad[12] guerpi, a debles s'en va.
Unquore te pri et comande
Ne adecerte ne va gabante;
Nule fole serement usez,
Et si retener ne vous poiez,
Si devez jurer seinz perile
En noun du chate et de gupil, [f. 110v.]
Par Seynt Reynald e Seint Tiberd,
Pur fere ta paroule sert.
A esches jue et a tables,
Et a touz autres juez covenablez
Qui a plusurs jues se set deduire
Ceo est grant honur et nurture.
Si asset[13] bien, douce dancels,
Que tu aymis cheins et chivals,
Et voz chacez mult chier tenez,
Et veneri mult amez.
Apernez bien a chivauchier,
Chivaus coure et demener,
Et sovent i mettez entent
Et tant l'usez en ta juvent
Que tu te[14] sache bien aider
Quant tu serrais nuvel chivaler.
Unquore te di, mon douce enfaunt.
Que tu seiez aperceyvaunt
Qui bien sert, qi malement;
Prue en averas, men ascient.
A lur paroules pas ne gardez,
Mes lur overez bien esprovez.
Quant conustras certeynement
Ceux qui servent lieaument,
Deporter les dois et suffrir,
Et mult amer et chier tenir,
Et aider q'il aient sustenaunce;
Qui meuz te sert, plus l'avauns.
Et ceux que troveras orgoillus,
Medisanz et contrariouse,
Quant pur tels se[15] conustras,
Voisent a Dieu, melz te fras.
Si voilliez faire bone chace,
Orgoille de ta mesoun en chace. [f. 111r.]
J'ai weu tiels mellis en mesun,

[12] MS as.
[13] MS assert.
[14] MS ta.
[15] Corr. les.

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Et medisant est mult[16] felun;
Quant al bosoigne vendrount, sovent
Plus cowarde serront qe simple gent.
Soiez franz et bone vianders,
Et a les poveres soiez amoners.
Et si te dois bien aviser
De tes dounes sagement doner.
Uncore t'estut a plusurs gent
Emploier[17] ce douns malement,
Pur le secle qui est plain de fausin,
Et pur chescun tenir en main,
Kar fause lange bien sovent
Veit home grever bone gent.
Donez a vaillaunz chevaillers
Chiens, oisels et destrers.
A gentiz homes de valur
Emploiez voz douns de jur en jur,
Et quant averez d'eus bosoigne,
A vous vendrount seinz ensoigne.
De poier des amis seez bien sert;
Plus serrez dotéz et surffert.
Si tere ou rent devez doner,[18]
A home que vous tenez chier,
Seiez avant bien conseillé,
Que ton don seit bien espleité.
Enfant, quant a manger serrez,
Et home vous[19] sert de plusurs daintez,
Pernez gard tote enviroun
Cum il sunt servi par la mesoun;
Curteisement lur envoiez,
La ou defaute vous verrez,
Kar melz vaut viande doné
Que vilenie saulee. [f. 111v.]
Quant home te fete doun ou present,
Ne obbliez pas, jeo te defent,
Einz lui merciez doucement;
De lur averez plus sovent.
Seiez de curteise manere,
Et ne diez[20] pas detere[21]
Dame ne de femme vivant
A qui d'amour fetes semblant.

[16] MS nult.
[17] MS Einploier.
[18] MS donor.
[19] MS le.
[20] Corr. devez.
[21] Corr. detrere.

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Qui de tes amis voet male parler,
Poi se poiet en strange affier.
Afermes en Dieu voz amours;
A grant boisognes te fra socours.
Quant sage gent oiez parler,
Suffrer les dois et escoter,
Et Damnpnedeu te sustendra,
Et[22] touz bienfez te avancera.
Quant Deu averas a ami,
Mar dotras ton ennemi;
Ces qui damages te querunt
En lur fetes confundu serrunt.
Dieu te savera melz garder
Que ma lange ne seet conter.
Ore priez Dieu matin e tart
Qu'il te conseil, sauf, et gard,
Et q'il te dointe sens et lëauté
E valur et humilité;
En le secle pardoine te face,
Et qu'il te dointe suir sez trace.
Et priez Deu, ne ubliez mie,
Que a tes amis dointe bone vie,
Et vous e a eus bone aventure,
Et a la joie qui tutdis dure,
Devant la mort tele espace,
De pecché regeier tele grace, [f. 112r.]
Et vous si bien confesser
Que o li puis sanz fine regner,
Ou home n'ert jameis lasse
De regarder sa bele face. Amen.

TEXT OF "BON ENFANT" (MS BODLEY 425)

Bon enfant doit a son lever [f. 112r.]
Corps et alme a Dieu comander;
Puis se deit mult bien seigner,
Que Dieu le[1] garde d'encombrer.
Bone enfant deit la crede dire
En noum Jesu nostre sire,
Et a coucher et a levere
Le doit doucement recorder.
Aprés la crede, la paternostere,
En[2] noun Deu et ses apostre.
Bone enfant doit dire avé

[22] Corr. En.
[1] MS se.
[2] MS Et.

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En noun la douce mere Dee;
Et quant il vint devant l'ymage,
Curteisement ci fra que sage,
Si doit illoques agenoiller
Et la douce virgine desprier
Qu'el le reteinte pur son enfant
Et de touz males lui soit garrant.
Bone enfant doit la messe oier
Et devotement a Dieu servir,
Tant qe le prestre ait sacré
Et puis aprés sa mayins lavé.
Bone enfant doit a son diner
Tost aver faite et tost diner,
Et un foiz beiver, sanz plus,
Ceo li pri q'il ait en us;
Lors vois[3] juer, sanz plus attendre,
O ceus de quels il purra apprendre.
Bone enfant doit corteisement
Saluer tote estrange gent,
Et parler amiablement
Et regarder apertement.
Bone enfant doit a manger
Garder sa lange de jangler, [f. 112v.]
Ne doit rier ne rechiner,
Mes tute l'ostel deient[4] aviser.
Bon enfant se doit user
De poi boier et rien manger,
S'il voet estre prodome et sage;
Trope boier vient de fole usage.
Bone enfant, jeo te comand
Que touz jours seiez vertz disand;
Celui qui ment sanz achesoun
Plus vile doit estre que laroun.
Unquore te di que bone enfaunt
Doit estre de joüs semblant,
Et estre apert devant le gent
Et parler atret (?) apertement.
Bone enfant doit son mestre cremer
Et ses aprises retenir;
Seignur et dame doit doter,
Amer, servir et honurer.
Enfant qe grant honur attent
Doit estre baud devant la gent.

[3] Corr. voist.

[4] Corr. deit.

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Cointement se doit porter
Et le menton amont lever,
La teste contremont drescer
Et apertement regarder.
Bone enfant devant la table
Doit estre cortose et servisable,
Et fere bel semblant et apert,
Et parler haut, la bouche over.
Et s'il eient dames ou damoisels,
Treer se doit devant els.
Aquainter se doit[5] al plus bels
Et enquere de lour noveles.
Devant tote lez reignez doit aler
La gent conustre et rechercer.
Enfant, quant de manger levez,[6]
Te meins o ta bouche lavez;
Si devez dire basement:
"Beau sire Dieu, grace te rent
De quantque el secle me donez.
Pur vostre enfant me retenez,
E me donez sen et valur;
Gardein me seiez et socour,
Si me fetes bone chivaler,
Pruz, léauz et droiturel.
Uncore ce pri jeo le filz Marie,
Qu'il me doint joie de m'amie,
Et bone feme et beaus enfaunz,
Cortoises et sages et vailliaunz.
Sire Dieu, a tei me comand
En veillant et en dormant,
En ma[n]gant et en bevant,
En muntant et descendant.
De touz mals me soiez garant,
Leesce et joie et bele semblant
Me doint Dieu a remenant." Amen.

In the *Apprise* and the *Petit Traitise*, both only known in a single 15th-century MS, we find a rather different type of poem from the *Urbain* and the *Edward*, one dealing almost entirely with table-manners. The change of title is significant; we are no longer considering knightly courtesy, but ordinary good behaviour to be observed by any well-nurtured person, and the pupil is not so much a page, with his duties to perform, as a guest, un-

[5] MS Aquaintes se dois.

[6] MS manger estez levez.

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versed in the ways of good society. This guest must still be very young, however, for the *Petit Traitise* tells him to sit beside the other children while he is one of them (169), not to hurt his companions at play (179), and not to force anyone to play with him who is unwilling (181). He is reckoned as rather older in the *Apprise*, for, although it also abounds in what we consider very elementary rules for table-manners, it has a passage on circumspect behaviour with women (175–8), which is meant for more than boys. We have emerged from the atmosphere of chivalry in the Later Version of the *Urbain*, and are faced again with a realist's views on woman's character, ending, however, with the command to strike no woman, "whatever she may say," for if you do so, you are lacking in all nurture.

Perhaps because their scope is more limited, these two poems are rather less disconnected than the *Urbain* and its like; they go fairly consecutively through the course of a meal, with occasional excursions into more general topics, such as the disquisition on women mentioned above. Moreover the *Apprise* has the distinction of being written, not in monotonous couplets, but in strophes aabccb, every third line having only *6* syllables, which introduces some variety. One couplet only of the *Petit Traitise* (177–8), is an interpolation from the *Urbain* (Early Version 119–20) and it seems to have been inserted haphazard. It would have more point if placed after 161, where there seems a hiatus, for a rhyme to "ivresse" is wanting. Since 157, "nurir," also lacks a rhyme, the whole passage is unsatisfactory.

In subject-matter these two poems bear a closer general resemblance than any of the others to the bulk of the Middle-English Books of Courtesy, but they do not resemble one more particularly than another. Their order seems peculiar to themselves, and there is no parallel in the English to the scheme of rhymes in the *Apprise*. We can find no detail, common to poems in both languages, which is sufficiently individual to prove any connection; if a French and an English writer both give you commonplace advice, such as not to drink too much, or play with your knife, or fill your spoon too full, it proves nothing, unless there is a striking resemblance, either in the wording or in the sequence of admonitions. There is no more likeness between our poems than is inevitable when different people are writing in different languages, at the same date, on the same subjects and for the same kind of person.

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TEXT OF L'APPRISE DE NURTURE (MS BODLEY 9)

Beau dulce, esgardés, [f. 61v.]
Dulcement si moy lisés,
Pernés de moy guarde.
En quelle lieu que vous venetz
Ales, esteetz, beal le guardetz,
De nurture en avetz warde.
Si vous venetz entre la gent,
Portés vous honestement
Et en beale manere.
Soietz dulce en parlaunce,
Simple et honeste en counteynaunce,
Si emporterés la banere,
Si vous seietz a la table,
Od bealle nureture et amyable
Moustrés vous a toute gent.
Si a vous viegne ascun amy
Qui vous reheite, responetz a luy
Et mercietz lui dulcement.
Tenet voz peedz en quiete
Et voz mains a vostre diete, [f. 62r.]
Et ne parlez oultre mesure.
Ne lessetz vostre viaunde
Pur nulle autri demaunde,
Et ne bevetz a demesure.
Si vous veietz ascun manger,
Ne lui devetz trop juger,
Hounte est, pur veritee;
Trop ne lui volez regarder,
Ne quei il fait a demaunder;
De nurture est un nyceté.
Beau dulce fitz, si joesne juwe
Aqueu[1] jolyf, come faulk en mue,
Ne devetz pas mesdire luy;
A mal ne lui jugés, ceo est envie,
Et de nurture est vileynie;
Juvente lui meyne, beau dulce amy.
Si soietz home de nurture,
Pur nulle maner d'aventure
Chaungeable ne devetz estre de coer.
Gard que ne soiez nounestable,
Kar a Dieux ne homme ne serrez covenable, [f. 62v.]
Pur ce que[2] ne savetz rien amer.

[1] Corr. Auque. [2] MS qui.

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Dulce chose est de dulce amer
Et ceo dulceour fermement tener,
Sans nulle faillaunce.
Nurture est, pur veritee,
De courtaisie estableté[3]
De tener la saunz flecchaunce.
Si ascun homme soit deshoneste
Ou en fait ou en geste,
Ne luy juggez pur orguylous,
Kar vilaynie est, pur veritee,
Si tu juggez pur honesté
Le malnurri ou envious.
Si tu voils estre amé,
Et de nulli estre blasmé,
Gard qeu soietz coumpaignable;
Einsi serretz vous sauns blasme.
Gardez bien vostre bone fame
Et ne soietz pas rogable.
Si vous venetz en ascun lu
La ou vous n'estez pas cognu [f. 63r.]
Gardez vous dunke de rage.
De ryse auxi vous guardez,
La bouche trop ne ovrez,
Ensi serretz tenuz pur sage.
Et si la avetz estee devaunt,
Pur ceo ne soietz pas joiaunt
En fole countenaunce.
Qui trop s'affie en juyer
Pluis tost purra meserrer
Et faire a luy grevaunce.
Soietz dulce en parlaunt,
Amyable en reguardaunt,
Si en serrez vous amé,
Sues et beale maneyez;
Et prueement si vous juetz
Et ensi ne serretz blasmé.
Beau dulce fitz, entre la gent
Ne vous aletz lourdement,
Kar ceo est denorture,
Mais touzjours beale chiere
Faire devetz en vostre manere [f. 63v.]
Des fols conquereüre.
Si tu eyetz rien de courteysie
De nul homme en ceste vie,

[3] MS estable.

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Pensetz de faire guerdoun.
Pur poi ne serretz vous irretz
Envers toun amy ne enquerretz
Nule malveis enchesoun.
Devannt la gent ne tensetz,
Ne nulle homme ledengez,
Kar ceo est vileinye.
Nul encountre coer eietz,
Ne ses faitz reprovetz,
Ka[r] ceo vient de grant envie.
Tes mains devaunt la gent ne frotez,
Ne voz peedz mie discoveretz,
Kar n'est pas gentirise.
Vostre lange ne feynetz,
Ne vostre teste entour gettetz,
Kar ceo est une lede guise.
Si vous eitz ascun amy
Qui pur petit vous eit guerpi, [f. 64r.]
Et il de vous n'eyt cure,
Guardez vous en vostre vie
Qu'envers lui ne corroucez mye,
Kar il n'est pas nurture.
Si ascun homme vous eit mysdyt
Pur graunt chose ou pur petyt,
Ne pernetz nient en grief,
Mais moustrez toust en respoignaunt
Que nurri estez, noun pas enfaunt,
Par dulce parole et suef.
Si seignour parole, ne parlez nient,
Kar ceo malement avient
A homme nurri ou sage.
A primer boire et puis parler
Oultre le hanap et jangler—
Ceo moi semble outrage.
Si ascuny vous demaunde:
"Vuelletz rien de ceste viaunde?"
Ne le refusez, jeo vous empri;
Dulcement luy mercietz
Et pur toun sodal[4] le receyvetz, [f. 64v.]
Et serretz tenu nurri.
Ne voilletz estre avauntour
De toun sen ne de toun vigour
Entre congregacioun.

[4] "thi frend" written over the top in different hand and ink.

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Nul home mokes, ne ne mentz mie,
Ne parlés rien de vilaynie:
Ceo de envie est l'enchesoun[5]
Sur la table ne vous souetz,[6]
Ne oud toun coutel ne juetz
Taunt come vous estez a maunger.
La hanap beale asseetz,
Et vostre viaunde beal trenchetz,
Et maungetz saunz daunger.
Ne encrachetz oultre la table
Si aultre lu soit covenable
La ou vous le pouetz faire,
Ne vostre nees ne devetz pincer
Taunt come vous seetz al maunger,
Et la vous gardrez de pere.
Soiez franc de vostre doun,
Mais nïent oultre resoun, [f. 65r.]
Kar c'est nulle profit.
Vostre promesse replenetz,
Le doun de vostre amy ne refusetz,
Ja ceo qu'il soit petyt.
Devaunt la gent belement maungetz.
Sur le naperoun voz mains suetz,
Ne frotez voz gencies.
Od nulli ne parletz,
Ne od playn bouche ne bevetz,
Kar cestz soun vilaynies.
Si vous estez de age hault,
Pur ceo ne serretz vous trop bault
A nully de mesfaire;
Kar si tu soietz, tu serras notee
Pur denurri et desaffaitee,
Et ceo ne serroit affaire.
Si tu soietz pres de jangloures,
Ne soietz mye trop ragours
De parler vilaynie;
Kar ascun chose toi eschapera
Ke par aventure toi poisera [f. 65v.]
Tout temps de vostre vie.
Et pur ceo, bien vous guardez,
Si vous rien parler voulez
Od les escoymouses.
Dire devetz priveement
Et briefment vostre talent

[5] MS C. env. e. de l'e. [6] Corr. pouetz.

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Entre luy et vouse.
Si nulle femme jue od vous,
De vostre corps soietz gelous
Et de toun parlere,
Kar si rien faces a demesure,
Toi serroit dit a denurture;
A hounte toi purreit turnere.
Si tu ne bien facez, ils ne lerrount
Que ascune chose ne pyncheroun,
De dit ou de countenaunce,
Et de ceo vous mokerount,
Et aprés vous jugerount
Sauns nulle defaillaunce.
Pur ceo vous pri, beaulx dulce fitz,
Que vous ne ayetz de rien enviz [f. 66r.]
De dame ou de damoisele.
Kar devaunt vous paisera,
Et en la chaumbre vous jugera;
N'i ad nulle que n'est hagernele.
Nulle femme mesdietz,
Ne nulle femme ne ferretz,
Pur rien qu'ele die.
Et si vous faicz, vous moustrez bien
Que vilans estez, et ne savetz rien
De nurture ne de curtaisie.
Jammés a counseil ne venetz
Si ne soietz appelletz,
Kar ce est mal presumpcioun.
Nule rien ne premettetz
Fors ceo que doner voelez,
Kar ce est nulle reisoun;
Si vous avetz en nul amy
De par fortune soit empoevry,
Soietz naturel;
Ne luy despisez, ains lui aidetz
De vos biens, et lui counseilletz; [f. 66v.]
Si fretz vous come droyturel.
Si vous eietz devaunt vous
Viaunde qui soit precious,
Od toun sodal partietz.
Aultre foitz od toi partira,
Et de toun partier toi mertiera[7]
Et nurri tenuz serretz.

[7] Corr. merciera.

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Chiens et oisealx si ametz,[8]
A ches ou tables si juetez
Sauns hasarderie.[9]
Od toun veisyn tei aqueyntez,[10]
Od luy manger, vous devetez
Volountiers, s'il vous prie.
Devaunt la gent ne devetz reprendre
Nulle homme, mais devetz attendre
De dire toun talent
Jesques en un liu venetz
Ou vous a lui dire poetz
Bien et privément.
Si vous estez a bras senestre,
Tener le devetz od la mayn destre [f. 67r.]
Et enbracer bealement.
Et si vous karoler voulez,
Les mains trop ne movetz,
Mais les pedz jolivement.
Que ceste estorie sovent regard,
De nureture n'avera jamés warde
Certeynement.
Issi finist l'Apprise de Nurture.

TEXT OF THE PETIT TRAITISE DE NURTURE (MS BODLEY 9)

[I]ssi comence un petet tretis de norture. [f. 81v.]
Ces sont les ensignemens
Ke bons sont a toutes gens
De vertuz et de curteysie;
Beau fiuz, ne les ubl[i]e mie.
Tes oilz sovent tornez
Vers celui ou qui vous mangez,
E ton dos torner est deshonour,
A manger, a ton seignour.
Ton pain que mors avez,
En ton potage ne le metez,
Ne giser ne lessez en nul manere
En t'esquele ta quilere;
Ne tant ne le chargez pas
Ke partie chese sur vos dras;
Cil est tenu por enfant
Ke ces dras degoute en mangant.

[8] "Par tens viande les donez" added in different hand and ink.
[9] "le fetez" added in different hand and ink.
[10] MS te iaqueyntez.

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Ne ta quilere puet servir
A deu compaignons a pleysir.
Aprés que mangé en avez,
Sur la nape ta quilere suez. [f. 82r.]
Gardez que supes ne facez
En autri beyvre sanz congez,
Ne viande demandez,
Mes ce que trovez, si le pernez.
Et de beivre ben vous paiez
Tel cum vous dorra li botiliers;
Ne autri table ne blamez
Les mangers que vous troverez,
Car vilanie est de blamer
Et cele chose pus manger.
Ne ne devez encliner;
Tut droit subseez cum affeitez.
Entur toi trop n'engardez,
Ke vos deis en broe ne lessez,
Ne l'esquele dont vous mangez
De lesche de pain n'ensuez.
Vers ton seignur u ta dame
Tei estriver si est blame,
U envers eus escracher
Vilanie est, ou nes muscher. [f. 82v.]
A tes enfanz que sont petis
Ne donez beaus dras, si me creez,
Kar il ne les sevent garder
Sanz seulleur ne sanz decirer.[1]
Vos enfanz petis affaitez.
Curtoysie leur apernez,
A la fiez les batés
E par parole les chastiez.
A manger juer de cotel
E de quilere n'est pas bel,
Ne vos deis pas escouez
Utre l'esquele dont vous mangez.
Pain et char assez trenchez,
Mes trop grant morseus ne facez,
Mes menement, si me creez,
Les morseus mult bien trenchez,
E devant ton compaignoun les mettez,
E pus ovec lui mangez.
Sur un trenchour les mettez,
Si tu veuz fere beaus morseus
A long trenchez de cotels,

[1] MS detirer.

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E pus le cotel bel assuez, [f. 83r.]
Ke il ne soit de la char enbruez.
Chaud pain devez depescer;
Char de lievre ne devez trenchier,
Ne de aignel ne de conin,
Ne char fresche de purcelin.
Ne devez tes dens espelucher
De festu al manger,
Mes si grant mestier en avez,
De la nape les essuez.
A vostre compaignon vous profrez
De vituban, si vous le avez,
Pur les dens espelucher;
Par reson gre vous deit saver.
Et de manger vous en gardez
Tant com boit ou ki vous mangez,
Ne trop sovent dire wassail
Saunz comandement, de mon consail,
Ne trop aforcer de parler
Tant com en ta bouche est manger.
En ta bouche petis morseus metez,
Kar sachez, quant vous mangez [f. 83v.]
E ta viande bien maschiez,
Si trop grant morsel pernez,
Si vous soiet aresoné,
De parole serrez desturbé.
A tout ne a moyté, gardez
En nule manere ne bevez,
Mes bevez entemprement,
Kar ceo est afaitement.
Kant le porcel est vous offert,
Tun sac seit meintenant overt;
Par aventure vous repenterez
Si vous reffusez en[2] atendez.
Si vous avez dun doné,
Jamés ne soit reprové,
Et si vous avez dun receu,
Bien le remembrez, ce est vertue.
Si seignour ou ton compaignoun
Vous die rien en confessioun,
Ben le celez, si frez cum sage,
Kar ceo est manere de bon corage.
Quant vous ceez au manger, [f. 84r.]
Ne vous acotez a oriler,
S'il ne soit pur maladie,

[2] Corr. ou.

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Kar sachez que ce est vilanie.
Cum devant ai dit, ne devez acoter
A autri table au manger,
Mes a la vostre bien poez;
Vous avez poer, si vous volez.
Une autre chose vous voil aprendre;
Ne soiez trop hastif le hanap prendre,
Ne trop longes ne le tenez,
Ne trop utre ne parlez.
Si ton hoste, ceo sachez,
Vous dit: "Bel amy, bevez,"
Ceo qu'il dit, ceo facez.
A autre de lui le hanap bailez,
Se il ne die: "A moy bevez,"
E si il offre ou beau semblant,
Dire ne devez: "Bevez avant."
Si rien vous conte, bien l'escotez,
En oiant en pes seez;
E si respondre en devez, [f. 84v.]
Chef et meins en pes tenez.
Coment pout cil respondre
Ke de cel vice ne se put defendre?
Leez ton seignour ne soiez mie
S'il ne te comande; ce est curteisye.
E si par aventure leez lui seez,
Kan il leve, si levez.
Estrange ne devez aresoner
Au comencement del manger,
Ne trop de noveles lui demandez,
K'il ne ert de manger desturbez.
Aprés manger, si vous volez,
Aventure et noveles demandez,
E sil respoyne curteisement
E nent ne mente a escient.
Ou a aser ou a lever
Wardez que ja ne seez per;
En une main ja fu ne portez,
N'en l'autre eaue, si vous me creez.
Le manger devant ton seignour mys
Doner ne devez, ne fere amys. [f. 85r.]
Ta table ne devez a nuli veer,
Ne tes viandes propres loer.
L'enfant touz jours doute fu
Ke par arson l'ad un fez sentu.
Li fous put estre deceu sovent,
Li sage par un fous touzjours le sent.

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Vous devez rire en bele manere,
Ou douce semblant, ou bel chere;
Ne devez pas trop degetter,
Ne de bouche trop eschiver.
Si vos enfanz nurir voilez,[3]
Les fors beyvres leur atemprez,
Kar autrement les hoynerez;
Les sens enfeblist et les pis,
E les sages fet forsaniz;
Mult i a folie en yvresse.
Ton hoste en sa meson
Contredire n'est pas reson
Son comandement par dreiture,
Nunt pas ce que passe mesure.
Si vous par kas sur bank seez, [f. 85v.]
Le bank de talon ne batez.
Leez les enfanz[4] vous devez ser,
Tant com vous estez leur per.
Quant jeuenes estez et poy savez,
Ou les juvencel seez.
Quant vous serrez de grant age,
Ou le viel seez et ou le sage.
Bien poez par dreiture
Avant manger lascher vostre seynture.
Qui est yveroyne et taverners,
Tost avra gasté ses deners.
Si ou tes compaignouns juez,
Gardez que vous ne les blessez,
Ne cil qui ne volt ou tei juer,
Vous ne le devez aforcer.
Si vous avez grant baillie,
Des losengers n'amez mie,
Ke bel semblant font devant la gent;
Derere poynent cum serpent.
A ton seignour ne contez mie
De ton compaignoun vilanie,
S'il ne torne a deshonour
E a damage ton seignour.

GLOSSARY

Including only rare words, unusual meanings, or peculiar spellings. These last are given their Modern French equivalent.

Symbols and Abbreviations.

V Earlier Version of *Urbain le Courtois.*
L Later " " " " "

[3] MS voilez nurir. [4] MS Les leez e.

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E Edward.
B Bon Enfant.
A L'Apprise de Nurture.
P Petit Traitise de Nurture.

Bozon, Contes: ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith & Paul Meyer, *Les Contes Moralisés de Nicole Bozon*, Paris, 1889.

Pope, Angier: M. K. Pope, *Etude sur la Langue de Frère Angier*, Paris, 1904.

achesoun *L* 33, **enchesoun** *A* 90: *sf.* occasion, reason, pretext.
acheveir *E* 162, **chever** *E* 200: *v.n.* end, turn out *E* 162; *v.a.* accomplish *E* 200.
acoter, *v.refl.* lean *P* 105.
adecerte, *adv.* assuredly *E* 222.
afaitment, *sm.* nurture, training *L* 150.
afermir, *v.a.* make fast *E* 305.
affaiter, *v.a.* bring up well *P* 45.
aforcer, *v.a.* force *P* 182; *v.n.* strive *P* 80.
aider, *v.a.* help *V* 202; *v.n.* see to it, help *E* 253; *v.refl.* show one's fighting powers *E* 241.
aler, *v.refl.* bear oneself *A* 80.
amoner, *adj.* alms-giving *E* 266.
amys, *adv.* amiss *P* 146.
apenser; *pp. as subst.* thoughtful man *L* 258.
apert, *adj.* frank, open *B* 47.
apertement, *adv.* cheerfully, openly *E* 88; frankly *B* 32; = **experte-ment,** fluently *V* 71.
apoer *V* 39, **pouer** *A* 133: *v.n.* lean.
ascient, *adv.* wittingly *L* 269; **men a.** to my knowledge *E* 246.
asseetz *A* 136, **assuetz** *P* 62 = **essuyez.**
atret, *sm.* welcome (?) *B* 48.
avancer; *imper.* 2 **avauns** *E* 254: *v.a.* help on.
avantour, *adj.* boastful *A* 127.
avaunter, *v.refl.* boast *L* 124.
aveir; a. + *inf.* = *fut.* *E* 214; **a. en soi** remember *E* 187; *inf. subst.* business *E* 207.
avower, *v.a.* vouch for *V* 110.

bailer, *v.a.* pass, hand *P* 119.
baillie, *sf.* power *P* 183.
baud, *V* 145, **bault** *A* 158: *adj.* cheerful, lively *B* 54; forward, over-ready *A* 158; *adv.* in a lively manner *V* 145.
beivre *V* 180, **boier** *B* 38 = **boire.**
beubele, *sf.* bauble, trifle *L* 174; cf. Pope, Angier, Glossary.
blaunder, *v.* flatter, blandish *V* 187.
botiliers, *sm.* butler *P* 26.

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bricun, *sm.* worthless fellow *L* 277.
broe, *sm.* broth *P* 34.
buele, *sf.* bowel *L* 297.

ceez *v.* **seeir.**
cei = ceo *V* 150.
ceint, *sm.* girdle *L* 172.
cerveise, *sf.* beer *V* 53.
cescours = secours *V* 166.
chace, *sf.* hunting *E* 235; (*metaphorical*) *E* 259.
chape, *sf.* hooded cloak *L* 183.
chapoun, *sm.* capon *V* 223.
ches v. **esches.**
chescun *E* 41, **jescun** *L* 291 = **chacun.**
chever v. **acheveir.**
cointement, *adv.* in sprightly fashion *B* 55.
compaigner, *v.refl.* (+*a*) frequent the company of *L* 269.
condoner, *v.* be permitted *V* 68.
conin, *sm.* rabbit *P* 66.
conquere, *v.a.* obtain *V* 135.
conquereure, *sm.* conqueror *A* 84.
conseil, *sm.* secret *E* 69; **de mon c.** to my way of thinking *P* 79; **venir a c.** give an opinion *A* 199.
conseiller, *v.a.* advise *E* 285; whisper *E* 182.
conteinment, *sm.* demeanour *L* 153.
conter, *v.a.* relate *V* 203; *v.n.* plead *V* 195.
contrariouse, *adj.* quarrelsome *E* 256.
contrere, *sm.* harm, injury *E* 130.
conustre *B* 68 = **connaître.**
corage *E* 14, **cur-** *L* 319: *sm.* mind, spirit.
coure, *v.a.* let run (a horse) *E* 238.
covrir, *v.refl.* keep one's counsel *L* 238.
cowarde, *adj.* cowardly *E* 264.
creature = créateur *E* 139.
crede, *sf.* creed *B* 5.
cremer *B* 49; *pp.* **cremuz** *L* 234: *v.a.* fear.
crestre, *v.a.* surpass? *L* 68.
croueller, *v.a.* shake, agitate *L* 44.
cruser, *v.n.* grumble *L* 207. Cf. Bozon, *Contes*, Glossary, **grousser.**

dainté, *sf.* titbit *E* 288.
damage, *sm.* harm, loss, injury *L* 321.
debles = diable *E* 220.
decevable, *adj.* deceitful *V* 153.
decirer = dechirer *P* 44.
degetter, *v.n.* fidget *P* 155.

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degouter, *v.a.* spot, mark *P* 16.
delit *E* 197, **-te** *V* 125: *sm.* delight; **fou d.** unlawful pleasure *V* 125.
demeine, *adj.* own *V* 157.
depescer, *v.a.* break into pieces *P* 64.
deporter, *v.a.* make merry, give pleasure to *E* 251.
derrai = dirrai *E* 209.
desaynant, *adj. as subst.* schemer *E* 195.
deschaproner, *v.a.* unhood *V* 38.
deshoneste, *adj.* impolite *A* 49.
despit, *sm.* contempt *L* 289; wrong *V* 126; **faire un d. a** slight *V* 229.
detrere, *v.a.* detract, speak ill of *E* 300.
deu = deux *P* 18.
diete, *sf.* food *A* 20.
dit *L* 292, **dist** *L* 46; *pl.* **disse** *L* 42: *sm.* remark, conversation.
doctriner, *v. refl.* instruct oneself *E* 3.
doin, -nt = *Indic. Pres. 3* (*V* 77, 103), or *Subj. Pres. 3* (*V* 243, *E* 319) *of* **donner.**
dolent, *adj.* sorrowful, wretched *V* 164.
dorer = durer *V* 231.
dorra *P* 26, **du-** *E* 52 = *Fut. of* **donner.**
droiturel, *adj.* righteous, upright *B* 78.

em = on (*impersonal pron.*) *V* 75.
emblé; en e. *adv.* stealthily *L* 306.
emploier *E* 270, **-pleer** *L* 162: *v.a.* make use of; (+*a*) give to *E* 270.
en = on, *L* 307.
enbruer, *v.a.* cover with broth *P* 63.
enchesoun v. **ach-.**
enchiveretz v. **esch-**
encliner, *v.a.* lend (ear) *E* 13; *v.n.* bend over, sprawl *P* 31.
encombrer, *sm.* vexation, annoyance *B* 4.
encountre; aveir e. coer have an antipathy to *A* 94.
encracher = cracher *A* 139.
enpernez = apprenez *V* 160.
enquere, *v.* seek, ask *A* 89.
ensewrs, *adj.* safe *V* 168.
ensi = ainsi.
ensoigne = essoigne, *sf.* legal excuse for absence *E* 280.
ensuez = essuyez *P* 36.
entemprement, *adv.* temperately *P* 90.
enter, *adj.* entire, unbroken *E* 184.
entre; e. la gent in society *L* 17.
enviz, *sm.* reluctance, ill-will *A* 188.
eof, *sm.* egg; **perdre les e. e la maille** lose absolutely everything *L* 126.
escharnir, -er *L* 210, **ech-** *L* 215: *v.a.* mock.

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escharnisour, *sm.* mocker *L* 221.
eschars, *sm.* taunt *E* 121.
escheeir; *fut. 3* escherra *L* 179: *v.*(+*a*) fall to the lot of.
escheite, *sf.* escheat, inheritance falling to the overlord through lack of heirs, *L* 176.
esches *E* 229, **ches** *A* 218; *pl.m.* chess.
eschiver; *fut. 5* **enchiveretz** *L* 118, *6* **eschiveront** *L* 129; *imper. 5* **eschiez** *E* 70, **eschiwetz** *L* 132: *v.a.* eschew, shun *L* 118; condemn, criticize (?) *P* 156.
escient, *sm.* knowledge; **a e.** wittingly *P* 140.
escole, *sf.* school *V* 95; breeding *E* 67.
escourre; *imper. 5* **escouez** *P* 51: *v.a.* shake.
escoymous, *pl.* **-ses** *A* 171: *adj.* squeamish, touchy, *cf.* Bozon, *Contes*, Glossary, also *N.E.D.* squeamous, & esquaymous.
escracher = cracher *P* 39.
espace, *sf.* space, interval (for repentance) *E* 327.
espelucher, *v.a.* pick (teeth) *P* 74.
espleiter, esploi-: *v.a.* make use of *E* 59, 286.
esquele, *sf.* dish, platter *P* 12.
esquier = écuyer *L* 175.
estable, *adj.* steadfast *V* 154.
estableté, *sf.* stability, foundation *A* 47.
estorie, *sf.* (written) work *A* 235.
estrif, *sm.* strife *L* 276.
estriver, *v.refl.* dispute *P* 38.
eyne, *adj.* elderly *L* 40.

falis = *pp. of* faillir *E* 212.
faulk, *sm.* falcon *A* 32.
fausin, *sm.* falsity *E* 271.
fermal; *pl.* **fermauls** *L* 171: *sm.* clasp, brooch.
festu, *sm.* straw *P* 69.
feynetz, ? *A* 100.
fige, *sf.* fig *V* 222.
fine, *sf.* end *E* 330.
finer, *v.n.* end, die *L* 66.
flecchaunce, *sf.* flinching *A* 48.
forsaniz = forcené, *adj.* raving mad *P* 161.
fu = feu *P* 143.

gab; *nom.* **gas:** *sm.* jest, gibe *L* 156.
gaber, *v.* jest *E* 181, 222.
garde, *sm.* ward *L* 176.
garde *L* 223, **wa-** *A* 6; *sf.* care, watch; **aveir g.** be afraid *A* 236; **aveir g. de** have a care for *A* 6.

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garnir, *v.a.* protect *L* 287.
gelous, *adj.* careful, guarded *A* 176.
gencie, *sf.* gum, tooth *A* 153.
gentirise, *sf.* good breeding *A* 99.
getter = jeter; *v.a.* jerk *A* 101.
geus = jeux *L* 275.
glose, *sf.* speech, words *V* 234.
guise, *sf.* trick, habit *A* 102.
gupil, *sm.* fox *E* 226.
guyer *v.a.* govern *E* 126.

hagernele, *adj.* unstable, changeable? (*conn. with* OF. hagard, *not with* ME < OE hag?) *A* 192.
hanap *A* 119, **hannape** *V* 53: *sm.* goblet, tankard.
harrond = *fut. 6 of* **haïr** *L* 128.
hasarderie, *A* 219, **-drie** *V* 117: *sf.* gambling.
hastivesce, *sf.* haste *V* 139.
hautesce, *sf.* important position *L* 104.
holers, *adj.* debauched *V* 119.
houterage = outrage *L* 28.
humanite, *sf.* human nature *E* 174.
hoynerez = *fut. 5 of* **hogner;** *v.a.* scold *P* 159.

irrer, *v.a.* make angry *A* 88.
issi = ainsi *V* 241.

jangler, *v.* chatter *L* 141.
janglerie, *sf.* gossip, chatter *E* 66.
janglour, *sm.* chatterer *L* 134.
jescun v. **chescun.**
joiaunt, *adj.* merry, cheerful *A* 68.
jolivement, *adv.* actively *A* 234.
jolif, *adj.* cheerful, lively *E* 31; *as adv.* lightly, restlessly *A* 32.
joüs = joyeux *B* 46.
jue = jeu *E* 230.
juyer, *v.n.* rejoice; *inf. subst.* merry-making *A* 70.

karoler, *v.n.* dance *A* 232.

laroun, *sm.* thief *B* 44.
lay v. **ley.**
le (< illo + comparative) by that the more *V* 23.
lede = laide *A* 102.
ledenger, *v.a.* insult *A* 92.
leësce, *sf.* joy, cheerfulness *L* 311.

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leez =**lès,** *prep.* beside *P* 129.
lerrai *L* 191, **-etz** *L* 116, **-ount** *A* 181 =*fut. of* laisser.
lesche, *sf.* thin slice *P* 36.
lettrié, *adj.* learned *V* 152.
ley *V* 185, **lay** *V* 136 =**loi.**
linage, *sm.* family, lineage *E* 201.
liu =**lieu** *A* 226.
loer *P* 148, **loiere** *E* 28; *fut. 6* **lorunt** *E* 131: *v.a.* advise *L* 250; praise *E* 28.
losenger *E* 83, **lousengour** *L* 199: *sm.* slanderer.
lu =**lieu** *A* 61.

maille, *sf.* small coin *L* 126; **perdre les eofs e la m.** v. **eof.**
manere, *sm.* manor *L* 170.
maneyer, *v.a.* treat *A* 76.
mar, *adv.* in an evil hour; (*with purely negative force*) *E* 312.
mariage, *sf.* marriage *V* 156.
mellif *L* 241; *pl.*-**is** *E* 261: *adj.* quarrelsome; *as subst. L* 241.
mere =**mer** *E* 27.
mes, *sm.* dish, food *V* 56.
meserrer, *v.n.* act wrongly *A* 71.
mester *V* 184, **-ier** *L* 176: *sm.* need *V* 184; trade, occupation *V* 160; office *V* 28.
metres, *sf.* mistress *V* 97.
meutz *L* 90, **melz** *V* 237, **meuch** *L* 19, **muz** *L* 55 =**mieux.**
meyndre =**moindre** *L* 98.
mi, *adj.* half, mid-; **en mi le frount** full in the face *E* 12.
mie *L* 72, **my** *L* 203: *adv.* at all.
millu, *sm.* midst; **en m. son frount** barefacedly *L* 300.
mettre; m . . . . de direct . . . . towards *E* 135; **m. entent** give one's mind *E* 239; **m. la vie** lay down one's life *E* 205.
mouster *V* 27, **mus-** *E* 177: *sm.* church.
mowe, *sf.* grimace *V* 224.
mue, *sf.* cage *A* 32.
muscher, *v.a.* blow, wipe (nose) *P* 40.

nape, *sf. P* 20, **naperoun,** *sm. A* 152; tablecloth.
naturel, *adj.* compassionate *A* 207.
necteté, *sf.* thing of good report *L* 117.
nes *P* 40, **nees** *A* 142: *sm.* nose.
neue =**nue,** *fem. adj. V* 40.
niez, *sm.* nephew *L* 74.
nounestable, *adj.* unsteady *A* 40.
nounsachant, *adj.* unlearned *L* 146.
nyceté, *sf.* foolish, ill-bred action *A* 30.

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orgoillous, *adj.* proud (in bad sense) *L* 67; (in good sense) *V* 171.
oriler, *sm.* cushion, pillow *P* 105.
orras = *fut. of* **ouir** *E* 113.
ostel, *sm.* house, company *B* 36.
over = **ouverte.**
overir, v. act *V* 243.
ovesqe = **avec** *L* 54.
ovre; *pl.* **overez** *E* 248: *sf.* work, deed.
owe, *sf.* goose *V* 223.

paiere, *v.a.* please *L* 203; *v.refl.* please oneself *L* 309; be content *P* 25.
pain = **peine.**
paiser, *v.n.* calm oneself, be silent *A* 190.
papelard, *sm.* hypocrite *E* 34.
pardoine = **pardon** *E* 321.
parler; *ind. pres. 3* **parole** *A* 115; *subj. pres. 6* **parougent** *L* 247.
passer, *v.a.* overstep *P* 166.
pé *L* 297; *pl.* **peez** *L* 44 = **pied, pieds.**
pecché criminaus, *sm.* cardinal sin *L* 64.
pener, *v.n.* make efforts, strive *E* 191.
pent = **appent** *V* 216.
per, *sm.* peer, equal *P* 170.
per, *adj.* lazy? (<piger) *P* 142.
pere, *v.n.* break wind *A* 144.
persone, *sm.* parson *V* 67.
pes = **paix** *L* 245.
piere = **pere**, father *V* 31.
pis = **pieds** ? *P* 160.
plaidour, *sm.* lawyer *V* 191.
pleste = **plait**, *sm.* agreement; **tenir p. de** make an agreement with *E* 85.
pluis = **plus** *L* 56.
porcel, *sm.* portion *P* 92.
portour, *sf.* demeanour *L* 17.
pouer v. **apoer.**
preome, *sm.* neighbour *L* 93.
prest, *sm.* loan *E* 139.
proesce *E* 159, **pruesce** *L* 103: *sf.* moral excellence.
pru *E* 132, **prue** *E* 246: *sm.* profit, advantage.
prus *L* 114, **-uz** *B* 78: *pl.* **prodes** *L* 272: *adj.* worthy, brave.
purcelin, *sm.* pigling *P* 67.

quainte = **cointe**, *adj.* well-bred *L* 22.
quei = **quoi** *L* 321.
queor = **coeur** *L* 163.

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quilere = **cuiller** *P* 12.
quointise = **coin-**, *sf.* wit, lively intercourse *L* 60.

rage, *sf.* madness *L* 320; wild talk *A* 63.
ragours, *adj.* very eager (*conn. with* **ragier**) *A* 164.
rebaudie, *sf.* revelry *E* 65.
rechiner *B* 35, **resch-** *V* 41: *v.n.* grimace.
recorder, *v.a.* remember *E* 68.
regeier = **regehir**, *v.* confess *E* 328.
reheiter, *v.a.* greet cheerfully *A* 17.
reigne, *sm.* kingdom *B* 67.
reis = **roi** *L* 74.
relement = **rarement** *V* 154.
remaner; *pres. p.* **remenant** *B* 89: *v.* remain; **a remenant** for evermore *B* 89.
renomē, *sf.* reputation *E* 76.
rent, *sf.* revenue, money *E* 283.
reschiner v. **rech-**.
resyn = **raisin**, *sm.* grape *V* 222.
retraire *V* 238; *pp.* **retret** *L* 243; *v.* relate *L* 243; (+*de*) withdraw from *V* 238.
rier = **rire** *V* 41, *B* 35.
rober *v.a.* clothe, buy clothes for *V* 219.
rogable, *adj.* liable to blush (?) *conn. with* **rogir**, *cf.* **decevable** *V* 153. *or* quarrelsome (?) *conn. with* OF. **rogue** *A* 60.
runcin, *sm.* hack (horse) *L* 183.
ryse = **ris**, *sm.* laughter *A* 64.

sacrer, *v.* celebrate (Communion) *B* 21.
sauf = *pres. subj. 3 of* **sauver** *E* 318.
sauler, *v.a.* satiate *E* 294.
secle, *sm.* world *E* 195; life *E* 321.
seeir, ser *P* 169: *v.n.* sit; *pres.p.* **sëauntz** fitting *L* 170.
sei = **se** *E* 161.
seigner, *v.refl.* cross oneself *B* 3.
seinz = **sans**.
sergeaunt, -janz *E* 43: *sm.* servitor *E* 43; attendant, squire *L* 178.
sert = **cert** *E* 228.
servisable, *adj.* willing to serve *B* 60.
seulleur, *sf.* stain *P* 44.
seynture = **ceinture** *P* 176.
sil = **sili** *P* 139.
sin = **si en** *E* 12.
siwie = *pp. of* **suivre** *L* 254.
sodal, *sm.* companion *A* 125.

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soul = **seul** *L* 130.
soulacer, *v.a.* refresh *V* 61.
subseeir, *v.n.* sit up *P* 32.
sues, *adv.* pleasantly *A* 76.
suez = **essuyez** *P* 20.
supe, *sf.* sop *P* 21.
surffert = *pp. of* **souffrir** *E* 282.
surtz = **source** *L* 63.

tables, *pl. fem.* backgammon *E* 229.
tai = **toi** *E* 3.
talent, *sm.* mind, opinion *A* 173.
tant; t. ne quant (*after neg.*) not one whit *L* 237; **par t.** so much the more *L* 19.
taverners, *adj.* tavern-haunting *V* 119, *P* 177.
tei = **toi** *V* 195.
tenement, *sm.* possessions *V* 215.
tenser, *v.n.* argue *L* 235; dispute *A* 91.
tenson, *sf.* argument *L* 276.
terene, *adj.* worldly *E* 192.
tiel = **tel** *L* 315.
tolir *L* 314; *ind. pres. 3* **tut** *E* 142: *v.a.* take away.
trace, *sf.* track, footsteps *E* 322.
treble, *adj.* triple *E* 170.
trenche, *sm.* stroke *P* 61.
trenchour, *sm.* trencher *P* 59.
trere *L* 87, **treer** *B* 64: *v.* draw towards, prefer *L* 59; **t. ensus** hold (tongue) *L* 248; *v.refl.* go *B* 64; (+a) make friends with *L* 272.
trespacer, *v.n.* (+a) transgress against *V* 129.
tut v. **tolir.**

us, *sm.* use *B* 26.
usetz = *perf. of* **avoir** *L* 252.

veer, *v.a.* forbid *P* 147.
veie, *sf.* way *L* 262.
veil v. **viel.**
veisyn = **voisin** *A* 220.
veneri, *sf.* art of hunting *E* 236.
vesqui *V* 2, **-quit** *L* 2 = *perf. 3 of* **vivre.**
veu = **vu** *L* 304.
veve = **veuve** *L* 179.
viander *sm.* dispenser of food *E* 265.
viel *L* 264, **veil** *E* 149, **veu** *L* 261 = **vieux.**
vilain; *nom.* **vilans** *A* 197; *pl.* **vilainis** *E* 106: *adj.* vile, filthy *E* 106; ill-bred *A* 197.

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vilainie, *sf.* dishonourable action *L* 75; uncleanness *E* 104.
vilement, *adv.* lightly, making it of no account *L* 159.
vituban ? (<**vitalba, clematis**?) *P* 73.
voist *B* 27, **-sent** *E* 213 = *subj. pres. 3 & 6 of* **aller.**
vouse = **vous** *A* 174.
vynetrie. *sf.* drinking *V* 118.

wa- v. **ga-.**
wassail, *sm.* toast; **dire w.** pledge a toast *P* 78.
Wawain = **Gawain** *L* 74.
weu = **vu** *E* 261.

Ypomedes = **Ipomedon** *L* 79.
yveroyne = **ivrogne** *P* 177.

MIDDLE-ENGLISH AND FOREIGN TREATISES ON MANNERS

When considering the Anglo-Norman Books of Courtesy, it is natural to look for a close resemblance between them and their Middle-English fellows. These latter seem all to date from the 15th century, and it is therefore not surprising to find them most like the *Apprise* and the *Petit Traitise*, which are of that date, but at the same time we find a few passages resembling the *Urbain*. On the whole, however, there seems to be no Middle-English poem of the same kind of interest as the *Urbain* type, since the Middle-English deal preeminently with table-manners, and only secondarily with the mental and moral equipment of the mediæval well-born boy. They are concerned with practical nurture for anyone with aspirations to breeding, rather than with knightly courtesy, which was intended only for the chosen few whose birth made them worthy of such instruction.

The Early English Text Society provides us with all the Middle-English texts on this subject, and in particular no. 32, *Early English Meals and Manners*, edited by F. J. Furnivall, is a mine of useful material. Other volumes are Extra Series 3 & 4, containing *Caxton's Courtesy Book*, Extra Series 8, entitled *A Booke of Precedence*, and no. 148, a 15th-century Courtesy Book, but these provide little that is helpful.

We must first dismiss the English interlinear translation of the *Urbain* version *T*, as being nothing more than a literal prose translation, of no independent value. The same may be said of the French translation of the English *Boke of Curtasie*, in Balliol

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College MS 354, known as *Richard Hill's Commonplace Book* (printed by R. Dyboski in *Bausteine, Zeitschrift für neuenglische Wortforschung*, Berlin, 1906, vol. I, pp. 329–352). In any case this translation is in Continental French.

When we turn to a closer consideration of *Early English Meals and Manners*, we see that some of those lines whose wording recalls the Anglo-Norman are also found in Cato, but that others have no such source in the French. There must therefore have been direct connection between Anglo-Norman and Middle-English, not merely independent borrowing from Cato, either in Latin or in translation. These points of verbal resemblance are scattered thinly throughout some half-dozen of the poems, and their sparseness would suggest oral tradition rather than a definite adaptation of any Anglo-Norman poem by a Middle-English writer. Although one of the poems is called *Urbanitatis*, it bears no closer resemblance than any of the others to the *Urbain*.

The passages which recall French lines drawn from Cato are as follows:

Babees Book (MS Harl. 5086, c. 1475), l. 100.

Eke for to skorne eschewe withe alle your myhte.

cf. L.V. 209–10,

Second Book of Curtasye (MS Sloane 1986, c. 1460), ll. 1–2.

Yf that thou be a yong enfaunt
And thenke tho scoles for to haunt.

cf. E.V. 95,

The other points of resemblance seem all to deal with the page's actual deportment at table:

Urbanitatis (c. 1460), l. 3–6.

When thou comeste before a lorde
In hall, yn bowre, or at the borde,
Hoode or kappe thou of tho.

cf. E.V. 37–8, which are slightly obscure, but seem to mean "And you will willingly have doffed your hood."

Babees Book, l. 78–83.

Take eke noo sete, but to stonde be yee preste
Whils for to sytte ye have in komaundement.
Youre heede, your hande, your feet, holde yee in reste,
Nor thurhe clowyng, your flesshe loke yee nat rent;
Lene to no post whils that ye stande present
Byfore your lorde.

Second Book of Curtasye, l. 325.

Let not the post becum thy staf.

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Stans Puer ad Mensam (Lydgate version), l. 9.
Agenst the post lete nat thy bak abyde.
Second Book of Curtasye, ll. 315–18.
Also yf thou have a lorde,
And stondes byfore hym at the borde,
While that thou speke, kepe welle thy honde,
Thy fete also in pece let stonde.
cf. E.V. 35–40.
The Young Children's Book, ll. 63–8.
When thi better schewys his wylle,
To he have seyd thou muste be stylle.
When thou spekes to any mane,
Hande, fote and fynger kepe thou styll than,
And luke thou uppe in to his face,
And curtase be in every place.
cf. L.V. 39–46.

There is also so close a parallel to this passage in a section of the *Schoole of Vertue*, by F. Seager, printed in 1557, that it must be quoted here, as it shows how at least one point of 14th-century deportment was still considered suitable on the eve of Elizabeth's reign.

How to behave thy selfe in taulkynge with any man.
Capitulo vii.

If a man demaunde	a question of thee,
In thine aunswere makynge	be not to hastie;
waie well his wordes,	the case understande
Eare an answere to make	thou take in hande,
Els may he judge	in thee little wit,
To answere to a thynge	and not heare it.
Suffer his tale	whole out to be toulde,
Then speake thou mayst,	and not be controulde;
Low obeisaunce makyng,	lokinge him in the face,
Tretably speaking	thy wordes see thou place.
with countinaunce sober	thy bodie uprighte
Thy fete juste together,	thy handes in lyke plight.

These quotations, however, cannot be taken to prove anything more definite than the continued popularity of the *Urbain* beyond the 14th century.

We could not end without a cursory glance at other countries for examples of poems on manners. French didactic literature seems to yield few works of the Anglo-Norman type. In the

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Quatre Tens d'Aage de l'homme,[1] for instance, Philippe de Navarre emits moral precepts of a general nature, suitable to people of all ages and in all walks of life, and therefore of little interest from our more specialized point of view.

Again, Etienne de Fougere's 12-century *Livre des Manieres*[2] has a promising title, but is concerned principally with the duties of exalted beings such as kings, archbishops and cardinals. It is true that one section is devoted to knights, but, as we might expect from the pen of a bishop, it is the religious and mystical side of knighthood which is stressed; there are none of those practical details of chivalry in the making, which constitute the interest of the *Urbain*. The same remark applies to Robert de Blois' *Enseignement des Princes*,[3] which preaches much the same virtues as do our Anglo-Norman texts, but which is written for full-blown knights rather than for boys. Allegory and literary allusions of all kinds—Biblical, pseudo-classical, epic and Arthurian—create a very different atmosphere from the sober reality of the *Urbain* or the *Edward*.

Since courtesy aimed at directing social intercourse between the sexes, it is natural to find the same precepts in treatises composed for the ladies, as in those written for their knights. As the Chevalier de Latour Landry says in the *Livre*[4] he wrote for his daughters: "Courtoisie est le premier chemin et l'entrée de toute amistié et amour mondaine, ... et pour tant est belle chose d'estre courtoise. . . . . Se vos monstrés vostre courtoisie aux petits et aux petites" (ch. X). He in his *Livre*, and Robert de Blois in his *Chastoiement des Dames*,[3] require the same virtues of good temper, self-control, liberality and general politeness as are dictated in our poems. We have already seen, however, that our Anglo-Norman poets were not preeminently concerned with the making of a squire of dames, and they do not enlarge on the reciprocal behavior of man and woman. Any resemblance that has struck us in such treatises as the *Livre* or the *Chastoiement*, is not to the *Urbain* or the *Edward*, but to those poems—the *Apprise* and the *Petit Traitise*—which deal with table-manners. Knight or lady, it was equally important to know how to bear oneself at dinner, for everyone must eat, and that lengthily and with decorum.

[1] Ed. Marcel de Fréville, *Soc. des Anc. Textes Franç.*, 1888.
[2] Ed. Josef Kremer, *Ausg. u. Abh. aus dem Geb. der rom. Phil.* no. 39, 1887.
[3] *Works*, ed. Jacob Ulrich, Berlin, 1889.
[4] Ed. Anatole de Montaiglon, 1854.

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In the same way, the 13th-century *Clef d'Amors*,[5] being a treatise on love, is in general very different in scope from our poems, but, in the section addressed to women (3225–3264), we find table-manners strongly reminiscent of the *Apprise* and the *Petit Traitise*, and the same in the *Roman de la Rose* (14366, 14376). The same subject of behaviour at meals is also treated in two short 15th-century French poems, published, together with another on general behaviour, in a section of E.E.T.S., no. 32, but none of these poems are of outstanding interest.

The articles on Italian and German Courtesy Books by W. M. Rossetti and Eugene Oswald, printed by the Early English Text Society (Extra Ser., No. VIII), confirm the impression made by the French treatises, that all nations demanded much the same kind of polishing, and that civilised Italy needed just as elementary instruction in table-manners as barbarous England. Bonvesino da Riva's *Fifty Courtesies of the Table*, and Tannhäuser's 13th-century Courtesy Rules, are linked to each other, and to their French and English fellows, by the same thread of the obvious which connects the *Apprise* and the *Petit Traitise* with the *Babees Book* or the *Second Book of Curtasye* or the *Chastoiement des Dames*. The frillings vary, but the main material is the same in all countries. This applies, however, only to table-manners, which form such a large part of mediæval courtesy; the rules for general good breeding depend entirely, in the Italian poems, as in the French Arts d'aimer, on the artificial doctrines of courtly love, whereas, as we have seen, the Anglo-Norman poems bear a much more natural and realistic stamp. What they lose in literary value, they gain for us by their greater sincerity, and mediæval courtesy, as represented by them, is more convincing, if less picturesque, than the highly-colored elaborations of romance.

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[5] Ed. Aug. Doutremont, *Bibliotheca Normannica*, 1890.

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XVI

CONVENTIONS OF PLATONIC DRAMA IN THE HEROIC PLAYS OF ORRERY AND DRYDEN

IN A recent article on "The Sources of the Restoration Heroic Play,"[1] Mr. William S. Clark discusses Elizabethan and French influences on heroic drama and supports the claim made by Sir Walter Scott, a century ago, that the heroic plays must be regarded as "the legitimate offspring" of the French heroic romances. Concerning the English influence, Mr. Clark observes: "In the face of this extensive dependence upon French suggestions the resemblances between the heroic plays and the English drama of earlier periods come to have much less significance."[2] Indeed, he regards as erroneous the opinion of scholars who have maintained that earlier English drama influenced "to a large degree" the heroic drama of the Restoration.

Mr. Clark's verdict is disappointing, not because the French romances failed to exert an important influence on heroic plays, but because they throw relatively little light on the dramatic structure of these plays. Moreover, Mr. Clark has not assembled all available evidence, for he disregards the indebtedness of the heroic dramatists to Pre-Restoration Platonic drama. For many years students of the drama have disparaged and neglected the curious Platonic plays that delighted the court of Charles the First. Nevertheless, the resemblances between these forgotten plays and Restoration heroic drama are striking enough to merit consideration.

To Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, the heroic plays are more closely related, perhaps, than Mr. Clark concedes, although the relationship does not account for the marked Platonism of heroic drama. By Marlowe's conception of heroic valor, Dryden was strongly influenced. In godlike arrogance and ambition, dauntless courage, and spectacular achievement, Dryden's heroes are worthy descendants of Marlowe's supermen. Most of Dryden's heroes fully deserve the comparison which Melesinda bestows on the rival princes in *Aureng-Zebe:*

> Too truly Tamerlane's successors they;
> Each thinks a world too little for his sway.[3]

[1] *The Review of English Studies* (January, 1928), IV, pp. 49–63.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 62.
[3] III, i.

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Of course, Marlowe by no means foreshadows the romantic idealism of heroic drama. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the nearest approach to such idealism is in the work of Beaumont and Fletcher. In certain plays by Fletcher, notably *The Knight of Malta* (c. 1618), *The Custom of the Country* (c. 1619), and *The Lovers' Progress* (1623), typical romantic situations of heroic drama are distinctly prefigured. Like the heroes of heroic drama, Fletcher's model lovers display their "merit" through unselfishness, generous treatment of rivals, resistance of temptation, and loyalty to their ladies. Fletcher's lovers are not, however, Platonic ritualists. They do not pass through the successive stages of discipline in love whereby the personages of heroic drama are tested as Love's converts. Fletcher's heroes are too active in intrigue to linger over the analysis of their passions. His heroines are too wayward to assert their power and guide the careers of their suitors. Dryden proved himself a discerning critic of Fletcher's romantic art when he wrote: "Let us applaud his scenes of love; but let us confess, that he understood not either greatness or perfect honour in the parts of any of his women."[4]

The French influence on heroic drama is more obvious and can be more easily determined. To the French riming heroic tragedies the heroic dramatists were indebted for the metrical form of their plays.[5] From the French heroic romances, on the other hand, these dramatists borrowed pseudo-historical settings and complications of heroic intrigue. The latter influence invites careful study, for the adaptations are clear-cut and numerous. But even where resemblances are most pronounced, the plays remain widely separated from the romances in method and effect. Mr. Clark stresses the fact that Dryden derived the plot of *The Indian Queen* from Gomberville's *Polexandre*. Yet, although both narratives correspond in general outline, they convey very different impressions. Dryden omits the long wanderings of Zelmatida and other undramatic material, introduces vivid dramatic episodes where the romance languishes without progression, and replaces the vague and colorless dialogue of his source with forceful Platonic con-

[4] *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards*, Part II (*Works*, ed. Scott and Saintsbury, Edinburgh, 1882-1893, IV), *Defence of the Epilogue*, p. 242.

[5] Before the Restoration, Leonard Willan had written in heroic couplets his pastoral drama *Astraea* (pr. 1650), based on D'Urfé's *Astrée*. D'Avenant experimented with rimed couplets in *The Siege of Rhodes*. Both dramatists must have been influenced by Corneille's rimed tragedies.

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troversy which results in decisive action. A somewhat closer relationship exists between Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards* and the romance of *Almahide*, by Madeleine de Scudéry. The essential features of Dryden's plot are to be found in this romance; but it must be admitted that he follows his model with a good deal of freedom. He discards the story of the charming girlhood of Almahide in the palace gardens at Fontaines and her earlier adventures in Granada, the sedate descriptions of Moorish revels, and the discursive "histories" of many rather unimportant characters. He presents the record of a courtship, not the record of a career. His chief concern is with the events of the ninth and shortest book of the romance, and these events he amplifies and reshapes in dramatic form, placing emphasis on moments which are of high interest from the dramatist's point of view.

In thus selecting from the formless French romances suitable ingredients for Platonic drama, Dryden must have been influenced by the Platonic dramatists who had gone before him. The outstanding conventions which govern post-Restoration Platonic drama came into fashion in the reign of Charles the First, through the efforts of a small group of court dramatists. This earlier Platonism may be conveniently studied in the following serious Platonic plays written before 1642: by William D'Avenant, *Love and Honour* (1634), *The Platonic Lovers* (1635), *The Fair Favourite* (1638), *The Unfortunate Lovers* (1638), and *The Distresses* (1639); by Lodowick Carlell, *The Deserving Favorite* (1629), *Arviragus and Philicia* (1636), *The Passionate Lovers* (1638), *The Fool Would Be a Favourit* (c. 1638), and *The Tragedy of Osmond the Great Turk* (c. 1638); by William Cartwright, *The Lady Errant* (1635), *The Royall Slave* (1636), and *The Siedge* (c. 1637); by Sir John Suckling, *Aglaura* (c. 1637), *Brennoralt* (1639), and *The Sad One* (c. 1640); by Thomas Killigrew, *The Prisoners* (before 1637), *Claricilla* (c. 1636), and *The Princesse* (before 1640). In general, the early Platonic dramatists did their best dramatic work before the Civil War. D'Avenant made an important late contribution to Platonic drama in *The Siege of Rhodes* (Part I, 1656, Part II, 1661), where, however, his characteristic Platonism is somewhat obscured by operatic song and spectacle.

Within the limits of a brief article, it is impossible to review the whole field of Platonic drama. The nature of the relationship between this pre-Restoration and post-Restoration drama may be

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sufficiently indicated by specific comparisons made between the plays listed above and the heroic plays of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, and John Dryden. Soon after the Restoration, Orrery and Dryden began their pioneer work in "heroic" drama and revived the conventions of earlier Platonism.

In 1661, at the request of Charles II, the Earl of Orrery undertook the composition of a play in rimed couplets, as to the merits of which he had serious misgivings, fearing that the play might be considered "fitter for the fire than the theatre."[6] His dramatic career, thus hesitantly begun, resulted in the following (published) heroic plays: *Henry V* (August, 1664); *The General* (September, 1664), revised by Charles Boyle and printed (1702) as *Altemira; Mustapha* (1665); *The Black Prince* (1667); *Tryphon* (1668); and *Herod the Great* (pr. 1694). Orrery was an inferior dramatist and Restoration audiences soon tired of the monotonous repetitions in his plays. Dryden, on the other hand, when his powers were at their height, devoted to heroic plays a genius such as no other heroic dramatist could boast and which might well have been consecrated to a worthier form of drama. His second serious play, *The Rival Ladies* (c. June, 1664), written mainly in blank verse, illustrates in detail Platonic conventions and has noteworthy Platonic passages in heroic couplets. With this exception, the plays by Dryden which bear the closest resemblances to early Platonic drama are the genuine heroic plays which he wrote strictly in heroic verse: *The Indian Queen* (January, 1664), written in collaboration with Sir Robert Howard; *The Indian Emperour* (1665); *Tyrannic Love* (1669); *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards* (Part I, 1670, Part II, 1671); and *Aureng-Zebe* (1675).[7]

It is well to bear in mind the fact that both Orrery and Dryden were not far removed in time or in sympathies from the earlier Platonic dramatists. As a youthful courtier, Roger Boyle, then Lord Broghill, must have read with interest D'Urfé's *Astrée* (1607–1627), the famous French romance which inaugurated at

[6] *A Collection of the State Letters of the Right Honourable Roger Boyle, The First Earl of Orrery* (Dublin, 1743), I, p. 76.

[7] In a number of Dryden's other plays, written chiefly in blank verse, such as *Secret Love* (1667), *Don Sebastian* (1689), *Cleomenes* (1692), and *Love Triumphant* (1693), there are some passages, often in heroic couplets, showing the influence of early Platonic drama. But in a comparison which must be brief these occasional Platonic passages may be disregarded.

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the court of Charles the First the cult of Platonic love and which was the chief source of inspiration of all the earlier Platonic dramatists. He had opportunities, also, to become familiar with the court plays which interpreted this "new religion in love." Lady Margaret Howard, whom he afterwards married, and Lady Kinalmeaky, the bride of his older brother Lewis, took part in a court performance (1640) of D'Avenant's Platonic masque, *Salmacida Spolia*. Boyle's friendship with Suckling will long be remembered because of Suckling's *Ballad upon a Wedding* (1641), celebrating Boyle's marriage.[8] In middle age the Earl was still an enthusiastic Platonist and admirer of D'Urfé. In his second play, which has been lost, he ventured to introduce a comic character borrowed from *Astrée*. While at work upon this play, he wrote regarding it to a distinguished correspondent (the Duke of Ormonde):

> . . . . The humour of Hilas, of which your grace will see some touches in the beginning of the second act, shall be interwoven, if your grace dislike it not, in every one of the three remaining; though I despair to make my Hilas as famous on the theatre, as the marquis of Urfe has made his in the romance; for besides his genius being exceedingly above mine, his Hilas was not limited to numbers and rhyme as mine is.[9]

Dryden was likewise a student of pre-Restoration Platonic literature. He gave his Celadon in *Secret Love* the name of Astrée's lover. More significantly, he used as a model for a number of spirited proviso scenes in his comedies the memorable marriage contract of Hylas and Stelle in D'Urfé's romance.[10] Of the genius of Suckling he had a high opinion. In *An Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, Eugenius asserts that earlier writers produced "nothing so courtly writ, or which expresses so much the conversation of a gentleman, as Sir John Suckling."[11] And in Dryden's first comedy, *The Wild Gallant* (1663), two of the characters recite with approval[12]

[8] It is worth noting that Boyle's younger brother Francis married Elizabeth Killigrew, sister of Thomas Killigrew. To this sister, who at the Restoration became Lady Shannon, Killigrew dedicated, in the 1664 edition of his plays, his early tragi-comedy *Claricilla*.

[9] *A Collection of the State Letters of the Right Honourable Roger Boyle, The First Earl of Orrery*, I, p. 77.

[10] In my recent book, *The Social Mode of Restoration Comedy* (New York and London, 1926), I have attempted to trace the indebtedness of the Restoration comic dramatists to D'Urfé and to early Platonic drama.

[11] *An Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (Works, XV), p. 291.

[12] V, iii.

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the opening lines of *Aglaura*. Dryden's interest in Carlell may be inferred from the fact that he wrote a prologue (1672) for a Restoration revival of *Arviragus and Philicia*. Such evidence, however, is fragmentary. Only by the analysis and comparison of the plays themselves can the debt of Orrery and Dryden to the early Platonic dramatists be justly estimated.

All of the plays in question belong to a highly specialized type of romantic drama, in which an artificial and exacting rule of life is portrayed. The characters in these plays are "exposed" to Platonic love, the purest passion which mortals may entertain and which heaven inspires in their souls. They respond to this spiritual experience in various ways; and the plays record their success or failure in Platonic discipline. The peculiar tenets of the Platonic cult are illustrated in the plays of Orrery and Dryden as completely as they had been previously illustrated in the plays of D'Avenant and Carlell.

In such drama fate exerts a unique authority. Platonic lovers always love by destiny. Love assails them at first sight and without warning, and it is fruitless to deny the claims of so divine a passion. The cruel queen Cartander in Carlell's *Arviragus and Philicia* prepares to stab Arviragus, but love has so besieged her heart that she discovers:

> I have no power to strike (I cannot) sure some Divinity holds backe my hands.[13]

In Dryden's *The Indian Emperour* Almeria has the same experience. Standing over the sleeping Cortez with drawn dagger, she yields to love and declares:

> I cannot kill thee; sure thou bear'st some charm,
> Or some divinity holds back my arm.[14]

Unfortunately, many lovers are destined to love "too late" and are compelled to admit with humility the claims of "priority" in love. Such lovers must console themselves by attributing their misfortunes to the "malicious courtesy"[15] of the stars, causing affections to be "robbed upon the way."[16] An unsuccessful lover is destined to a lady's friendship in place of her love. Thus Indamora in Dryden's *Aureng-Zebe* cheerfully assures the unhappy Arimant:

[13] Part II, II.
[14] IV, i.
[15] D'Avenant, *The Unfortunate Lovers*, III.
[16] Dryden, *Tyrannic Love*, III, i.

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Heaven made you love me for no other end,
But to become my confidant and friend.[17]

Platonic love has such celestial purity that it discredits and subdues, although in many cases it does not wholly extinguish, physical passion. In Cartwright's *The Royall Slave* the matchless Cratander and Atossa, the queen whom he loves, boast that their love is without desire, so flawless that Atossa's husband should be proud to shine in its reflected glory.[18] Berenice, the wife of the Roman emperor Maximin in Dryden's *Tyrannic Love*, makes a similar claim for her love for Porphyrius:

—In death I'll own a love to him so pure,
As will the test of heaven itself endure;
A love so chaste, as conscience could not chide;
But cherish it, and keep it by its side.
A love, which never knew a hot desire,
But flamed as harmless as a lambent fire;
A love, which pure from soul to soul might pass,
As light transmitted through a crystal glass;
Which gave Porphyrius all without a sin,
Yet kept entire the right of Maximin.[19]

At its best, Platonic love mortifies self-love. Jealousy in love has lost its tragic appeal and has become an intolerable offense. Charistus in Cartwright's *The Lady Errant* and Acacis in Dryden's *The Indian Queen* reflect with pleasure that in the after life they will be fully cured of the jealousy which in this life they have so basely displayed. Agenor in Carlell's *The Passionate Lovers*, forcing himself to admit his brother as his rival, reasons:

. . . . What do I feel!
Can the meer name of Rival trouble me?
Yes, with the addition that he is my brother.
But whither am I falling? Assist me Reason,
Let me but weigh my Mistresses unequal'd beauty,
And her greater merit, and that must prove
Both his excuse, and my assurance.[20]

In Orrery's *The Black Prince* the Prince handsomely apologizes to King John for having opposed his rivalship:

Oh! I did err, and in a high Degree,
Repining that you Rival were to me,

[17] III, i.
[18] III, iv and v.
[19] V, i.
[20] Part I, II.

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Since 'tis more fit that Pain I should abide,
Than that her Eyes this Triumph were deny'd.
. . . . . .
Unjust to her, and Love, I should appear,
Would I without a Rival conquer her.[21]

Personal claims in love must often be resigned. Evandra in D'Avenant's *Love and Honour* even goes so far as to affirm:

. . . . Persons I ne'er admir'd
So much to make a difference in my choice.[22]

Disappointed lovers are too generous to indulge in self-pity. Orithie in Suckling's *Aglaura* assures her successful rival:

Madam, I loved the Prince, not myself.
Since his Virtues have their full rewards,
I have my full desires.[23]

In the same spirit Honoria in Dryden's *The Rival Ladies* tells her lover that she can be reconciled to his marrying another, inasmuch as she loves "myself less than you."[24] Philon in Killigrew's *The Prisoners* sums up this extraordinary philosophy of renunciation in the words: "I have gain'd all my ends in love, by having no unworthy ends upon her I love."[25] The same general conclusion is arrived at by the rejected hero of Orrery's *Mustapha:*

Only those Lovers should be counted true,
Who Beauty's Int'rest, not their own, pursue.[26]

All of these plays record the histories of Platonic courtships, in the progress of which every phase of the theory and practice of Platonic love is demonstrated. Platonic lovers are subjected to two sorts of discipline: discipline in language and discipline in conduct. The first duty of lovers is to talk well. Platonic love has its own habit of speech, which every aspiring Platonist must master.

Beginners in Platonic courtship learn to analyze their emotions; from these personal experiences and the observations of other they deduce the main principles of the Platonic cult. They so perfect themselves in love's catechism that they are able to quote with clearness and brevity the answers to such questions as: What is love? What is love's diet? What are love's debts? What is jealousy? What are beauty's rights? What are the obligations of

[21] IV.
[22] V.
[23] V (revised act).
[24] V, iii.
[25] IV, i.
[26] III.

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friendship? What is the reward of love? In answering these questions, the Restoration Platonic lovers repeat, with but slight verbal variations, the definitions of their predecessors in Platonic drama. Ziriff in Suckling's *Aglaura* soliloquizes:

> To love is noble frailty, but poor sin,
> When we fall once to love, unloved again.[27]

The King in Orrery's *The Black Prince* makes the same observation:

> Love is, at worst, a noble Frailty thought;
> But Love, when scorn'd, is justly held a Fault.[28]

"Agues and fevers all our passions are"[29] is a maxim which Platonic lovers never tire of explaining. Love, like agues, "needs no nourishment."[30] Jealousy, in contrast, is the fever of love. It is thus described by Francelia in Suckling's *Brennoralt:*

> . . . . jealousy's
> No better sign of love, my lord, than fevers are
> Of life; they show there is a being, though
> Impair'd and perishing: and that, affection,
> But sick and in disorder.[31]

Boabdelin in Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards* is of the same opinion:

> No sign of love in jealous men remains,
> But that which sick men have of life—their pains.[32]

Platonic wisdom is often won with difficulty. The hero of Suckling's *Brennoralt* "studies" to achieve the sentiment:

> . . . . I will deserve her, though
> I have her not. There's something yet in that.[33]

Similarly, Demetrius in Orrery's *Tryphon* "studies awhile" until he can persuade himself:

> To lose her, yet deserve her, is more fit,
> Than to possess her, and not merit it.[34]

[27] II.
[28] III.
[29] Dryden, *The Indian Emperour*, II, i.
[30] Dryden, *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards*, Part II, IV, iii.
[31] IV.
[32] Part II, III, i.
[33] III.
[34] III.

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Platonic discourse must be gracious and attractive. In the company of friends and rivals it is the task of a lover to vindicate politely the behaviour, however cruel, of the lady whom he serves. If he is forced to refuse a lady's love, he must express his regrets with such courtesy that the unfortunate lady may rejoice in his debt of gratitude. To his mistress he eloquently protests his devotion, acknowledges in extravagant terms her slightest favors, accepts her rebukes with eager humility, and, if fate proves unkind, faces death with the courtly phrases of love's "funeral rites"[35] upon his lips. A lover's command of fine rhetoric is shown most convincingly by his skill in the use of similitudes. No emotional crisis may be permitted to interfere with the exercise of this talent. When Francelia in Suckling's *Brennoralt* tells Brennoralt that she cannot love his rival, he rejoins:

> Condemned men thus hear, and thus receive
> Reprieves.[33]

When Indamora, the heroine of Dryden's *Aureng-Zebe*, rejects her suitor Arimant, he observes gracefully, though in grief:

> So mariners mistake the promised coast;
> And, with full sails, on the blind rocks are lost.[36]

Even if the hero's life is at stake, there is still opportunity for the exchange of similitudes. At such a time, Thersames and his bride in Suckling's *Aglaura* find leisure to compare the career of Thersames to the sun's course.[37] In a similar manner, in Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards*, when Almanzor has been led off to prison to await his death, Boabdelin is inspired to compare the drooping Almahide to a "fair tulip, by a storm oppressed." The similitude is not lost upon Almahide, who looking up and not seeing her lover, in spite of her agitation remarks prettily:

> So flowers peep out too soon, and miss the sun.[38]

Thus art defeats nature in the Platonic pattern of life.

In the art of argument Platonic lovers must be well versed. They are frequently required to take part in similitude debates, in which important issues of Platonic service are disputed with great formality. In these debates the first speaker introduces an argu-

[35] D'Avenant. *The Unfortunate Lovers*, V.
[36] II, i.
[37] III.
[38] Part I, V, ii.

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ment, which he defends by some suitable comparison. The second speaker continues the argument by enlarging upon this comparison or presenting another. Each successive speech is suggested by and refers back to a similitude in the speech which immediately precedes it. For purposes of comparison, two characteristic controversies may be cited, a debate on the claims of love between Iolas and Semanthe in Suckling's *Aglaura* and a discussion of a similar nature between Almanzor and Almahide in Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards.*

In the former debate Semanthe is rejecting the suit of Iolas:

> *Sem.* . . . . if I do shun you, 'tis
> As bashful debtors shun their creditors.
> I cannot pay you in the self-same coin,
> And am asham'd to offer any other.
>
> *Iol.* It is ill done, Semanthe, to plead bankrupt,
> When with such ease you may be out of debt.
> In love's dominions native commodity
> Is current payment; change is all the trade,
> And heart for heart the richest merchandise.
>
> *Sem.* 'Twould here be mean, my lord, since mine would prove
> In your hands but a counterfeit,[39] and yours in mine
> Worth nothing. Sympathy, not greatness,
> Makes those jewels rise in value.
>
> *Iol.* Sympathy? O, teach but yours to love, then,
> And two so rich no mortal ever knew.
>
> *Sem.* That heart would love but ill that must be taught;
> Such fires as these still kindle of themselves.
>
> *Iol.* In such a cold and frozen place as is
> Thy breast, how should they kindle of themselves,
> Semanthe?
>
> *Sem.* Ask how the flint can carry fire within!
> 'Tis the least miracle that love can do.[40]

[39] Compare with the Queen's speech in Orrery's *Mustapha*, IV:

> I am for Mustapha's true Love in Debt,
> Which I will never pay with counterfeit.

[40] Compare with Orrery's *Tryphon*, I:

> 'Tis the least Miracle, which Love can do,
> To change dissembled Virtue into true.

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Iol. Thou art thyself the greatest miracle,
For thou art fair to all perfection,
And yet dost want the greatest part of beauty—
Kindness. Thy cruelty (next to thyself)
Above all things on earth takes up my wonder.

Sem. Call not that cruelty, which is our fate.
Believe me, Iolas, the honest swain,
That from the brow of some steep cliff far off,
Beholds a ship labouring in vain against
The boisterous and unruly elements, ne'er had
Less power or more desire to help than I.
. . . . . .

Iol. So perishing sailors pray to storms,
And so they hear again. So men
With death about them, look on physicians, that
Have given them o'er, and so they turn away:
Two fixed stars, that keep a constant distance,
And by laws made with themselves must know
No motion eccentric, may meet as soon as we:
The anger that the foolish sea does show,
When it does brave it out, and roar against
A stubborn rock that still denies it passage,
Is not so vain and fruitless as my prayers.[41]

With this debate may be compared the debate in which Almahide urges Almanzor to dismiss the "short vexatious vision" of his love:

Almanz. My joys, indeed, are dreams; but not my pain:
'Twas a swift ruin, but the marks remain.
When some fierce fire lays goodly buildings waste,
Would you conclude
There had been none, because the burning's past?

Almah. It was your fault that fire seized all your breast;
You should have blown up some to save the rest:
But 'tis, at worst, but so consumed by fire,
As cities are, that by their falls rise higher.
Build love a nobler temple in my place;
You'll find the fire has but enlarged your space.

[41] IV.

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Almanz. Love has undone me; I am grown so poor,
I sadly view the ground I had before,
But want a stock, and ne'er can build it more.

Almah. Then say what charity I can allow;
I would contribute if I knew but how.
Take friendship; or, if that too small appear
Take love,—which sisters may to brothers bear.

Almanz. A sister's love! that is so palled a thing,
What pleasure can it to a lover bring?
'Tis like thin food to men in fevers spent;
Just keeps alive, but gives no nourishment.
What hopes, what fears, what transports can it move?
'Tis but the ghost of a departed love.

Almah. You, like some greedy cormorant, devour
All my whole life can give you in an hour.[42]

It will be observed that both debates follow the same and indeed typical plan of similitude argument. The similitudes, also, are closely allied. In such debates the range of illustrations is limited. Comparisons are ordinarily restricted to tides or currents, shipwrecks, fires, articles of diet, diseases, thefts, debts, and misers' stores.

Certain dramatists, notably Carlell and Orrery, prefer less formal debates with fewer or no similitudes. But in all Platonic plays there are numerous arguments. Such themes as the nature and claims of love, the duties of friendship, the evils of jealousy, the merits of constancy, and the value of possession are debated over and over again. Debates often have significant consequences. For example, it is by argument that Arsamnes in Cartwright's *The Royall Slave* and Gonsalvo in Dryden's *The Rival Ladies* are cured of self-love.[43]

Discipline in conduct compels the same acts of endurance and heroism in the drama of Orrery and Dryden as in the earlier Platonic plays. A Platonic hero finds himself in one of two situations: his mistress loves him or loves his rival. If his love is returned, his happiness is nevertheless delayed by certain of the following obstacles: (1) the hostility or friendship of a rival, (2)

[42] Part I, V, ii.

[43] See *The Royall Slave*, III, v and *The Rival Ladies*, IV, i.

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the active interference of a father, guardian, or brother, (3) the cruelty or kindness of a woman whose interests conflict with those of the heroine, (4) the heroine's requirements of Platonic service, and (5) the heroine's sensitiveness to other obligations. If his opponent is a hostile rival or other enemy, the hero's experiences are likely to include: a bold attack on the King's Guard; courageous action in battle; a secret visit to his lady under dangerous conditions; a sojourn in prison, from which he is released through the assistance of his lady or a generous rival; and the humiliation or subjection of his foe. When his enemy is a friendly rival, there are other complications; the hero then pays friendship's debts by serving his friend,[44] who may, in turn, serve him, and opposes his friend in a duel, after which the friendship is renewed. A woman whose love is not returned may display merit by binding up the hero's wounds or performing some act of service for the heroine and by sacrificing her own happiness without complaint; under such circumstances, the hero owes her a debt of gratitude which causes him no little anxiety.[45] A vindictive woman shows her jealousy by attempting to kill the man whom she loves or her rival; ultimately, she either repents or dies a painful death.[46] By the heroine's requirements of Platonic service, the hero is obliged to wait long and patiently for her hand, to defend her life and honor, and to conquer, at whatever cost, the unworthy passions of jealousy and desire. If she reminds him of her other obligations, he must be patient still and must treat those who have claims upon her with all possible forbearance and courtesy.

If his mistress loves his rival, a lover's obligations are as follows: (1) he must serve his rival in some conspicuous manner, (2) he must become reconciled to this rivalship, and (3) he must surrender his mistress to his rival. Service, under these conditions, may involve defending or protecting a rival, urging some person in

[44] He usually urges his lady to encourage his friend's suit. In Carlell's *The Fool Would Be a Favourit* Philanthus exhibits a perfect friendship by requiring the woman who loves him to marry his friend. He feigns death and his supposed ghost enforces the marriage.

[45] Alvaro in D'Avenant's *Love and Honour* and Gonsalvo in Dryden's *The Rival Ladies* pay their debts of gratitude by marrying the ladies who have so unselfishly served them.

[46] Dryden's interest in evil women exceeds that of the earlier dramatists. Cartander in Carlell's *Arviragus and Philicia* is considerably less formidable than Zempoalia in *The Indian Queen*, Almeria in *The Indian Emperour*, and Nourmahal in *Aureng-Zebe*.

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authority to spare his life, freeing him from prison, or arranging for him an interview with his lady.[47] The complete agreement of two rivals usually follows a brief duel, which both regret as soon as it is over. As a result of such trials of friendship, the unsuccessful lover at last perceives that merit, not possession, is the reward of love. In this faith he resigns his lady to his rival, thus achieving the highest distinction to which a Platonic lover may attain. Such service can never adequately be acknowledged by those fortunate lovers who profit by it. They are all of the opinion of Lycidor in Orrery's *Altemira*, when he declares:

Next to the Gift the Giver I esteem.[48]

Orrery and Dryden did not, of course, repeat with literal exactness the dramatic program of their predecessors. Orrery's plays are even more argumentative than the early Platonic plays and are less eventful. *The Black Prince* has almost no action, in this respect resembling D'Avenant's *The Platonic Lovers* but differing from the majority of early Platonic plays. *Altemira*, on the contrary, has an intricate plot, very similar to that of Suckling's *Brennoralt*. In emphasizing only Platonic interests and in strictly interpreting the cult, Orrery followed more faithfully than Dryden the earlier conventions of Platonism. Platonic action in Dryden's plays follows the same lines as Platonic action in Carlell's; but Dryden also introduces for their own sake, and with a new emphasis on picturesqueness of setting,[49] many martial and other spectacular scenes. Dryden's heroes prove his contention that men of heroic calibre are not exempt from weaknesses of character.[50] Although excellent Platonic philosophers on occasion, they speak not infrequently the natural language of passion and chafe under the restraints of their servitude. Dryden's heroines are better Platonists, yet they make concessions in love which will not bear the closest Platonic scrutiny. Furthermore, in Dryden's plays Platonic interests are at times overshadowed by claims of patriotism, personal honor, and filial devotion.[51] The argument

[47] This last type of service is stressed by Dryden. It is illustrated by Gonsalvo in *The Rival Ladies*, Placidius in *Tyrannic Love*, and Arimant in *Aureng-Zebe*.

[48] V.

[49] In the early Platonic plays little attention is paid to local color, although the scenes are laid in such varied localities as France, Poland, Spain, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Cyprus, Tartary, and Persia.

[50] See *Of Heroic Plays* (Works, IV), pp. 27–28.

[51] In *Of Heroic Plays*, p. 20, Dryden censures D'Avenant for his deficiency in "fulness" of plot.

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of the heroine of *Arviragus and Philicia* is no longer valid that one "may stand free from any other band, than that of love."[52]

In all heroic drama, however, although other features may be introduced, the Platonic emphasis is of fundamental importance. Platonic enthusiasm is the impelling force which determines and justifies every great career. The first aim of the heroic dramatist is to represent, in the mind of some high-souled hero, an emotional conflict between worldly and Platonic standards, a conflict which finds outward expression in eloquent speech and valorous action. Noble natures respond ultimately to the challenge of Platonic ideals and receive, although not necessarily in material ways, the rewards of faith. The originators of heroic drama found such a philosophy of life illustrated, in profuse detail and through an undramatic medium, in the French heroic romances. But in the pre-Restoration Platonic plays they discovered what was still more serviceable to them: authentic drama, where the Platonic pattern of life was already successfully reduced to the compass of five acts, Platonic dialogue was condensed for dramatic purposes, and the most memorable incidents of Platonic courtship were arranged in dramatic sequence. With such convenient source material at their disposal, it was inevitable that Orrery and Dryden should owe a major debt to early Platonic drama.

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[52] Part I, II.

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XVII

SHADWELL AND THE VIRTUOSI

ON MAY 30, 1667, Samuel Pepys attended a meeting of the Royal Society at Arundell House where he found "much company, indeed very much company, in expectation of the Duchesse of Newcastle, who had been desired to be invited to the Society; and was, after much debate, *pro* and *con.*, it seems many being against it; and we do believe," he observes, "the town will be full of ballads of it." Thomas Sprat, in his history of the Society published the same year, after pointing out to "*Wits* and *Railleurs*" that experimental science will afford them new material for their "wit" and fancy, declares:[1]

> I acknowledge that we ought to have a great dread of their power: I confess I believe that *New Philosophy* need not (as *Caesar*) fear the pale, or the melancholy, as much as the humorous, and the merry: For they perhaps by making it ridiculous, becaus it is *new*, and becaus they themselves are unwilling to take pains about it, may do it more injury than all the arguments of our severe and frowning and dogmatical *Adversaries.*

The Society did not escape the notice of "these terrible men," nor did argument prevail against them. Andrew Marvell, for one, took notice of the Duchess of Newcastle's entertainment, and, bidding his painter "take aim" through Robert Hooke's microscope (by which one might see "a tall louse brandish a white staff"), draws her "to the life" as a philosopher among philosophers. Having associated Sidrophel, the astrologer of *Hudibras*, with the new science, Samuel Butler turned his satire upon the Royal Society itself in *The Elephant in the Moon.* But of all the "*Wits* and *Railleurs*" from Butler and Marvell to Swift and Addison, probably none launched a more effective attack upon the Royal Society than did Thomas Shadwell in *The Virtuoso.*[2]

With an eye for the dramatic material that might be drawn from contemporary life, Shadwell easily found enough material in the new science from which to make a play. Indeed, he found it possible

[1] *The History of the Royal Society of London for the Improving of Natural Knowledge.* London, 1667, p. 417.

[2] *The Elephant in the Moon* appeared first in Robert Thyer's edition of Butler's *Genuine Remains* in 1759. *The Virtuoso* was produced at Covent Garden Theatre in 1676 and was published the same year.

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to dispense with most of the conventional intrigue of Restoration comedy, depending for his main effect upon a treatment of the virtuoso "humour." The new science, or what Shadwell chose to make of it, gives both body and spirit to the play. Not only does the main interest lie in the Virtuoso, whose conduct determines the course of the whole plot, but the very dialogue in which his experiments are discussed is taken directly from the various accounts which the natural philosophers themselves had published. The atmosphere of the laboratory and the workshop pervades the whole play.

Shadwell boasted that he introduced into his play four "entirely new" comic characters.[3] One of these "humours" is Snarl, "a great Declaimer against the Vices of the Age, a clownish blunt Satyrical Fellow; a hater of all young People, and new Fashions."[4] Another is Sir Samuel Hearty, who "thinks that all Mirth consists in Noise, Tumult, and violent Laughter: . . . . One that affects a great many Nonsensical by-words, which he takes to be Wit, and uses upon all occasions."[5] Still another is Sir Formal Trifle, "The greatest Master of Tropes and Figures, the most *Ciceronean* Coxcomb, the noblest Orator breathing," one who "is very much abounding in Words, and very defective in Sense."[6]

The fourth of these humour characters is the Virtuoso himself, Sir Nicholas Gimcrack. Besides treating the Virtuoso with far more attention to detail than he allows to any of the other three, Shadwell makes him the center of the plot. In the language of Sir Formal,[7]

> he is the finest speculative Gentleman in the whole World, and in his Cogitations the most serene animal alive: Not a creature so little, but affords him great Curiosities: He is the most admirable Person in the *Meletetiques, viz.*, in Reflections and Meditations, in the whole World. Not a Creature so inanimate, to which he does not give a Tongue; he makes the whole World Vocal; he makes Flowers, nay Weeds, speak eloquently, and by a noble kind of Prosopoeia instruct Mankind.

According to Snarl, his nephew, who opposes experiments as well as all other innovations, Sir Nicholas "has study'd these twenty Years about the nature of Lice, Spiders and Insects; and has been as long compiling a Book of Geography for the World in the

[3] *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Shadwell.* . . . . London, 1720. See epistle dedicatory and prologue.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, 325.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 317.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 316.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 321.

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Moon."[8] He comes off little better by the testimony of his two nieces, who have no better ground of dislike for him than that he is their guardian. Clarinda calls him "A Sot, that has spent £2000 in Microscopes, to find out the nature of Eels in Vinegar, Mites in Cheese, and the blue of Plums; which he has subtilly found out to be living Creatures."[9] According to Miranda, he is "One, who has broken his Brains about the nature of Maggots, who has studied these twenty Years to find out the several sorts of Spiders, and never cares for understanding Mankind."[10] But Sir Nicholas is not one of the philosophers of Gresham College. "The College indeed," according to his wife, "refus'd him; they envy'd him."[11] As a result, he has a laboratory of his own, where he invites his friends to watch him make his experiments.

It is upon such an invitation that Longvil and Bruce, stock lover and confidant, respectively, of Restoration comedy, gain access to the Virtuoso's house, where they carry on their intrigue with the two nieces while professing an interest in science. Upon their arrival, they are informed by Lady Gimcrack that Sir Nicholas is to be found "In his Laboratory, a spacious Room, where all his Instruments and fine Knick-Knacks are."[12] Before admitting them, she explains that

He has a Frog in a Bowl of Water, ty'd with a Packthread by his Loins; which Packthread Sir Nicholas holds in his Teeth, lying upon his Belly on a Table; and as the Frog strikes, he strikes; and his Swimming-Master stands by, to tell him what he does well or ill.

They come upon Sir Nicholas as he discourses with Sir Formal during a pause in his exertions.

So; it is wonderful, my noble Friend, to observe the Agility of this pretty Animal, which notwithstanding I impede its Motion, by the Detention of this Filum, or Thread, within my Teeth, which makes a Ligature about its Loins, and though by many sudden Stops I cause the Animal sometimes to sink or emerge, yet with indefatigable Activity it rises, and keeps almost its whole Body upon the Superficies, or Surface, of this Humid Element.

To which Sir Formal replies,

True, noble Sir; nor do I doubt but your Genius will make Art equal, if not exceed Nature: nor will this or any other Frog upon the face of the Earth out-swim you.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 331.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 324.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 324.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 313.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 340.

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Sir Nicholas, having "refrigerated" his lungs "by way of Respiration," proceeds with his swimming by what Sir Formal believes to be "a most compendious Method, that in a Fortnight's Prosecution has advanced him to be the best Swimmer in Europe," a method whereby "it were possible to swim with any Fish of his inches."[13]

Lady Gimcrack declares that her husband's experiment in swimming is "a thing the College never thought of."[14] Sir Nicholas is deeply indebted to the Royal Society, however, for his other experiments—or, rather, for his talk about them; for, due to the obvious limitations of the stage, he is reduced to describing rather than performing them. For the purpose of satire Shadwell naturally treats those phases of experimental science which were the subject of common wonderment and discussion. For the details of his treatment, usually for his very vocabulary, he drew mainly upon three sources—Sprat's *History*, Hooke's *Micrographia*, and the *Philosophical Transactions*.[15] Hooke' work yielded far more material than the other two.

The idea of flying, announced by John Wilkins in 1640,[16] continued to be a subject of speculation and of occasional experiment among the natural philosophers. Representing the height of impossibility to the ignorant, the attempt to fly naturally seemed the most ridiculous of all their wild schemes. It is one of the first

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 343.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 314.

[15] See *The New Science and English Literature in the Classical Period*, by Carson S. Duncan, Menasha, Wisconsin, 1913. Mr. Duncan is wrong in saying that Shadwell took "almost all of his material" from the *Philosophical Transactions*, nor does he mention any other sources. Professor Albert S. Borgman, of New York University, very kindly allowed me to read the proof sheets of the chapter of his book on Shadwell in which he treats *The Virtuoso*. Mr. Borgman, I find, has made two corrections of Mr. Duncan's statement of sources (see *Thomas Shadwell*, by Albert S. Borgman, p. 169 n.); but, though he adds Hooke's *Micrographia* to the list of Shadwell's sources, he makes no mention of Sprat's *History*. Though Mr. Duncan writes definitely of the influence of the "new" science on English literature, the broad scope of his study does not allow an exhaustive treatment of this one play. Mr. Borgman, in a rather short chapter, gives as much attention to the dramatic as to the scientific aspect of *The Virtuoso*. He pays slight attention to the circumstances which called forth the play, and does not show precisely how Shadwell made use of his sources and of the general opposition to the Royal Society to effect his satire of the *virtuosi*.

[16] See *The Discovery of a World in the Moone . . . . To which is added a Discourse concerning the Possibility of a Passage thither*, London, 1640.

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which Shadwell subjects to satire. Sir Nicholas, encouraged by his experiments in swimming, hopes soon to be as much at ease in water and air as on the earth. It is therefore, with direct reference to Wilkins' discussion of the possibility of flying to the moon and to Hooke's of the fluidity of the air[17] that Sir Nicholas declares that

a Man, by Art, may appropriate any Element to himself. You know a great many Virtuoso's that can fly; but I am so much advanced in the Art of flying, that I can already out-fly that ponderous Animal call'd a *Bustard*; nor should any Grey-Hound in *England* catch me in the calmest Day, before I got upon Wing; Nay, I doubt not, but in a little time to improve the Art so far, 'twill be as common to buy a pair of Wings to fly to the World in the Moon, as to buy a pair of Wax-Boots to ride into Sussex with.

Even astronomy, the oldest branch of the new science, was still a subject of popular distrust. Henry Stubbe argued learnedly against the reliability of telescopes, the medium which Samuel Butler was using at the same time for his trenchant satire of the Society. Nor does Shadwell overlook the opportunity for a palpable hit. Here, again, he uses Wilkins and Hooke as his foils. Wilkins had argued that the moon was a planet, while Hooke made a drawing of a part of it as it appeared through the telescope, at the same time describing it in terms of hills, valleys, vegetation, and "the short Sheep pasture which covers the hills of *Salisbury* Plains."[18] To Longvil's question, therefore, "Do you believe the Moon is an Earth, as you told us?" Sir Nicholas replies,

Believe it! I know it; I shall shortly publish a Book of Geography for it. Why, 'tis as big as our Earth; I can see all the Mountainous Parts, and Valleys, and Seas, and Lakes in it; nay, the larger Sort of Animals, as Elephants and Camels; but publick Buildings and Ships very easily. I have seen several Battles fought there. They have great Guns, and have the use of Gun-Powder. At Land they fight with Elephants and Castles. I have seen 'em. . . . . There's now a great Monarch, who has Armies in several Countries in the Moon; which we find out, because the Colours which we see are all alike. There are a great many States, which we take to be Confederates against him. He is a very ambitious Prince, and aims at universal Monarchy; but the rest of the Moon will be too hard for him.[19]

Only a few details had to be added to give a ridiculous effect to serious scientific observation.

[17] See *Micrographia*, London, 1665, p. 11 ff.
[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 242 ff.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 321.

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Anatomy, which afforded the Society more tangible grounds of experimentation than flying and astronomy, seemed to the outsider scarcely less wonderful. If it was less ridiculous to him on the general ground of sheer impossibility, it was no less amusing in its attempt to make the most familiar and personal seem strange. Sir Nicholas himself invites his friends "to see the Dissection of a little Animal, commonly called a *Chichester Cock-Lobster.*"[20] But he does not perform the experiment because, as he explains, his fishmonger failed to deliver the lobster, and his friends have to content themselves with the assurance that "it is the most curious of all the Testaceous or Crustaceous Animals whatsoever."[21] The description of the lobster as a "Chichester" product is probably a hit at Sir Samuel Tuke's report on Colchester oysters.[22] The specification of species is drawn from Hooke.[23] But Hooke does not anatomize his lobster, and Shadwell, not knowing enough about the technical terms of anatomy to manage a satire of it, avoided difficulties by having Sir Nicholas give up his experiment. As a dramatist, he knew, of course, the danger of trying to present it on the stage.

Reduced to talk, Sir Nicholas discourses at length on "physick":

> Why, I have found out [he declares] the use of Respiration, or Breathing, which is a motion of the Thorax and the Lungs, whereby the Air is impell'd by the Nose, Mouth, and Windpipe into the Lungs, and thence expell'd farther to elaborate the Blood, by refrigerating it, and separating its fuliginous Steams. . . . . I have found too, that the Animal may be preserved without Respiration, when the Windpipe's cut in two, by follicular impulsion of Air; to wit, by blowing Wind with a pair of Bellows into the Lungs.[24]

Sir Nicholas's information is taken in part almost verbatim from a review of a treatise by the Dutch scientist, Swammerdam, that appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 21 October, 1667.[25]

> He makes *Respiration* [the reviewer writes] to be a Motion of the Thorax and Lungs, whereby the Air is sometimes impelled by the Nose, Mouth, and Wind-pipe into the Lungs; and thence again expelled; farther to elaborate the Bloud, by *Refrigerating it*, and by Separating its *fuliginous steams*.

[20] *Ibid.*
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 349.
[22] See Sprat, *History*, p. 307 ff.
[23] *Virtuoso*, p. 378 ff.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 343.
[25] *Philosophical Transactions*, II, 535.

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The rest of the passage in Shadwell shows some evidence of having been drawn from a report made by Hooke on the dissection of a dog.[26]

Of all the wonders performed by the physicians and disbelieved and scoffed at by the general public, transfusion of blood was one of the greatest. Following Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, experiments in transfusion were made throughout Europe, various reports of which were sent, either in person or in writing, to the Royal Society and published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. The following account of an experiment of this sort, made by Thomas Coxe and reported to the Society, appeared in the *Transactions* for May, 1667:[27]

I procured an old Mungrell *Curr*, all over-run with the Mainge, of a middle size, and having, some hours before, fed him plentifully with Cheese-parings and Milk, I prepared the *Jugular Vein*, as we use to do the *Carotidal Artery* of the *Emittent* Animal, not designing any thing further, than to determine by Experiment the Infection of the Recipient's blood. Then I made as strong a Ligature upon the Dogs Neck, as I durst, for fear of choaking him, to the end, that the *Venal* blood, which is much more sluggish in its motion and evacuation, than the *Arterial*, might be emitted with the greater advantage of *Impetus*.

Then I took a young *Land-Spaniel*, of about the same bigness, and prepared its Jugular Vein, as is usually done in the *Recipient* Animal; the *heart-ward* part of the Vein to receive the Maingy Dogs blood, and the *head-ward* part of it to discharge his own into a Dish.

Having thus prepared them both, and placed them in a convenient posture one to another, I let slip the running knots, and by frequent compression of the Neck (besides the Ligature I had made) by reason of the tardy running of the *Venal* blood out of the *Emittent*, transfused about 14 or 16 *ounces* of the blood of the *Infected*, into the Veins of the *Sound* Dog, as neer as I could guess by the quantity of the blood, which ran into a Dish from the *Recipient*; supposing the *Recipient* Animal to lose near about the same proportion to what the *Emittent* supplies.

The effect of which Experiment was, no alteration at all, any way, to be observed by the Sound Dog. But for the Maingy Dog, he was in about 10 dayes or a fortnights space perfectly cured: which might with probability enough, I think, have been expected from the considerable evacuation, he made; (perhaps the quickest and surest remedy for the cure of that sort of disease, he was infected with, both in Man and Beast).

Shadwell's indebtedness to this account and his management of it for satirical effect appears when he has Sir Nicholas, at the

[26] See Sprat, *History*, p. 232. [27] See No. 25, I, 451–52.

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prompting of Sir Formal, give the following account of his experiment:[28]

Sir *Nich.* Why, I made, Sir, both the Animals to be Emittent and Recipient at the same time: after I had made Ligatures as hard as I could for fear of strangling the Animals, to render the Jugular Veins turgid, I open'd the Cartoid Arteries and Jugular Veins of both at one time, and so caused them to change Blood one with another.

Sir *Form.* Indeed that which ensued upon the Operation was miraculous; for the *Mangy Spaniel* became sound, and the *Sound Bull-Dog* Mangy.

Sir *Nich.* Not only so, Gentlemen, but the *Spaniel* became a *Bull-Dog*, and the *Bull-Dog* a *Spaniel.*

Sir *Form.* Which, considering the vivil and ingenious Temper and Education of the *Spaniel*, with the rough and untaught Savageness and Ill-breeding of the *Bull-dog*, may not undeservedly challenge the name of a Wonder.

Here, it will be noticed, Shadwell followed his original closely in his account of the operation itself. He makes it ludicrous by emphasizing and distorting the results. He is less faithful to his source, both in the performance of the experiment and in the result, in the description which he has Sir Nicholas give of a similar operation. The source of this is the account of an experiment made by Dr. Edmund King which was communicated to the Society and published in the *Philosophical Transactions* immediately preceding that of Coxe. King made his experiment on a calf and a sheep—"Emittent" and "Recipient," respectively. Sir Nicholas makes his on a sheep and a madman. "I assure you," he declares, dismissing the operation itself with a gesture, "I have transfus'd into a human Vein 64 Ounces, *Haver-du-pois* Weight, from one sheep."[29] But even this resembles King's statement that he "took out of the Sheep 49 *ounces* (*Haver de pois weight*) of blood."[30] Aside, however, from the fact that the sheep dies in both cases, there is no resemblance in the results. "The emittent Sheep," says Sir Nicholas,[31]

dy'd under the Operation, but the recipient Madman is still alive; he suffer'd some Disorder at first, the Sheep's Blood being Heterogeneous; but in a short time it became Homogeneous with his own..... The Patient, from being Maniacal or raging Mad, became wholly Ovine, or

[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 344.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 346.
[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 450.
[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 346.

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Sheepish; he bleated perpetually, and chew'd the Cud: He had Wool growing on him in great Quantities, and a *Northamptonshire* Sheep's Tail did soon emerge or arise from his Anus, or humane Fundament.

As proof of the result of his experiment, Sir Nicholas produces a letter from one of his patients, "who," he declares, "calls himself the meanest of my Flock, and sent me some of his own Wooll."[32] No experiment ever yielded more practical results—the ultimate aim of the natural philosophers. "I shall," he promises, "shortly have a Flock of 'em; I'll make all my Clothes of 'em, 'tis finer than Beaver."

The natural philosophers were ridiculed also for their experiments with air. It was especially ridiculous that they should conclude that air, like water, was a fluid. Even the king was greatly amused "by their weighing of ayre and nothing more since they sat."[33] He had a chance to laugh again when Sir Nicholas offered to serve his guests with any air they might choose —"*Newmarket*, *Banstead-down*, *Wiltshire*, *Bury* Air, *Norwich* Air; what you will."[34] He has a vault of all sorts in bottles, gathered by men whom he has sent out for the purpose. They are his "Factors for Air, who bottle up Air, and weigh it in all Places, sealing the Bottles Hermetically." He has even sent one to weigh the air "at the Picque of *Teneriff*." This, he has found, is the lightest; "*Sheerness* and the Isle of *Dogs* Air" is the heaviest. Nor is this a useless extravagance; for, he explains, "if I have a Mind to take Country Air, I send for, may be, forty Gallons of *Bury* Air, shut all my Windows and Doors close, and let it fly in my Chamber." Having, presumably, made the necessary preparations, he proceeds to serve his guests.[35]

Sir *Nich.* Sir, your Servant. Now open the Bottles, and let the Air fly; Gentlemen, be ready to snuff it up. O this *Bury* Air is delicate, 'tis delicious! O very refreshing!

Bruce. O admirable—who would go to *Bury* to take it?

Sir *Nich.* Not I, 'tis much better here; it tastes so much the fresher for being bottled, as other Liquors do. For let me tell you, Gentlemen, Air is but a thinner sort of Liquor, and drinks much the better for being bottled.

Long. Most certainly the World is very foolish, not to snuff up bottled Air, as they drink bottled Drink.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 347.
[33] See Pepys, *Diary*, 1 February, 1663–4.
[34] *Op. cit.*, p. 387 ff.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 392.

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Obviously the dramatist neither needed nor could claim any particular aid from the scientists in such horseplay. Boyle's and Hooke's experiments with the air, begun over fifteen years before, were probably the subject of common gossip about London. He might have made himself familiar with the new theory of the fluidity of the air by reading the publications of either; but, from his mention of Teneriff, it would seem that he had been reading Hooke.[36]

The beginning of the experiments in the "spring and weight" of the air was the improved air-pump which Boyle designed and Hooke constructed. But the use of the pump was by no means confined to experiments with air alone. It was used time and again to test the effect of rarefied air upon animal life. This, too, did not escape Shadwell; he had only to put the air-pump to an impossible use to raise a laugh. After being refreshed with Bury air, Bruce asks Sir Nicholas: "Is that all the use you make of these Pneumatick Engines?"—a question which serves to introduce the following passage:[37]

Sir *Nich.* No; I eclipse the Light of rotten Wood, stinking Whitings and Thornback, and putrid Flesh, when it becomes lucid.

Long. Will stinking Flesh give Light, like rotten Wood?

Sir *Nich.* O! yes; there was a lucid Surloin of Beef in the *Strand:* foolish people thought it burnt, when it only became lucid and chrystalline by the Coagulation of the aqueous Juice of the Beef, by the Corruption that invades it. 'Tis frequent. I myself have read a *Geneva* Bible by a Leg of Pork.

Bruce. How! a *Geneva* Bible by a Leg of Pork?

Sir *Nich.* O ay, 'tis the finest Light in the World: But for all that, I could eclipse the Leg of Pork in my Receiver, by pumping out the Air; but immediately upon the Appulse of the Air let in again, it becomes lucid as before.

Long. Is it so curious a Light?

Sir *Nich.* O admirable! I am now studying of Glow-Worms; a fine Study! it is a curious Animal: I think I shall preserve 'em light all the Year, and then I'll never use any other Light in my Study but Glow-Worms and Concave Glasses.

The source of this passage is "Some Observations about Shining Flesh," communicated by Boyle to the Society and printed in the

[36] See *Micrographia*, p. 236. Hooke himself refers to observations made by "Some considerable Merchants and Men worthy of Credit," published by Sprat as *A Relation of the Rico Tenereffe*, See p. 200 ff.

[37] *Op. cit.*, p. 393.

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Philosophical Transactions for 16, December, 1672.[38] Boyle's experiments followed upon the discovery by a servant of a "lucid" neck of veal in the larder. He compares the light given off by the piece of veal to that of glow worms, "which being small and dry their bodies may be conveniently laid in a book, and made to move from one letter or word to another." The current issue of the *Transactions* was at hand, and, by the light given off by "some of the more resplendent spots" of the veal, he could, he reported, "plainly read divers consecutive letters of the Title." Finally, he subjected the "lucid" flesh to the test of the air-pump—as he had already done, he says, with rotten wood and glow worms—to determine the effect of the rarefaction of air upon such light.

Sir Nicholas has also a "Speaking-Trumpet" or "Stentrophonical Tube," which, though he did not invent it, he had "improved beyond all Men's Expectations."[39] Already he has "made one you may hear eight Mile about, and," he promises, "I shall improve it very much more: For there's no stop in Art." Then he observes, "But of all Languages, none is heard so far as *Greek;* your *Ionick* Dialect or Oio does so roll in the Sound. I make Sir Formal speak *Greek* often in it." This is an obvious thrust at the interest of the natural philosophers in language. Shadwell got the idea of the speaking-trumpet, apparently, from a report made to the Society by Sir Samuel Moreland which was published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 22 January, 1671–72.[40]

But of all Sir Nicholas's scientific investigations the most detailed are his inquiries into the nature of insects. In addition to the testimony of Clarinda and Miranda already quoted, Sir Formal declares that

> no Man upon the Face of the Earth is so well seen in the Nature of Ants, Flies, Humble-bees, Earwigs, Millepedes, Hog-lice, Maggots, Mites in Cheese, Todpoles, Worms, Neuts, Spiders, and all the noble products of the Sun by equivocal Generation.[41]

It was easy enough to raise a laugh at a philosopher gravely applying himself to a study of common vermin. That Sir Nicholas made this his special study, however, was probably due to the amount of available material on this subject which Shadwell found in Hooke's *Micrographia.*

[38] No. 89, VII, 5108 ff.
[39] *Op. cit.*, p. 393 ff.
[40] No. 79, VI, 3056 ff.
[41] *Op. cit.*, p. 359.

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For his treatment of Sir Nicholas's experiments with ants, however, he drew not upon Hooke but upon a report made to the Society by Dr. King and published in the *Transactions* for 11 March, 1666–7.[42] King reported to the Society that he had observed "three sorts of *Ants*, commonly without Wings; *vid.* Very *Black*, *Dark Brown*, and the third sort of near the colour usually call'd *Philemort*." Of these, he wrote,

> Each kind inhabit by themselves in their several Banks; and if either of the other two sorts be put into the black Ants Bank, 'tis worth observing, what enmity there is betwixt these little Creatures, and with what violence the *Black* ones will seize the *Red*, never leaving to pinch them on the head with their *Forceps* or Claws, till they have kill'd them upon the place: which done, they will carry them dead out of the Field, from their Bank. But if you put *Black* Ants into a Bank of the *Red*, the Black seem to be so sensible of the strangeness of the place they are in, that there they will not meddle with the Red, but as if they were frighted, and concerned with nothing but self-preservation, run away.

He reported that he had observed the eggs of these ants under a microscope and watched them turn into "a little Vermicle, as small as a Mite," which in time developed "a feeble motion of flexion and extension" until they grew "almost as big as an Ant, and have every one a black spot on them." This black spot he supposed "to be cast out of the Maggot in her transformation," since, for one thing, "this Speck at the end of the said Egg, lies always close to the Anus of the included Ant."

Shadwell boldly appropriated King's language for the use of Sir Nicholas and Sir Formal. Sir Nicholas explains that there are three kinds of ants, "Black, Dark-brown, and Fillamot," and proceeds to describe his experiments with them.[43]

> The Black will pinch the Dark-brown with his forceps, till it kills it upon the Place; the like will the Dark-brown to the Fillamot—I have dissected their Eggs upon the object Plate of a Microscope, and find that each has within it an included Ant, which has adhering to its Anus or Fundament a small black speck, which becomes a Vermicle, like a Mite, which I have watch'd whole Days and Nights; and Sir *Formal* has watch'd 'em thirty Hours together.

Sir Formal adds, "And a long time we could find no Motion, but that of Flexion and Extension: But at last it became an Ant, Gentlemen." The satire is turned upon the anti-royalists and the

[42] No. 23, II, 425 ff.

[43] *Op. cit.*, p. 360.

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Dutch when Bruce observes that the ant is "the most politick of all Insects." Sir Formal agrees that "they have the best Government in the World," and Sir Nicholas declares that "it is a Republick, resembling that of the States-General." Whereupon Bruce exclaims, "Undoubtedly! and the *Dutch* are just as industrious and busie Animals."

The lower forms of vegetable and animal life presented a peculiar difficulty to the early scientists in the novelty of that branch of science, in the lack of equipment for studying it, and in the lack of a vocabulary to describe their experiments. Their observations, therefore, seemed as monstrous to those who had had no glimpse into the world of microscopic life as they now appear crude and inept. There was, for example, considerable discussion of "eels" in vinegar. Hooke, writing of his observations of them, refers to the "many excellent ones already publish'd by the ingenious, Doctor *Power*,"[44] while a letter from the Dutch scientist, Leeuwenhoek, describing similar experiments, was publish'd in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1676. Hooke made a drawing of the creatures which he saw under his microscope and wrote that

> they were shaped much like an Eel, save only their nose . . . . was a little sharper, and longer, in proportion to their body, and the wrigling motion of their body seem'd to be only upwards and downwards, whereas that of Eels is onely side wayes. . . . . And that their motion seems . . . . exceedingly slow.[45]

Shadwell, drawing upon Hooke for his vocabulary, has Sir Nicholas speak of his experiments with eels in vinegar. "I'll shew you Millions in a Sawcer of vinegar," he promises his guests; "they resemble other Eels, save in their motion; which in others is sideways, but in them upwards and downwards, thus, and very slow." But in this, as in other things, Sir Nicholas has carried his observations beyond the point reached by the Society. He has discovered a characteristic of these strange eels which escaped the sharp eye of Robert Hooke— that they "have sharp Stings in their Tails." He has observed, besides, that "the sharpest Vinegar is most full of them," which leads Bruce to conclude that "certainly the sharpness, or biting of Vinegar, proceeds from those Stings, striking upon the Tongue." Sir Kenelm Digby himself might have hesitated to draw such an inference, though Sir Nicholas agrees with it.

[44] *Op. cit.*, p. 217. [45] *Op. cit.*, p. 216 ff.

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After discovering eels in vinegar, Sir Nicholas quite naturally supposed that there was some such animal life in the air, since it too was liquid. He found it indeed "full of living Creatures, a thousand times less visible than those living Creatures, mistaken for Motes in the Sun."[46] Working upon this discovery, he found a new relation between air, light and color—a question which vexed scientists in the Society and out, Descartes and Hobbes as well as Boyle and Hooke. The "Blue upon Plumbs" is, therefore, "nothing but many living Creatures." He describes his experiments with them as follows:

I have observ'd upon a Wall-plumb (with my most exquisite Glasses, which cost me several thousands of Pounds) at first beginning to turn blue, it comes first to Fluidity, then to Orbiculation, then Fixation, so to Angulization, then Christallization, from thence to Germination or Ebullition, then Vegetation, then Plantanimation, perfect Animation, Sensation, Local Motion, and the Like.

This passage, obviously thrown in for its scientific vocabulary, seems to have been taken from Hooke's discussion "Of blue Mould, and the first Principles of Vegetation arising from Putrefaction" where he classified the order of the development of life as "*Fluidity, Orbiculation, Fixation, Angulization*, or *Chrystallization, Germination* or *Ebullition, Vegetation, Plantanimation, Animation, Imagination.*"[47]

As for spiders, Sir Nicholas declares that he has found "more Phoenomena's, or Appearances of Nature" in them than any man.[48] He has discovered thirty-six different kinds of spiders in England alone, including the "Hound, Greyhound, Lurcher, and Spaniel Spider." Commending the "Fabrick or Structure of this Insect, with its Texture," Sir Nicholas starts a discussion among his guests:

Sir *Form.* Nor is its Sagacity, or Address, less to be wonder'd at, as I have had the Honour to observe under my noble Friend; as soon as it has spy'd its Prey, as suppose upon a Table, it will crawl underneath, till it arrive to the Antipodes of the Fly, which it discovers by sometimes peeping up; and if the capricious Fly happens not to remove it self by crural Motion, or the Vibration of its Wings, it makes a fatal Leap upon the heedless Prey; of which, when it has satisfied its Appetite, it carries the remainder to its Cell, or Hermitage.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 386.
[47] *Op. cit.*, p. 127.
[48] *Op. cit.*, p. 360 ff.

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Sir *Nich.* It will teach its young Ones to hunt, and discipline 'em severely, when they commit Faults; and when an Old one misses its Prey, it will retire, and keep its Chamber for Grief, Shame and Anguish, ten Hours together.

Sir *Form.* Upon my Integrity, it is true; for I have several times, by Sir *Nicholas's* Command, watch'd the Animal, upon this or the like Miscarriages.

Sir *Nich.* But, Sir, there is not in the World a more docible Creature; I have kept several of 'em tame.

Bruce. That's curious indeed. I never heard of a tame Spider before.

Sir *Nich.* One above all the rest, I had call'd him *Nick*; and he knew his Name so well, he would follow me all over the House; I fed him indeed with fair Fleshflies. He was the best-natur'd, best-condition'd Spider, that ever I met with. You knew *Nick* very well, Sir *Formal*; he was of the Spaniel-breed, Sir—

Sir *Form.* Knew him! I knew *Nick* intimately well.

Shadwell needed no special source for the idea of naming spiders after dogs. He might have picked it up in conversation or from reading any one of a number of treatises on insects which were coming out at the time. Hooke described observations which he had made of the "shepherd spider" and the "hunting spider."[49] Shadwell probably read Hooke's account; for, in treating Sir Nicholas's experiments with the "hunting" spider, he draws upon an account of that insect sent by John Evelyn to Hooke and published by Hooke along with his own observations. Evelyn's account appears in none of his own works. It has an interest, therefore, in addition to that which belongs to it as the source of Shadwell's satire. Nor is it important merely as further evidence of Evelyn's scientific activity. Though it was not written until Hooke asked for it to include in his *Micrographia*, it is based on observations made years before in Italy, and shows, more than the sketchy pages of the *Diary* for that period, the observant eye which he took with him on his continental travels. The piece, as published by Hooke, is as follows:[50]

Of all the sorts of Insects, there is none has afforded me more divertisements then the *Venatores*, which are a sort of *Lupi*, that have their Denns in the rugged walls, and crevices of our houses; a small brown and delicately spotted kind of Spiders, whose hinder leggs are longer than the rest.

[49] *Op. cit.*, p. 198 ff. [50] *Ibid.*, p. 200 ff.

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Such I did frequently observe at *Rome*, which espying a Fly at three or four yards distance, upon the Balcony (where I stood) would not make directly to her, but craul under the Rail, till being arriv'd to the *Antipodes*, it would steal up, seldom missing its aim; but if it chanced to want any thing of being perfectly opposite, would at first peep, immediately slide down again, till making better notice, it would come the next time exactly upon the Fly's back; But, if this happen'd not to be within a competent leap, then would this Insect move so softly, as the very shadow of the Gnomon seem'd not to be more imperceptible, unless the Fly mov'd; and then would the Spider move also in the same proportion, keeping that just time with her motion, as if the same Soul had animated both those little bodies; and whether it were forwards, backwards, or to either side, without at all turning her body, like a well manag'd Horse: But, if the capricious Fly took wing, and pitch'd upon another place behind our Huntress, then would the Spider whirle its body so nimbly about, as nothing could be imagin'd more swift; by which means, she always kept the head rowards her prey, though to appearance, as immovable, as if it had been a Nail driven into the Wood, till by that indiscernable progress (being arriv'd within the sphere of her reach) she made a fatal leap (swift as Lightning) upon the Fly, catching him at the pole, where she never quitted hold till her belly was full, and then carried the remainder home. I have beheld them instructing their young ones, how to hunt, which they would sometimes discipline for not well observing; but, when any of the old ones did (as sometimes) miss a leap, they would run out of the field, and hide them in their crannies, as asham'd, and haply not be seen abroad for four or five hours after; for so long have I watched the nature of this strange Insect, the contemplation of whose so wonderful sagacity and address has amaz'd me; nor do I find in any chase whatsoever, more cunning and Stratagem observ'd: I have found some of these Spiders in my Garden when the weather (towards Spring) is very hot, but they are nothing so eager of hunting as they are in *Italy*.

Instead of the exactness of description, if not of observation itself, which might have been expected of Hooke, Evelyn indulges in the fancy characteristic of the literary naturalist. It is, therefore, more readable; but it is also more open to satire.

Shadwell in continuing his satire of the scientists for observing spiders turns to still another source. It was generally believed that a certain ailment, which began with a speck resembling the bite of an insect and developed into something resembling St. Vitus dance, was due to the bite of a tarantula. The cure, it was also rumored, if indeed there was one, was in playing certain music in accompaniment with the dancing of the diseased person. The question was brought to the attention of the Society by Lister who

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proposed that inquiries be sent to Italy where many cases of the malady were reported to have been observed. Lister's letter was written in October, 1671, and a notice of it appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 20 November of the same year.[51] The inquiries seem to have been sent; for the *Transactions* for 20 May, 1672, contains the extract of a letter from Dr. Thomas Cornelio, who is described as "a Neapolitan Philosopher and Physician," in which he gave the results of his investigations on the subject.[52] He mentioned one sufferer who believed himself to have been bitten by a tarantula but died in great pain despite the application of the cure by music, and called the whole thing a "fable" which had grown out of "vulgar prejudice."

Shadwell did not hesitate to associate this vulgar belief with the observations of the experimental scientists for the purpose of satire. Sir Nicholas has "observ'd the *Tarantula* does infinitely delight in Musick, which is the Reason of its Poison being drawn out by it."[53] He has noticed, too, that "there are three Sorts, Black, Grey and Red, that delight in three several Sorts and Modes of Musick." In order to discover this, he put them, he explains, "upon three several Chips in Water; then caus'd a Musician to play, first, a grave Pavin, or Almain, at which the black *Tarantula* only mov'd; it danc'd to it with a kind of grave Motion, much like the Benchers at the Revels." He is interrupted before he can say just what kind of music appeals to the grey and the red ones.

Sir Nicholas, like Evelyn, had made his observations on the tarantula in Italy, where he had "had no other Affair in the World, but to study the secrets of that harmonious Insect." This leads directly to the practice of carrying on investigations abroad. Sir Nicholas is interrupted in his discourse on the tarantula by a servant who informs him that a gentleman is waiting for letters of inquiry to take to Lapland and Russia.

> I keep a constant Correspondence [he explains] with all the Virtuoso's in the North and North-east Parts. There are rare Phaenomena's in those Countries. I am beholden to *Finland, Lapland* and *Russia* for a great Part of my Philosophy. I send my Queries thither.[54]

[51] No. 77, VI, 3002 ff.

[52] No. 83, VII, 4066 ff. Borgman (see pp. 169–70) notes another possible source in *Philosophical Transactions*, II, 660 ff.

[53] *Op. cit.*, p. 362.

[54] *Ibid.*

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Shadwell ridiculed the aim as well as the various activities of the scientists. Sir Nicholas is resorted to daily by the sick, to whom he hands out ready-made remedies for all sorts of diseases.[55] But, except in medicine, he has no intention of being useful. This is apparent from his experiment in swimming, but the dramatist took special pains that the point should not escape his audience.[56]

Long. Have you ever try'd in the Water, Sir?
Sir *Nich.* No, Sir; but I swim most exquisitely on Land.
Bruce. Do you intend to practise in the Water, Sir?
Sir *Nich.* Never, Sir; I hate the water. I never come upon the Water, Sir.
Long. Then there will be no use of Swimming.
Sir *Nich.* I content my self with the speculative Part of swimming, I care not for the Practick. I seldom bring any thing to Use; 'tis not my way. Knowledge is my ultimate End.

Knowledge is the end of all his experiments. "What," Bruce asks, "does it concern a Man to know the Nature of an Ant," and Longvil replies sarcastically, "O! it concerns a Virtuoso mightily: so it be Knowledge, 'tis no matter of what."[57] Sir Nicholas himself, upon being asked by Longvil why he weighs air, replies, "To what end should I? to know what it weighs. O, Knowledge is a fine thing; why, I can tell to a grain what a Gallon of any Air in *England* weighs."[58] As for inventions, Sir Nicholas declares, "I never invented an Engine in my life. . . . . I never invented so much as an Engine to pare Cream-Cheese with. We Virtuoso's never find out any Thing of Use; 'tis not our Way."[59] Only in the end, deserted by everyone, does he decide to study for use. "I will," he promises, "presently find out the Philosopher's Stone," adding, "I had like to have gotten it last Year, but that I wanted *May-Dew*, it being a dry Season."[60]

Shadwell directed his satire not only at the scientists proper but also at those who, either by the broad provisions of the Royal Society or through the popular misconception of its work, were associated with them. The believers in witchcraft, such as Joseph Glanvil and Henry More, come in for their turn when Sir Nicholas concludes that Sir Samuel (who suddenly disappears, leaving behind the feminine garments in which he has been masquerading

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 389 ff.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 343.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 360.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 393.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 399.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 416.

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as a woman) is "undoubtedly a Spirit."[61] "You must know, Sir," he announces to Bruce, "I am much skill'd in *Rosacrucian* Learning; I am one of the *vere adepti*, as simple as I stand here." John Aubrey, Elias Ashmole and the other astrologers are not overlooked. Sir Nicholas intends to fly to the moon in order to get information for improving English politics; "for," he explains. "the Moon being *Domina Humidorum*, to wit, the Governess of moist Bodies, has, no doubt, the Superior Government of all Islands."[62] Sir Samuel speaks in the quasi-scientific jargon of Sir Kenelm Digby when, disguised as a female peddler, he offers to sell Miranda and Clarinda, among other beauty recipes, "one made of a Lamb's Caul and *May* Dew—Also all manner of Confections of Mercury and Hogs-Bones."[63]

The scholars of the Society are ridiculed in the person of Sir Formal; for he is something of a virtuoso himself. In his own words, he is a "shadow" and "humble Admirer" of Sir Nicholas· in those of Bruce, he is "the *Chorus* to his Puppet-show." He stands by to help Sir Nicholas perform and explain his experiments as well as to praise him. He shouts Homeric verses through his speaking-trumpet. This instrument itself is used to direct a satirical thrust at the preachers of the Society—particularly, it may be imagined, at Sprat who had argued in his history that the inventions of the scientists would not work a hardship on the tradesmen. Sir Nicholas thinks that he will do the king a great service by perfecting his speaking-trumpet; for then there will be needed "but one Parson to preach to a whole County; the King may then take all the Church-Lands into his Hands, and serve all *England* with his Chaplains in Ordinary." When Longvil asks what is to become of the rest of the parsons, he replies, "let 'em learn to make Woolen Cloth, and advance the Manufacture of the Nation; or learn to make Nets, and improve the Fishing-Trade."[64] This was advice returned, in kind, to Sprat.

Shadwell was obliged to Sprat, however, for the suggestion of one effective scene. Among other punishments visited upon Sir Nicholas in the end—for the sake both of poetical justice and of satirical effect—he is beset by a mob of linen-weavers who· are enraged at him for inventing an "Engine-Loom."[65] Sir Nicholas,

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 389.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 342.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 368.
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 394.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 395 ff.

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of course, has done nothing of the kind, but is overcome with terror at the threat of mistaken vengeance by the mob. Bruce and Longvil propose firing on the mob, but hold back while Sir Formal sallies forth to try the effect of his oratory upon them. Needless to say, Sir Formal fares more like Cinna than Antony with them. He is spared for the time being only that they may gibe at his speech, and is saved finally only by the intervention of his friends and the guard.

This scene may also have some reference to the opposition of tradesmen to the Society which Sprat had tried to argue down. Certainly other phases of the opposition to it are to be found in *The Virtuoso*. Sir Nicholas, as well as his fellow virtuosi in the Society, had his enemies; and Sir Formal, in praising him, is forced to take account of "what the envy of Detractors have express'd of him."[66] Snarl complains of no innovation more bitterly than he does of the new science. The feud between science and such wits as Shadwell himself is represented in the relations of Sir Nicholas and Sir Samuel. The latter has offended the former with his wit, because, he says, Sir Nicholas is "an Enemy to Wit, as all *Virtuoso's* are."[67] Even Snarl forgets his grudge against the Virtuosi long enough to lament the fact that the young wits of the town "laugh at any Gentleman that has Art or Science."[68]

For the substance of his satire, Shadwell began by choosing those phases of science, or pseudo-science, which seemed most ridiculous when subjected to the common sense of the time. Such, in science itself, were the ideas of the moon as a planet with a physiography of its own, of flying—especially of flying to the moon—of the density of the air, of the transfusion of blood, and of the projection of sound. Astrology and the occult sciences were as amusing for being behind as was experimental science for being ahead of the times. Nor should it be overlooked, in regard to those times, that the Restoration was a period which demanded demonstration of ideas without offering any assurance that they would be taken seriously if demonstrated, and was skeptical of the experimental scientists, who had given little proof of their claims, as well as bored with the astrologers and alchemists, who had given none. It bore with Dryden while he treated astrology respectfully as a device of plot in an old play; but it was ready to

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 321.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 322.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 348.

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laugh with Shadwell for his irreverent treatment of all science, false and true.

Having chosen the unusual, Shadwell, with the facetiousness of a wag, then reduced the observations of the scientists to absurdity by carrying them far beyond where they stopped. Thus he indulges in a detailed description of the flora and fauna of the moon together with observations on the social and political life of its inhabitants; he uses transfusion of blood to turn a spaniel into a bull-dog and to grow sheep's wool on a madman; he treats spiders with dogs' names as dogs themselves, giving them a sense of individuality; he treats the air as water, color as substance in itself, and eels in vinegar as the cause of its taste rather than as a simple phenomenon. Furthermore, he reduces the conclusions of the scientists to nonsense by making false deductions and applications of them. So he applies anatomy to a lobster; endows the tarantula with a love of music instead of applying music as a cure for its bite; and uses Hooke's method of treating color in mineral substances upon the same phenomenon in plums and in so doing endues molecules with animal life. Astrology and alchemy were ridiculous enough in themselves; experimental science had to be distorted to be made so. Shadwell aims the unkindest cut of all at the natural philosophers when he misrepresents their aim as knowledge rather than use, and awards the palm to the alchemists by having his virtuoso turn from a study of nature to a search for the philosopher's stone in order to serve mankind.

Shadwell sharpened his satire of the scientists by making use of their language. This offered him opportunities in addition to those presented by any specialized vocabulary or idiom. English ears were no longer so familiar with Latin sounds as they once were. Only those who had remained at the universities had kept the old reverence for the learned tongues. From among these came most of the scientists. And in spite of their purpose to make English their medium of expression and their efforts to improve it, Latin still offered them better material from which to coin the new words which they needed. Some of the scientists were, of course, better scholars than others, and showed better taste in their coinage. At best, however, they were subject to the charge of pedantry, both for using a learned language and for forming another which was beyond ordinary use if not understanding. Shadwell made the most of all this. He gives Sir Nicholas a highly Latinized vocabulary of scientific terms, and Sir Formal, in

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addition to some of his own, an extra pomposity in using them. Usually, as is already evident from considering his use of sources, he simply transcribed the language as he found it. But it appears more ridiculous when taken from its context in a scientific treatise and employed on the stage. The words which Shadwell adds to increase the flavor of pedantry are usually given to Sir Formal rather than Sir Nicholas. Some of those put into the mouth of Sir Nicholas go to make up those bi-lingual expressions to which the scientist who wishes to be understood by the general reader has to resort even yet. This, too, becomes ridiculous when overdone. Only once does Shadwell resort to scientific allusion for anything but satirical effect. This occurs when he has Bruce remark of the young wits of the town that "A Sensible Plant has more Imagination than most of 'em."[69]

As to the object of his satire, Shadwell announced in his prologue that

> No one Man's Humour makes a Part alone,
> But scatter'd Follies gather'd into one.

In dealing with the scientists he applied this method. He repaid none of those who furnished him with material with the unkindness of a personal thrust. And though not a member of the Royal Society, he treats it with diplomacy and a certain show of respect. Sir Nicholas is not a member, though it is not clear whether this was due to envy or contempt on their part. Nor does Shadwell outwardly condemn science itself. Though Bruce and Longvil profess a sincere interest in science, their attitude is sufficiently explained by the fact that they are needed on the scene to draw Sir Nicholas out and give him a place in the plot. But though Shadwell did not attack the scientists as individuals and was somewhat concerned that he should not appear to oppose them as a body, such neutrality may represent nothing more than an attempt on his part to avoid the displeasure of the king and the courtiers who were associated with the Royal Society.

Whatever respect for science Shadwell may have had as a man disappears when he assumed the rôle of dramatist. Satire, he explains in his epistle dedicatory, along with wit and humor, is

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 315. Shadwell might have found this term in Hooke's reproduction of Dr. Clark's "observation on the Humble and Sensible Plants in Mr. Cluffius' Garden in Saint James's Park. . . . ." *Op. cit.*, p. 116 ff.

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one of the three things which are "the life of a Comedy." Of satire itself, he writes:

> . . . . natural Imperfections are not fit subjects for Comedy, since they are not to be laugh'd at, but pity'd. But the artificial Folly of those, who are not Coxcombs by Nature, but with great Art and Industry make themselves so, is a proper object of Comedy.

The grounds for Shadwell's satire of the virtuosi would lie, according to his own rule, in the justice with which he charged them with "artificial Folly." His attempt, at the beginning, to discriminate between the true and the false virtuosi was so feeble that it is lost in the practical effect of his satire. He made no attempt to distinguish between the old science which had been courted by a few men who had been briefly connected with the Royal Society after a fashion at its beginning, and the new which, by 1676, had thoroughly distinguished itself from the old and commanded only the most zealous seekers for truth according to its method. Sir Nicholas, in spite of his vagaries, is held up as a typical virtuoso, and Gresham College was popularly thought of as the home of all such. There is no doubt that the laugh was on the experimental scientists of the Royal Society. And to make it more boisterous, Shadwell grossly misrepresented them. There is no indication that if he recognized the truth of their claims he respected it. There is no consistency between his creed and practice as a satirist. Indeed it would seem that, having secured a certain practical effect in the production of his play, he felt compelled to explain and defend it, upon publication, in the customary preface. Or, it may be, as Dryden said, that he "Promised a play, and dwindled to a farce."[70]

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[70] See *Mac-Flecknoe*, I, 182.

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XVIII

WHO WAS "CENUS" IN THE POEM *TO THE MEMORY OF MR. CONGREVE?*

THE poem *To the Memory of Mr. Congreve*, first printed in 1729, is usually attributed to James Thomson, although his authorship of it has been questioned. This poem was not reprinted until 1843,[1] since which date some editors have included it in their collections of Thomson's works, and some have excluded it. I hope soon to present some hitherto unrecorded evidence that this poem was written by Thomson, and accordingly in the present paper I proceed on the assumption that he was its author. At the same time, as I shall try to show, the conclusion which this paper seeks to establish will itself supply important evidence in support of Thomson's authorship.

In the lines *To the Memory of Mr. Congreve* two people are satirized, one under the name "Asper" and the other under the name "Cenus." All the editors who have included the poem in their editions of Thomson agree in taking Asper to represent John Dennis. But as to the identity of Cenus only one editor has even ventured to make a guess.

J. Nichols[2] thinks that by Cenus is meant Aaron Hill. But the mere reading of the lines devoted to Cenus is enough to set aside this identification:

> Now meaner Cenus, trivial with design,
> Courts poor applause by levity of face,
> And scorn of serious thought; to mischief prompt,
> Though impotent to wound; profuse of wealth,
> Yet friendless and unloved; vain, fluttering, false,
> A vacant head, and an ungenerous heart.

By no stretch of even the most acrimonious imagination could Hill, powerful, in favor with the government, popular as a writer, have been called "mean." Nor is there in Hill's life or writings a single thing that suggests his being "trivial with design," his having courted "poor applause by levity of face," or his having scorned serious thought. Moreover, even if he had been "to mischief prompt," he would have been so able to wound that few poets

[1] *Early English Poetry* (Percy Soc. Pubs.), IX.
[2] *Poetical Works of James Thomson*, 1850, p. 632.

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would have dared attack him. He enjoyed affluence, it is true, but he also had as many and as influential friends as almost any other poet of his time. As for the other adjectives, "vain," "fluttering," "false," "vacant," and "ungenerous," they simply do not fit. It is strange indeed that a poet who in the portrait of Asper could hit off Dennis's character so perfectly should stray so far from reality in the Cenus lines as the poet certainly did stray if he was attempting to characterize Aaron Hill.

Besides, as Professor Francis Child remarked, "it is absolutely impossible that Thomson could thus have traduced Hill."[3] It was Hill who, among the powerful critics, first recognized the merit of Thomson's *Winter;* it was Hill who so commended the poem that the first edition was soon sold out; it was Hill who wrote commendatory verses prefixed to the second edition; and it was Hill to whom Thomson wrote such overflowing letters of gratitude, praise, and flattery that one, in reading them, blushes for their writer.

Nichols seems, therefore, to have been mistaken in his identification of Cenus. Other critics offer no suggestions at all. Peter Cunningham, who first reprinted the poem as Thomson's, confessed: "I have failed in identifying Cenus."[4] Child offers no help; J. L. Robertson, of the Oxford edition, adds nothing.[5]

If we accept for the moment the view that Thomson was the author of the poem in question, the identity of Cenus becomes so obvious that it is surprising that no one has hitherto discovered it. Thomson was, in general, of a most friendly, easy-going, and forgiving nature. Murdoch says of him:

> He took no part in the poetical squabbles which happened in his time, and was respected and left undisturbed by both sides. He would even refuse to take offense when he justly might, by interrupting any personal story that was brought to him with some jest or some humourous apology for the offender.[6]

To this general statement, however, G. C. Macaulay adds a qualification:

[3] *British Poets*, Riverside Edition, Boston, 1863. *Thomson*, p. 68.
[4] *Early English Poetry* (Percy Soc. Pubs.), IX, footnote on line 80 of the poem.
[5] *Thomson*, Oxford Edition, 1908; p. 457.
[6] "Life of Thomson," in J. Nichols' *Poetical Works of James Thomson*, 1850, p. xxxiii.

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In a few instances he showed irritation under criticism, as, for example, in the case of Joseph Mitchell, who found fault so freely with *Winter*, but here there seems to have been some personal cause of dislike.[7]

Of the clash between Thomson and Mitchell, to which Macaulay alludes, one finds a more detailed account given by Chalmers:

Cibber informs us that as soon as *Winter* was published, Thomson presented a copy to Mitchell, who gave him his opinion of it in the following couplet:

> Beauties and faults so thick lie scattered here,
> Those I could read, if these were not so near.

To this Thomson answered,

> Why *all* not faults, injurious Mitchell? why
> Appears one beauty to thy blasted eye?
> Damnation worse than thine, if worse can be,
> Is all I ask, and all I want from thee.

Upon a friend's remonstrating to Mr. Thomson, that the expression "blasted eye" would look like a personal reflection, as Mitchell really had that misfortune, he changed the epithet; perhaps not much for the better, into *blasting*.[8]

Thomson seems indeed, as Macaulay suggests, to have been an inveterate enemy of Mitchell. Writing to Mallet in 1726, Thomson says,

That *British Journal* of Saturday last is more contemptible than language can express, I suspect that planet-blasted fool Mitchel.[9]

Again, in a letter dated August 2 in the same year, Thomson writes to Mallet:

I damn them [a couple of lines to which Mallet has objected] to the lowest depth of poetical Tophet, prepared of old for Mitchell, Morrice, Rook, Cooke, Beckingham.[10]

Our fullest information concerning Mitchell is that given by Baker in the following sketch:

He got into favour with the Earl of Stair and Sir Robert Walpole; on the latter of whom he was for a great part of his life almost entirely

[7] *James Thomson*, by G. C. Macaulay, English Men of Letters Series, 1908; p. 80.

[8] Chalmers, *General Biographical Dictionary*, Lond., 1815, XXII, 204.

[9] *Letters to David Mallet*, with an introductory notice by Peter Cunningham (Philobiblion Society Miscellany, 1857–58), IV, 27.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

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dependent. . . . . Notwithstanding this valuable patronage, however, his natural dissipation of temper, his fondness for pleasure, and eagerness in the gratification of every irregular appetite, threw him into perpetual distresses, and all those uneasy situations which are the natural consequence of extravagance. Nor does it appear that, after having experienced more than once the fatal effects of those dangerous follies, he thought of correcting his conduct at a time when fortune put it into his power to do so: for when, by the death of his wife's uncle, several thousand pounds devolved to him, he seems not to have been relieved, by that acquisition, from the incumbrances which he laboured under; but on the contrary, instead of discharging those debts which he had already contracted, he lavished away, in the repetition of his former follies, those sums which would not only have cleared his reputation in the eye of the world, but also, with prudence and economy, might have rendered him easy for the remainder of his life.[11]

If we make some allowance for personal animosity, we see that the characterization presented in the Cenus lines fits Mitchell almost exactly. The phrases "trivial with design," "levity of face," and "scorn of serious thought" may refer not only to Mitchell's personality, but also to the character of his work. Mitchell published in 1720 a poem on the subject of Jonah in the whale's belly, which was ironically dedicated to Dr. Isaac Watts as being "written to raise an emulation among our young poets to attempt divine composures"; and in 1729 he published his light *Poems on Several Occasions*, among which was "The Shoeheel," a poem "much read on account of the low humour it contains."[12]

"To mischief prompt, Though impotent to wound" is quite obviously an expression of contempt for attacks made by Cenus on the poet or his friends. If that poet was Thomson, the reference would naturally be to Mitchell's criticism of *Winter*, and to the British Journal criticism for which Thomson suspected "that planet-blasted fool Mitchel." In representing Cenus as "profuse of wealth," he may easily have been thinking of Mitchell's legacy and his spendthrift habits.

We really know but little about Joseph Mitchell, for, as Baker put it, "his eminence in public character not rising to such a height as to make the transactions of his life important to strangers, and the follies of his private behavior inducing those intimate with him rather to conceal than publish his actions,

[11] Baker, *Biographica Dramatica*, Lond., 1812, II, 519–20.
[12] Quoted in *Dict. of Nat. Biog. sub* Joseph Mitchell.

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there is a cloud of obscurity hanging over them."[13] What we do know of Mitchell's career, however, is quite in keeping with the epithets piled upon Cenus in the poem *To the Memory of Mr. Congreve*, particularly those which allude to his treatment of his friends. Mitchell began his career as a Scotch minister, but was soon excluded from the Kirk. Coming to London, he found himself in a state of poverty from which he was relieved by Aaron Hill, who wrote a tragedy, *The Fatal Extravagance*, and allowed it to be produced under Mitchell's name and for Mitchell's benefit. According to the editor of Hill's works in 1760, Hill's kindness

> gave birth to a base quality his benefactor did not expect to see spring up, instead of gratitude. The *once Minister*, on receiving caresses, as a Poet became vain; and probably thought that what Mr. Hill had given him he had a right to frame anew, agreeable to his own taste. This he did, and of a good Tragedy of two acts, he made a sort of *Farce* of five; which no one afterwards disputed being his own.[14]

From this, it seems doubtful whether Mitchell long retained the friendship of his one-time protege. That Mitchell lost another friend in Mallet seems equally certain. Thomson would assuredly not have written so bitterly of Mitchell to Mallet without being confident of Mallet's sympathy. Yet, long before, Mallet had reverently dedicated his first known publication to this same Mitchell. One may infer that Thomson also had been Mitchell's friend, since he sent his poem to him for criticism, but Mitchell's discourteous couplet clearly ended that friendship.

With these instances of Mitchell's faithlessness before us, the adjectives "friendless," "unloved," and "ungenerous" must necessarily seem to us not undeserved. The terms "vain, fluttering, false, a vacant head" are in harmony with what we already know of Mitchell's character, and with Chalmers' classification of him as a "genius of the third or fourth rate."

At all events, it has been shown that Thomson did not lack motives for satirizing Mitchell. First, Thomson had his own personal grudge to settle; second, he had his two best literary friends, Hill and Mallet, to champion; and third, he doubtless felt some chagrin and jealousy from the fact that Mitchell could gain Walpole's favor, and that he, who had dedicated the poem

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 520.

[14] *Dramatic Works of Aaron Hill, Esq.*, printed for T. Lownds, Lond. 1760, i–ii.

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To the Memory of Sir Isaac Newton to Walpole, should go all but completely unnoticed by that statesman. A possible fourth motive might be found if we knew the exact date of the composition of the Congreve poem. Congreve died January 9, 1729; in February, 1729, Mitchell produced his five-act "Farce," *The Fatal Extravagance.* The impudence of this production doubtless irritated Thomson in Hill's behalf; if Thomson wrote the Congreve poem soon after this production, while his ire was still rankling in him, he would have been strongly tempted to pillory the ungenerous Mitchell in the poem.

The bearing that the identification of Cenus with Mitchell has on the authorship of the poem *To the Memory of Mr. Congreve* is this: if Cenus is Mitchell, Thomson certainly wrote the poem; and if Thomson wrote the poem, Cenus is certainly Mitchell.

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XIX

CHANGING TASTE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

A STUDY OF DRYDEN'S AND DODSLEY'S MISCELLANIES[1]

FOR some time the conviction has been growing that many of the current generalizations concerning eighteenth-century literature have been arrived at by the *à priori*, or deductive, method. A few outstanding figures that have been studied with considerable care have furnished the chief and sometimes the only basis for characterizations of the period. The age has suffered, as most ages have, from the tendency to dogmatize as to what the people of the time *must* have thought, and from the corresponding neglect of that humbler and more arduous task of finding out what, as a matter of fact, they said.

In a body of writing so large as that of the eighteenth century something can be found to substantiate almost any opinion, and a collection of instances used to bolster up a pre-conceived theory may easily pass as the basis of a scientific induction. Hence the completeness of the evidence is all-important, as is likewise the evidence that suggests different conclusions from those adopted. Hence, too, it is not hard to understand why the inductive method has been so little used.

Yet there is one practicable way in which this method may be employed in determining the taste of a period, namely by a study of the popular miscellanies. These contain the work of many men and represent what was thought to be the best poetry of the time, or that most in vogue; yet they are sufficiently limited in size to permit of complete analysis. Their appeal is to persons of taste but they are intended to sell, and if the sale is to be large they must appeal to many kinds of taste and so must be more catholic and varied in their contents than are most volumes. Indeed, quite apart from sales, the compiler of an anthology

[1] I am indebted to my friend, Miss Addie F. Rowe, for generous assistance in the preparation of this article, particularly for listing, some years ago, the contents of each volume of each edition of each Miscellany. To David Pottinger of the Harvard University Press I owe the opportunity of using his copy of W. P. Courteney's privately printed *Dodsley's Collection of Poetry, Its Contents and Contributors*, 1910.

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usually desires that, within its field, his work shall be representative, catholic, and varied.

The eighteenth century delighted in anthologies of all kinds, not only of "standard" but of contemporary literature. One of the most important of these, and the first to achieve any wide popularity,[2] was that brought out by Jacob Tonson in six volumes between 1684 and 1709. This collection often goes by the name of its publisher, but, as the second edition of the first volume and the later editions of the remaining volumes bear on their title-pages the words "Publish'd by Mr. Dryden," it is more commonly referred to as "Dryden's Miscellany." That the laureate had a main hand in the work would seem to be proved by his letter to Tonson,[3] as well as by the large number of his poems that appeared in it, over fifty of them being printed there for the first time.

The study of this Miscellany is greatly complicated by the changes it went through in later editions. There were five of these; and, since the first and second parts reached a second printing before the fifth part appeared and a third before the sixth part came out, since one part is undated, and since, except for the first and second issues of parts I and II, no two editions are alike, some poems being dropped (occasionally to reappear in a later edition), others added, and still others shifted to different places,—in view of all these changes the work offers a pretty problem for the student of bibliography.

On opening the first volume of the first edition(1684) the reader is immediately struck by the predominance of translations. Indeed, save for three long poems by Dryden and a number of his prologs and epilogs, there is little or nothing else, a bias that

[2] In 1712 Gay wrote,

> Wouldst thou for miscellanies raise they fame;
> And bravely rival *Jacob's* [i.e., Tonson's] mighty name.

("Epistle to Lintott," 11–12, cf. 96) and as late as 1780–1782, John Nichols brought out an eight volume anthology "formed principally," as the Advertisement acknowledges, "from that of Mr. Dryden."

[3] "Your opinion of the Miscellanyes is likewise mine: I will for once lay by the *Religio Laici*, till another time. But I must also add, that since we are to have nothing but new, I am resolved we will have nothing but good, whomever we disoblige" (*Works*, ed. Scott-Saintsbury, XVIII, 106). Note, however, "The Bookseller to the Reader" (*Miscellany*, part iii, 1693) signed Jacob Tonson: "I waited upon several Gentlemen to ask their Opinion of a Third Miscellany, who encourag'd me to endeavour it, and have considerably help'd me in it. Many very Ingenious Copies were sent to me upon my giving publick notice of this Design."

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is emphasized in the title, *Miscellany Poems, Containing a New Translation of Virgills Eclogues, Ovid's Love Elegies, Odes of Horace, and Other Authors, with Several Original Poems; By the most Eminent Hands.* The second volume, published the following year (1685), contains an even larger percentage of translations and probably marks the height of the vogue enjoyed by this species of verse. At least, in the third and fourth volumes, which came out eight and nine years later (1693 and 1694), nearly half of the space is devoted to original verse. Ten years elapsed before the publication of the fifth part, in 1704; and meanwhile Dryden had died. In this volume, as in the sixth, which appeared in 1709, only one page in three is given to translations.[4]

The change in the contents of the last two parts is clearly indicated on the title-pages, which no longer announce "new translations with several original poems," but "a collection of original poems with several new translations." In later editions the preference for original verse becomes still more marked. For, though many new translations are added, more (except in volume III) are dropped; and, as the later editions contain many more lines of verse than the earlier, the percentage of translations shows a marked decrease, falling from .59 to .41 in volume I, from .90 to .24 in II, from .52 to .29 in III, from .52 to .24 in IV, from .46 to .23 in V, from .31 to .20 in VI. In volume V, of the 283 pages originally given to translations, 182 are omitted and no new ones added; in volume VI, 140 of the origianal 206 pages of translation are omitted and only 2 new pages added. Furthermore, many of the translations that make their appearence in the later editions are not from Greek or Latin but from Boileau's *L'Art Poëtique* or his *Lutrin*, or from other almost contemporary poems. As a result, in the last issue of the fourth part only .16 of the pages derive their contents from classic authors.[5]

[4] In 1712, in making suggestions for a miscellany, Gay wrote ("Epistle to Lintott," 29),

> Translations should throughout the work be sown.

[5] Of the omitted translations, 436 pages are from Ovid, 139 from Lucan, and 57 from Virgil. It is easy to see why Rowe's two long translations from Lucan, which were included in the Miscellany in 1709 and 1716, should be dropped after the publication in 1718 of a complete version of the *Pharsalia* from the same pen. Similarly, scattered renderings of Virgil by Dryden would have little interest after the publication of the laureate's complete translation. Apparently the numerous extracts from Ovid were removed in anticipation of reprinting them in the complete *Metamorphoses* "translated by the most eminent hands" that came out in 1717, or in *Ovid's Epistles with his Amours* published in 1725.

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Most of the translations are in heroic couplets, and since in the early issues of the Miscellany the greater part of the original verse uses the same meter, the "dominance of the couplet" is an outstanding feature of the anthology. In the first volume couplets fill .90 of the pages, and in the second .85. In the third they drop to .62, but in the last three parts they rise to .81, .70, and .83 respectively. That all but .17 of a volume of a popular miscellany issued in 1709 should be given over to heroic couplets is certainly impressive. Such prëeminence could not long continue; for, although the meter remained during fully three quarters of a century more popular than any other single measure,[6] taste turned slowly toward freer verse forms. In the 1727 edition of the anthology, for example, although the number of pages of couplets added exceeds, in every part but the last, the number dropped and in the first two parts is several times greater, yet there were so many additions so few of which, relatively, were in couplets that, while the number of pages devoted to couplets is actually greater in the last edition than in the first, the proportion of these pages to the whole is, in every part but the fifth, almost exactly .20 less.

This fact may not, however, indicate any particular decrease in the popularity of the great neo-classic meter,—although there may be some question as to how much real popularity it enjoyed at the time. It was apparently regarded as the most suitable medium for nearly every kind of serious, dignified verse,—for prologs, translations, satires, narratives, philosophical or didactic treatises, and the like. So long, therefore, as men wrote poems of this

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It is fair to assume that Tonson, who was the publisher of all these volumes, may have feared lest the appearance of much the same material in two of his publications might injure the sale of each. There must have been special reasons for dropping these particular translations, since many others were kept and new ones were introduced. Opposition to Virgil or Ovid cannot be the explanation, since—to take only two instances—"Virgil's Eclogues translated by Several Hands," which filled 92 pages in the first volume, was retained from the first edition to the last, and three new translations from the *Metamorphoses* were introduced into volume III in 1706 and kept in later editions. Yet the matter is by no means simple, for one of the three excerpts from Rowe's Lucan was retained in the fifth volume of all editions.

[6] It will be seen on pages 523–24 below that in the last three volumes of "Dodsley's Miscellany" (1755–8) poems in stanzas occupy nearly twice as many pages as those in couplets. But no single stanza ever enjoyed anything like the vogue of the couplet.

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sort they employed this meter, but as they turned to other subjects and to other types of poetry they would gradually neglect the couplet. The significance of the rising popularity of blank verse during this period, accordingly, seems to lie in its being the one real rival of the couplet, the only meter that might perhaps be considered equally suitable for serious poetry. But on "Dryden's Miscellany" blank verse left slight trace.[7] Couplets occupy fewer pages in its later volumes and later editions because translations and other varieties of serious verse were, except in long poems, giving place to lighter things.

This change is shown, in a small way, even in the first edition, through the fairly steady increase in the space given to octosyllabics. In each of the first two volumes these fill but 6 pages,[8] in the last two, 21 and 26 pages respectively; whereas in the 1727 edition half of the volumes contain over 30 pages each. Yet, as the entire six volumes of this final issue have less than 140 pages of octosyllabics, Swift's preference for the meter seems to have been exceptional at the time.

If, then, blank verse and octosyllabics remain practically negligible, it is obvious that stanzas of one sort or another must take the place left vacant by the gradual decline in the use of the heroic couplet. In the first volume of the first edition there are only 2 pages of stanzas, in the second volume only 4, and the total for all six volumes is but 88 pages,—less than the number included in some single volumes in the last issue (1727) and only a fifth of the total number in that issue. In view of the difference in subject-matter and attitude between most stanzaic poems and those, for example, in couplets, this very large increase implies a considerable change in taste. Yet, lest we exaggerate this change into a rising tide of romanticism, we should observe that in all the volumes of all the editions there is but one sonnet[9] and not a single Spenserian stanza.

[7] Aside from the addition—to the second edition only—of Philip's *Cyder*, the number of lines of blank verse (which fill only thirteen pages of the 1727 edition) remains fairly constant. Half of the volumes contain none at all.

[8] Actually, 12 pages; but, since the number of lines on a page and the spacing at the beginning and end of a poem vary greatly from one edition to another, it has been necessary, for purposes of comparison, to change all figures having to do with the number of pages that a given kind of poetry occupies in the various editions to the number it fills, or would have filled, in the edition of 1727. This is not an easy thing to do, but is an extremely easy thing, at one point or another, to forget to do; and there are probably instances where I have forgotten.

[9] Walsh's sonnet on death, added to volume IV in 1708.

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The figures given above take no account of Pindaric odes although these are divided into sections that might be called stanzas. The Miscellany does not contain many, the number in the first edition—except for volume III, which has 13,—ranging from two to five poems per volume; but, as a number of these are long, they fill 160 pages in the original six volumes.[10] In later editions only 2 short Pindarics were dropped, whereas 20 were added; and owing to their length, the additions alone fill more than one and a half times as many pages as are given to the meter in the original issue. These figures probably indicate pretty accurately the status of the Cowleyan Pindarics, which are often so long and so bad as to loom more largely in our consciousness than the facts warrant. Being easy to write and having the prestige of Dryden's great name and of some of his greatest triumphs, they were often employed for verses to be set to music and for occasions where sublimity was desired but feeling was lacking. They seem never to have been really popular;[11] but such vogue as they did enjoy would appear, since most of the Pindaric additions to the Miscellany were made betwen 1706 and 1716, to have reached its height in the second decade of the century.

Except for the omission of many translations, the differences in matter between the early editions were unimportant, the new being much the same as the old.[12] In 1716, however, thirty-two

[10] That is, according to the pagination of the first edition. This is equivalent to 65 or 70 pages in the 1727 edition.

[11] Joseph Trapp condemned them unsparingly as early as 1711 (*Praelectiones Poeticae*, 3d ed., 1736, i, 103–4), and in 1712 Gay wrote, "Tire not our patience with pindarick lays" ("Epistle to Lintott," 25).

[12] Of course, new poets were added to the later volumes of the first edition and to the third edition (the second edition is merely a reprint of the first two volumes of the first edition). Addison and Prior, who receive considerable space, first appear in the third (1693) volume of the first issue, and Pope, Swift, Ambrose Philips, and Tickell in the sixth (1709) volume; five pieces by Etherege were added in 1702 to the second volume; Walsh was given 78 pages in the fourth (1708) volume of the third issue, where John Philips had 89 pages. Some of Dryden's immediate predecessors were added between his death and 1716: Denham in 1702 and 1716 (1727 ed., i, 107–9, v. 73–91, 241–7), and Cowley in 1702, 1704, 1706, and 1716 (*ib.* ii. 304, v. 181–3, iii. 221–39, ii. 82–4). Poems on Cowley by Sprat and Denham were added in 1708 and 1716 respectively (*ib.* iv. 288–96, v. 243–6). Some verses "never Printed in any Edition of his Poetry" were published as Waller's in 1694 (iv. 279–81) but dropped in 1716, when two poems by Waller and five on him were added (1727 ed., i. 161–7, iv. 131–49, i. 215–17, 220–22, 226–7, ii. 310–12). Another of his pieces had been added in 1708 (iv. 305–6; 1727 ed., i. 183–4).

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years after the first part originally appeared and sixteen years after Dryden's death, significant changes were introduced. For one thing, the issue brought out in that year (the fourth of parts I and II, the third of III and IV, and the second of V and VI) was the first in which all the volumes were published together and was thus the first collected edition. Before this time each volume seems to have stood more or less by itself, a new part being issued as the editors found time and material and an old part reprinted with minor changes whenever the copies on hand were sold. What I have called the first edition, the only complete first edition, is strictly speaking not an edition but merely the first issues of the several volumes.[13] In the second place, radical changes were made in the contents of the Miscellany, changes that throw light on the entire period and deserve much more attention than they have hitherto received. For with this edition the collection ceases to be an anthology of contemporary poetry and its scope is extended to include the most admired pieces of the entire seventeenth century. Interestingly enough, the first examples of the earlier poetry that one meets are "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso." Suckling's "Ballad upon a Wedding," "Lycidas", some Marvel and Waller follow, and in the next volume more Suckling, six other pieces by Marvel, two by Cowley, and nine by Ben Jonson, together with four contemporary elegies on his death. The third and fourth volumes, besides one more poem of Jonson's and one of Davenant's, give thirteen by Donne, which the fifth volume increases by two and then adds two of Drayton's, five of Denham's,[14] and nine of Carew's. In the sixth volume appear Wither's "Shall I wasting in despair," Thomas Heywood's "Ye little birds that sit and sing," four pieces by Davenant, one by Ben Jonson,

[13] The Miscellany was published as follows:
1st printing, i. 1684, ii. 1685, iii. 1693, iv. 1694, v. 1704, VI. 1709.
2d printing, vols. i and ii only, 1692.
3d printing, vols. i-iv only: i. 1702, ii. n.d., iii. 1706, iv. 1708.
4th printing, 6 vols., 1716.
5th printing, 6 vols., 1727.
The second printing is practically identical with the first impression of volumes i and ii; the third drops many translations and adds much that is new; the fourth drops a number of poems and adds a great many more, notably ballads and important Elizabethan and Stuart productions. The fifth issue is a reprint of the fourth except for some transfers from one volume to another and for a very few omissions and additions.

[14] See note 12 above.

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and seven, including "Farewell rewards and fairies," by Bishop Richard Corbet.[15]

One naturally inquires why, after three decades of popularity as an anthology of late seventeenth and very early eighteenth-century poetry, the scope of the collection was suddenly enlarged. Why were authors whom the Augustans are supposed to have neglected and scorned brought in? Not to fill space, for there was no space that needed filling; the poems are pure surplusage and as such must have raised the cost of printing. Apparently there is but one answer: the new selections were expected to increase the attractiveness and hence the sales of the work. Few of us would have supposed that lyrics of Milton, Donne, Jonson, Drayton, Carew, and Wither could be used in 1716 and 1727 as bait to lure purchasers to a collection mainly devoted to the work of Dryden and his contemporaries.

If the poems selected are interesting, those passed over are none the less so.[16] Why is Jonson favored rather than Shakespeare and Spenser? Why is Donne's "Come live with me and be my love" included rather than Marlowe's lines on which it is based and Ralegh's reply to them? Why Drayton's "Nymphidia" and "The Quest of Cythnia" rather than his "Agincourt"? Why Heywood's "Ye little birds" and not his "Pack clouds away"? Why, since there are nine pieces of Carew's, is not "He that loves a rosy cheek" included? Why was space not found among the work of Dryden's contemporaries for such masterpieces as Dorset's "To all you ladies now at land," Sedley's "Love still hath some-

[15] Also "To Parson Weeks, an Invitation to London," by Sir John Mennes (1599–1671), which contains (vi. 296) one of the few references in the literature of the early eighteenth century to the author of the *Hesperides:*

> And that old Sack
> Young *Herric* took to entertain
> The Muses in a sprightly Vein.

[16] The only light I have seen on the interesting questions as to how and by whom these additions were chosen is derived from Thomas Warton's remark (in his edition of Milton's minor poems, 1791, p. x, note) that the selections from Milton were added at the suggestion of Elijah Fenton. From Tonson's addresses "To the Reader" (Miscellany, 1693, iii, and 1709, vi) it is clear that many unpublished contemporary poems were sent in by their authors. In the second of these addresses Tonson expressed the hope that "such Gentlemen as have been so kind to contribute to this or the former *Miscellanies*, will be pleased to communicate any Copies they are willing to have Publish'd in such a manner." See also note 3 above.

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thing of the sea," and "Phillis is my only joy,"[17] and for the exquisite lyrics of the notorious Rochester? Why are there but two pieces by Pope? Why is there nothing from Sidney, Spenser, Ralegh, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Campion, Wotton, the Fletchers, Drummond, William Browne, Herbert, Herrick, Randolph, Lovelace, Crashaw, Vaughan, or Parnell? To some of these questions it is not difficult to find an answer: there was no room for further additions; religious poetry, which Herbert, Crashaw, and Vaughan wrote, was avoided in the Miscellany; [18] sonnets and most lyrics were out of fashion,[19] Campion and Herrick[20] were unknown, as were probably the Fletchers, Browne, and Drummond. We can hardly realize how many seventeenth-century poems that are familiar to-day were then buried in forgotten books or inaccessible plays. The excellent selection of Tudor and Stuart verse in Percy's *Reliques*—which, aside from its preponderant emphasis on ballads is a miscellany much like Dryden's—is due not merely to better taste but to a wider knowledge of early poetry than previous editors possessed.[21]

It may be that Tonson's choice was somewhat limited by copyright, since most of the pieces in the Miscellany either first appeared there or had previously been published by Tonson himself. At this time, it will be remembered, the ownership of any printed work rested not with the author but with the publisher, who was supposed to enjoy perpetual copyright.[22] How far in actual practice the reprinting, by another house, of single short pieces was restricted is, however, a question. The Miscellany includes Robert Howard's "Duel of the Stags," "The Waking of Angantyr" from Hickes's *Thesaurus*, and many poems by Ben Jonson, Donne, Carew, Sedley, Denham, and others of which Tonson was not the publisher. Between 1726 and 1748 Dyer's "Grongar Hill" appeared in three anthologies published by three

[17] Sedley's "Prologue" ("Envy and Faction rule the grumbling Age") was added in 1702 and his "On the Infanta of Portugal" in 1716 (1727 ed., i. 134–5, 218).

[18] See page 515 below.

[19] See R. D. Havens, *The Influence of Milton* (1922), 480–82; cf. 419–20.

[20] See note 15 above.

[21] Most of the authors and many of the specific poems mentioned above as omitted by Tonson are to be found in the *Reliques*, which, however, contains almost no contemporary poetry.

[22] Not until 1774 was it finally established that Queen Anne's act of 1709 terminated the perpetual copyright held under the common law by books published before that date.

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different firms; and his "Ruins of Rome," originally issued by Gilliver, was included in Dodsley's Miscellany, as were several of Collins's Odes and the "Town Eclogues" of Lady Mary Montagu, Gay, and Pope, which had been brought out by other firms. Besides, it was the professed purpose of both Dryden's and Dodsley's Miscellanies "to preserve . . . those poetical performances, which seemed to merit a longer remembrance than what would probably be secured to them by the MANNER wherein they were originally published,"[23]—a purpose which could be carried out only by the free use of productions of other presses. To be sure, we know that Dodsley inquired as to the ownership of at least one piece in his collection;[24] but this was a poem ten pages in length that had been highly praised. The legal rights in such cases seem to have been none too clear until 1778, when Mason secured an injunction restraining the sale of Murray's *Poetical Miscellany* because it included fifty lines from three passages in Gray's works. But the surprise and indignation (which Johnson shared)[25] expressed in Murray's pamphlet attacking Mason are illuminating as to the actual practice in these matters even in 1778. As legal actions were slow, costly, and vexatious, and compensation was limited to a penny a sheet, moral and prudential considerations are likely to have been the only real restrictions. The probabilities are that even the more reputable publishers reprinted almost any short poem they pleased, although they doubtless avoided borrowing many pieces from the same firm and using the work of popular living poets or those with influential friends.

To the 1716 edition were also added a considerable number of popular pieces called "ballads" or "ancient songs." Some of these

[23] Dodsley's Miscellany, i. 3; cf. Dryden's Miscellany, pt. iii (1693), "The Bookseller to the Reader."

[24] See John Hoadly's letter to Dodsley, 18 Oct., 1757 (Ralph Straus, *Robert Dodsley*, London, 1910, p. 140), which begins, "I know of no Property, either Mr. Russell, y^e^ Printer, or his Brother . . . . has in y^e^ Translation of y^e^ Muscipula. I only permitted him to print it as Mr. H[ogarth] had spoken of it so handsomely." Does this mean that Russell was allowed to print but not to copyright the translation?

[25] Boswell's *Life*, ed. Hill, iii. 294. I learned of Mason's suit against Murray from John W. Draper's helpful "Queen Anne's Act, a Note on English Copyright," *MLN*, xxxvi. 146–54. Extracts from Murray's pamphlet which throw light on the general question are given in Samuel Smiles's *A Publisher and His Friends*, 1891, i. 16–17.

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are pastoral, some lewd, some are street-songs, some are trifles; but few are genuine popular ballads,—"Chevy-Chace,"[26] "Johnnie Armstrong," "Little Musgrave," "The Miller and the King's Daughters," "Robin Hood . . . his Parentage, Birth, Breeding, Valor; and Marriage."[27] With them is the old "Scotch Song call'd Gilderoy."[28] In adding these pieces the editor took a notable step: "He is, I think," observes J. W. Hales, "the first collector of poems who conceded to popular ballads their due place,—who admitted them into the society of other poems—poems by the most Eminent Hands."[29] Another novelty in the 1716 edition, somewhat similar to the ballads and, for its length, possibly as influential, is "The Waking of Angantyr," in both Norse and English, which is prophetic of Gray and the Scandinavian revival.[30]

From our point of view the earlier poems, including as they do a few excellent ballads and some of the finest short pieces of Donne, Jonson, Drayton, Heywood, Waller, Carew, Suckling, Milton, Cowley, Marvel, and Denham, are a great addition to the collec-

[26] "Chevy Chace" had been added to the 1702 edition of volume II. The famous Spectator papers on it may have been suggested to Addison by his reading the ballads in the Miscellany or by the brief praise given it in *The Muses Mercury* for June 1707 (see E. K. Broadus, "Addison's Influence on the Development of Interest in Folk-Poetry," *Modern Philology*, viii, 1910, 124 n.); but the chances are that it was included not so much for its own sake as because of the Latin translation that accompanied it.

[27] Edition of 1727, ii. 284–301; iii. 302–4, 307–13; vi. 276–82. "A Description of the Tombs in Westminster-Abby" (*ib.* iii. 293–301), apparently an imitation of the ballads, was also added in 1716, and in 1727 "A very ancient Song of the Banishment of the two Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, in the Time of King Richard the Second" (*ib.* iii. 372–7).

[28] *Ib.* iii. 316–7. On "Gilderoy" see J. W. Ebsworth, *Bagford Ballads* (Hertford, 1878), i. 101–7.

[29] *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall (1868), vol. ii, pp. viii–ix. There is, however, no reason for thinking with Mr. Hales that it was Dryden who added the ballads, since none were included in the editions of the Miscellany published during his lifetime. The 1709 issue of volume vi is prefaced by an address to the reader, signed "Jacob Tonson," which sounds as if Tonson were the editor. "I have been forced," it runs, "to omit several of the Copies sent, upon the publick Notice given, otherways this volume would have swell'd beyond the Size of any of the former ones. I shall reserve those for another Volume, which I hope to Publish at the beginning of the next Year."

[30] Edition of 1727, vi. 315–20. It was taken from Hickes's recently-published *Thesaurus* (Oxford, 1705). Presumably the printing of it in the Miscellany is responsible for Percy's including it in his *Five Runic Pieces*.

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tion. But we are familiar with Elizabethan literature, we have eclectic taste, we are fond of lyrics and ballads. Was it so with the Augustans most of whom knew little English poetry written before 1660 except some Chaucer and Spenser, the plays of Shakespeare and a few of those by his contemporaries? They seldom wrote good lyrics and, judging by their dislike of Shakespeare's poems, their ridicule of genuine ballads,[31] and their indifference to Herrick, to Milton's shorter pieces and, later, to the "Song to David," they did not enjoy those written by others. It may, therefore, be surmised that the splendid pre-Restoration poetry added to the Miscellany in 1716 left most readers cold or was left by them unread. Such a conclusion seems to be borne out by the few references to the poems that have been noticed in the literature of the time and by the occasional expressions of indifference to most of Waller's predecessors and contemporaries or even of contempt for them. Yet, owing to the popularity of the anthology, its contents became more or less familiar to a considerable body of readers, many of whom probably owed to it the greater part of what they knew of non-dramatic poetry written in England before 1660; and perhaps, as the early eighteenth century is studied more thoroughly, these poems will be found to have had more readers and admirers than has been suspected. At any rate, the persons who selected them liked them and a shrewd judge of public taste thought them suitable for inclusion in a very successful Miscellany.

The addition, in 1716, of street-ballads and popular songs, as well as of salacious material of a more literary type, strongly accentuates a feature of the Miscellany which, as the numerous translations from Ovid would suggest, was by no means lacking in the earlier issues. Only a reading of the volumes themselves can give an adequate conception of the coarse language and coarser thoughts, the lascivious stories, the leers, innuendoes, and frank nastiness, of this dignified, admired, and very popular anthology. Love is, in the later volumes at least, the dominant, often the all-absorbing, theme; yet of pure, unfeigned affection there is hardly a trace.

Some other things are strangely lacking, satire, for instance. The Miscellany originally began with Dryden's "MacFlecknoe,"

[31] Addison's praise of *Chevy Chace* excited considerable ridicule (see R. P. McCutcheon, "Another Burlesque of Addison's Ballad Criticism," *Studies in Philology*, 1926, xxiii, 451 ff).

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"Absalom and Achitophel," and "The Medal"; but, oddly enough, aside from the addition in 1716 of the second part of "Absalom and Achitophel," this practically exhausts the satire in the collection. Only sixteen other pieces of the type, occupying about as many pages, seem ever to have been included,[32] and yet satire is supposed to have dominated the period![33] Broad humor, on the other hand, which is usually not associated with the Augustans, is a marked feature of the Miscellany, although not before the 1716 edition. It usually borders on the lewd; yet it often seems to spring from a hearty, spontaneous love of fun.

Another *genre* that fails to occupy the ample room that scholarship has assigned to her is the pastoral. To be sure, there are pastoral touches here and there in songs and other pieces; but only two poems really belonging to the type are included in the volumes issued during Dryden's lifetime, and in the later volumes and editions there are fewer than forty, none of them long.[34] No wonder Ambrose Philips wrote, "It is strange to think, in an Age so addicted to the *Muses*, how *Pastoral* Poetry comes to be never so much as thought upon."[35]

The neglect which troubled Philips may have arisen from consciousness that the pastorals of the day showed no interest in the real out-of-doors. Unfortunately, evidences of such interest are exceedingly rare throughout the Miscellany, and in the first three editions are practically non-existent. Nature poetry, good or bad, is unusual, and the only vivid touches I have observed

[32] One of these, "A familiar Epistle of Mr. Julian" (1727 ed., vi. 288–91), was attributed to Dryden. Translations of satires are, of course, not included in this count.

[33] The Miscellany contains a number of epigrams; but, except for a paraphrase of the *Lutrin* (1727 ed., iii. 345–72), it has few poems that I recognize as parodies.

[34] I find but 31; of these 2 were added in 1702, 7 in 1704, 3 in 1708, 11 in 1709, 7 in 1716, 1 in 1727. Seven, or nearly a quarter, are elegies. These figures do not, of course, include translations, of which, for example, there are thirteen from Virgil's *Eclogues* in the first edition of volume I.

[35] Preface to his *Pastorals* (Miscellany, 1727 ed., vi. 2). Six of Philips's pastorals and four of Pope's were first published in the first edition of the sixth volume of the collection (1709). Joseph Trapp, first professor of poetry at Oxford, ridiculed the pastorals of his day in his *Praelectiones Poeticae* (3d ed., 1736, i. 45; the first edition of this volume appeared in 1711) and Gay mocked them three years later in his *Shepherd's Week* (1714), but Tickell praised them in the *Guardian* between the 6th and 17th of April, 1713. Johnson's chief condemnations are given in J. E. Brown's *Critical Opinions of Samuel Johnson* (Princeton, N. J., 1926). See also the index to Hill's edition of the *Lives of the Poets*.

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in any of it are limited to the Jacobean or Caroline lyrics that were added in 1716.[36] A possible exception is an anonymous piece of twenty stanzas "On Solitude," which, though its style suggests the first quarter of the seventeenth century, may have been written a hundred years later. It is notable for the appreciation not merely of nature but of the wild, rough aspects of nature, for accuracy of observation, for interest in ruins and other intimations of the coming change in poetry:

> O! how agreeable a Sight
> These hanging Mountains do appear . . . .
> What pretty Desolations make
> These Torrents Vagabond and Fierce,
> Who in vast Heaps their Spring forsake
> This solitary Vale to pierce? . . .
> What Beauty is there in the sight
> Of these old ruin'd Castle Walls.[37]

Even more striking is the appreciation of the sea, rare before Byron's time, which is revealed in the same unknown poem:

> How highly is the Fancy pleas'd,
> To be upon the Ocean's Shore,
> When she begins to be appeas'd,
> And her fierce Billows cease to roar! . . .
> Sometimes the Sea dispels the Sand,
> Trembling and murmuring in the Bay. . . .
> Sometimes so sweetly she does smile,
> A floating Mirror she might be,
> And you would fancy all that while,
> New Heavens in her face to see.[38]

Some pleasant, rippling, often charming, octosyllabics, "To the Nightingale coming in the Spring . . . written by a Person of Quality in 1680," have a good deal to say about groves, flowery banks, "Herds and Flocks . . . Meads and Rocks," though in a vague way that does not suggest an eye on the object. The following lines are characteristic, not only of the piece itself, but

[36] For example, "L'Allegro," "Il Penseroso," "Lycidas," and several pieces by Marvel, notably "The Garden."

[37] Edition of 1727, i. 252–4. In the lines immediately following those quoted we meet witches, owls, ravens, goblins, and the bones of one who hanged himself for love,—all the paraphernalia (save the cemetery itself) of the graveyard school. The poem was added to the Miscellany in 1716.

[38] Edition of 1727, i. 256.

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of the best that English nature poetry between Marvel and Thomson has to offer:

> Tell her the loud Winds are dumb,
> Winter's past, and Spring is come,
> The delightful Spring! that rains
> Sweets and Plenty o'er the Plains,
> And with shady Garlands crown'd
> All the Woods and Groves around.[39]

The love of "God's out-of-doors" was, however, no more unfashionable among the Augustans than was the love of God Himself; yet there must have been a good deal of each, and not alone among the inarticulate. For, at the very time the Miscellany was appearing, Isaac Watts's devotional works were selling by the thousands, Addison was composing his hymns, and John Dennis was urging the composition of verse paraphrases of the Scriptures and insisting that the highest poetry deals with religion. But "Dryden's Miscellany," ignoring "enthusiasts" and dissenters, apparently addressed itself to the coterie whose taste it probably gauged pretty accurately in including only twelve religious pieces. Three of these, moreover, "Religio Laici," "The Hind and the Panther," and "Veni Creator Spiritus," owing to Dryden's authorship and their unusual excellence, would almost certainly have been included regardless of their subject-matter. Since two others are by Prior and one by Denham, and since none but Dryden's are long, it looks as if the editors avoided religious poetry unless it had the sanction of a great name.

If they did so, it was not because they feared serious poetry; for even after the additions of 1716, which are often sprightly, the anthology as a whole could hardly be called light reading. It contains, for example, 25 elegies, including 7 that are pastoral; 15 of these were in the first edition. As may be surmised, these elegies are in the main rhetorical and perfunctory, monumental rather than intimate, and as free from intensity or personal feeling as from romantic love of gloom. Those that were called forth by the death of a real person belong also in the class of commendatory and occasional poems which are numerous in the later volumes of the Miscellany, though to us the embodiment of dulness. Romantic narratives, on the other hand, which we like, or indeed long narratives of any kind, are to be found only among the translations.

[39] *Ib.* ii. 373. The poem, which is anonymous, was added in 1716.

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Philosophical poems also are rare, almost as rare as literary criticism;[40] and epistles, though enjoying Dryden's favor, do not average two to a volume.

Before 1716 the lover of light literature must have found what solace he could in the songs or the prologs and epilogs. Of these last—prologs and epilogs—he would have discovered nearly fifty, twenty-eight by Dryden and the remainder by such "eminent hands" as Otway, Lee, Sedley, Garth, Congreve, Etherege, and Buckhurst. As twenty of these poems are not in the first edition and as some were added so late as 1716, the popularity of the type showed no abatement. And rightly so, for these brilliant, graceful, often familiar pieces are among the most readable things in the anthology. A number of them, it should be observed, pay little or almost no heed to the plays to which they are attached, but celebrate the return of the queen or the opening of a theater and thus belong among the occasional poems.

The final edition of the Miscellany contains from 125 to 150 songs,—a goodly number to be sure, but as most of them are short the amount of space they occupy is almost negligible, probably not more than one page in fifteen. At first even the number was negligible, since there were only twelve in the four volumes published before 1700. Negligible also is the quality. It may be that they are no worse than may be found in most collections of contemporary verse, and that in overlooking the best productions of its own age, this anthology is not unique; but this is not to deny that for the greater part the songs are dreary reading. What particularly impresses the twentieth-century reader is their monotony and conventionality,—the same occasion or story, the same characters, the same theme and the same variations on it, the same few ideas or moods, the same exaggeration and sensuality expressed in the same stereotyped language. The truth is that the Augustans held a conception of the lyric quite unlike our own; they ignored what seem to us essentials and stressed points which we think trivial or even mistaken. For example, Ambrose Philips, in a paper on the *genre* which was later prefixed to an extensive collection of lyrics, says nothing of spontaneity or of emotional, personal, or singing qualities, but merely tells us that songs "de-

[40] These include three pieces, one by Suckling and two anonymous, entitled "A Session of the Poets" (1727 ed., ii. 85–96); Fr. Knapp's "Epistle to Mr. B—" (*ib.* iv. 72–5); Addison's "Account of the Greatest English Poets" (*ib.* iv. 281–5); and "An Epistle from Mr. Charles Hopkins to Mr. Yalden in Oxon" (*ib.* v. 51–3).

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mand great Regularity, and the utmost Nicety . . . . a Song loses all its Lustre if it be not polished with the greatest Accuracy." It is "a little Image in Ennamel" and "should be conducted like an Epigram; and the only difference between them is, that the one does not require the Lyric Numbers, and is usually employed upon Satyrical Occasions."[41]

Such a conception appears to have been fairly general, for the songs in this anthology seem rarely to have sprung from real experience or to express real feelings. Their elegant, conventional utterance of feigned emotion reveals neither the singing impulse nor the singing voice, both of which had survived into the Restoration. Lewdness is here, but passion is lacking, fluency has become tameness, originality artifice.

Indeed, as soon as we leave the work of the greater men,—and sometimes even there—we feel throughout the Miscellany the paralysis of the unreal, the rhetorical, the merely literary, of indifference, insincerity, insipidity, and trifling, which was seizing on all but the very best literature of the time, especially on its poetry.[42] The direct vigor, intensity, and unconventionality of Donne's work stand out in striking relief against the colorlessness of most of its surroundings, and such lines as

> Together both, ere the high lawns appeared
> Under the opening eyelids of the morn,

encountered by chance as one turns over the pages, bring an acute realization of how much is gone. Of course there are exceptions. A translation from Ovid begins thus:

> How are you chang'd of late, my Love, how grown
> So tir'd of me, so pressing to be gone;[43]

and a forgotten, anonymous song has this ending:

> Ah! cruel Charmer, let me know my Fate;

[41] *The Guardian*, no. 16, March 30, 1713; reprinted as the preface to *The Hive* (4th ed., 1732), where it is ascribed to "Mr. Philips."

[42] As was pointed out in some ironical lines added in 1716:

> But you condemn such lifeless Poetry [as Rymer's],
> And wildly talk of nothing else to me
> But Spirit, Flame, Rapture, and Ecstasie;
> Strange Mystick Things, I understand no more
> Than Laity *Pax Tecum* did of Yore

(Fr. Knapp, "An Epistle to Mr. B—," 1727 ed., iv. 75).

[43] Charles Hopkins, "The Story of Ceyx and Halcyone," *ib.* iv. 39.

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Whisper your Love, or thunder out your Hate.[44]

Another bursts out with:

Thou damn'd perpetual peevish Folly,
Curse of a quiet Life.[45]

When Thomas Sprat says of Cowley,

You are the first Bird of Paradise with Feet,[46]

he is absurd but he is arresting. The alliteration, the fantastic richness, and the singing voice of the Elizabethans are certainly here:

Songs of Sonnets and rustical Roundelays,
Forms of Fancies are whilstl'd on Reeds, ...
Stars enamour'd with Pastimes Olympical,
Stars and Planets yet beautiful shone,
Would no longer endure that mortal Men only
Should swim in Pleasures, while they but look on.
Round about horned
Lucina they Swarmed,
And her informed, how minded they were,
Each God and Goddess,
To take human Bodies,
As Lords and Ladies, to follow the *Hare*.[47]

Likewise the limpid ease of the Restoration lyric is preserved in these lines:

I Grant, a thousand Oaths I swore
I none would love but you:
But not to change would wrong me more,
Than breaking them can do.
Yet you thereby a Truth will learn,
Of much more worth than I;
Which is, That Lovers, which do swear,
Do also use to lye.[48]

[44] "Song, To the Fickle Sylvia," *ib.* vi. 80.

[45] "A rant against Cupid," *ib.* iv. 114.

[46] "Upon the Poems of the English Ovid, etc.," *ib.* iv. 294. The entire piece is extravagant, "metaphysical," and interesting.

[47] "Hunting the Hare" (anon.), *ib.* iii. 304–6.

[48] "A Song" (anon.), *ib.* iv. 260. None of the seven extracts given above appeared in the Miscellany before 1708. The probability that the songs were written in the Elizabethan or the Restoration period does not make them less interesting in the present connection. For us the important thing is that they were added to a popular anthology in 1716.

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Passages like these, which recall the splendors and the fantastic excesses of the Renaissance—of which, indeed, they are the last, dying echoes,—are infrequent in Dryden's Miscellany; but from the anthology that in the mid-eighteenth century succeeded it in popular favor they have completely disappeared. *A Collection of Poems in Six Volumes by Several Hands*, or "Dodsley's Miscellany," the work of the ex-butler, poet, and publisher, Robert Dodsley, appeared between 1748 and 1758 and enjoyed the unusual popularity of going through nine editions and giving rise to three supplements. Important on account of its contents and vogue, it is of unusual interest because it mirrors with rare fidelity a period which, as a period, has received little attention. The differences between it and the Dryden anthology are not startling,—nothing about it or about the era that produced it is startling,—but as the two anthologies are studied it becomes clear that in ethics and esthetics, in matter and meter, in purpose and tone, they are leagues apart. Such a change is unexpected because between the last edition of Dryden's collection (1727) and the first of Dodsley's (1748) lie only twenty-one years. Yet the fourth decade of the eighteenth century, during which Dodsley's Miscellany began to appear, was peculiarly one of transition. Within this decade the last of the great neo-classicists, Pope and Swift, passed from the stage and a group of young men, Gray, Collins, the Wartons, and Mason, began to publish verse which was quietly but fundamentally unlike that of Queen Anne's men.

Hence the time was unusually propitious. Five or ten years earlier the most significant pieces could not have been included; a decade or two later they would have lost their freshness and few important new poems would have been available to compensate the loss.[49] Not until nearly forty years had passed and the first important works of Cowper, Blake, and Burns saw the light was there another such opportunity as presented itself to Dodsley between 1748 and 1758. And he made the most of it. Except for Young he included every important poet of the time, as well as nearly all the minor figures that are worth while.[50]

[49] Aside from the later work of Gray and Thomas Warton, the chief gain would have been "A Song to David" (1763), "The Traveller" (1764), and "The Deserted Village" (1770).

[50] The Scottish poets, Allan Ramsay and Hamilton of Bangour, are not included, perhaps because of their dialect but more probably because they were not yet well known south of the Tweed, as Blair's *Grave* (1743) presumably was not. The

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If he did not always choose what is now, from the vantage-ground of a hundred and eighty years, regarded as the writer's best, at least few others could have done so well; and in selecting, two years after their publication, "How sleep the brave" and the "Ode to Evening" from Collins's neglected odes he showed a discrimination approaching genius.[51]

Indeed, it is doubtful if a better anthology of contemporary poetry was ever made. This is not to deny that other anthologies have contained greater contemporary poetry, but Dodsley was not to blame if Shakespeare and Shelley were not writing in 1750. Seven of Gray's best pieces were selected (including the "Elegy" "The Bard," "The Progress of Poesy," and the Eton College ode,) five of Collins's, thirteen of the Wartons (including "The Enthusiast," the "Ode to Fancy" "The Pleasures of Melancholy," and two sonnets),[52] ten of Akenside's (including the fine "Hymn to the Naiads"), six of Mason's, over forty of Shenstone's (among them "The Schoolmistress" and "Written at an Inn"[53]), two of Dyer's ("Grongar Hill" and "The Ruins of Rome"), and Dr. Johnson's three outstanding poems ("London," "The Vanity of Human Wishes," and the Drury Lane "Prolog"). Besides, there were Pope, Tickell, Arbuthnot, Chesterfield, Lady Mary Montagu, Elizabeth Carter, Gay, Garrick, Thomson, Somervile, Jago, Byrom, Spence, Lowth, Lyttelton, Stephen Duck, William Whitehead, Gilbert West, Richard West, Bishop Percy, Horace Walpole, Richard Graves, Charles Hanbury Williams, R. O. Cambridge, I. H. Browne, Green's "Spleen," and Bishop Berkeley's "Westward the course of empire takes its way." These, as the reader has remarked to himself, are not distinguished names, a fact which points to the most serious limitation of the Miscellany. For, though Dodsley gathered most of the best, he was forced to put up with much that was not the best in order to fill his six

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length of *The Grave* was also against it, since the Miscellany includes only complete poems. Copyright may have been responsible for the omission of Young, a writer of such importance that it would not have been safe to "lift" his shorter poems.

[51] One of the few contemporary borrowings from Collins may be found in the fifth volume of the Miscellany (p. 326) in J. G. Cooper's "Tomb of Shakespear":

> Here FANCY sat, (her dewy fingers cold
> Decking with flow'rets fresh th' unsullied sod).

Cf. "How sleep the brave," lines 3–4.

[52] Thomas Warton's best poems were not yet written.

[53] The concluding stanza of which Johnson "repeated, with great emotion" (Boswell's *Life*, ed. Hill, ii. 452).

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volumes. Some of his contemporaries were conscious of this limitation; for, when "Dodsley appealed to his own *Collection*" as disproving Goldsmith's assertion "that there was no poetry produced in this age," he thereby, according to Johnson, "gave up the question . . . . for he acknowledged that there was no poetry, nothing that towered above the common mark."[54]

The "common mark," mediocrity, commonplaceness, tameness, triviality,—these are the terms that undoubtedly fit a great part of the poems. Often in place of the author's name we find "By the same," an unintentional reminder of their sameness. We are neither thrilled nor disgusted, but frequently we are bored. It is all-too-characteristic of the period that Dodsley claimed for his Collection only "the merit . . . of having furnish'd to the Public an elegant and polite Amusement".[55] Had it in truth come to this! As we look back to Sidney's, Spenser's, and Milton's conceptions of poetry and forward to Wordsworth's and Shelley's, we realize into what a valley of humiliation one of the noblest faculties of the human spirit had descended. And yet, except for modest understatement the phrase represents, as accurately as any phrase can, what was probably at the time the general idea as to the function of most poetry. Pindaric and other attempts at sublimity, which although as a rule ridiculously inadequate had been fairly common a few decades earlier, were rarely chosen by Dodsley. His selections are often entertaining, amusing, or pleasing for one reason or another; but they seldom touch the heart, stir the imagination, delight the esthetic sense with beauty of phrase or of cadence, or sting the mind with splendor of a sudden thought. "Competent" is the word that perhaps best describes most of them,—none too reassuring a term to apply to poems, it must be confessed, but one not much below the mark at which many of these aimed. The greater part are frankly or unconsciously imitative. Tang, vigor, freshness of phrasing, are as much to seek as is real lyric power. The perfection of Pope's highly finished and condensed couplets is gone and with it the wasp's sting. The temper and manners of poetry have unquestionably improved as its virility and art have waned; it has become kinder, tamer, more trivial, less original and arresting. In other words, the feminine element, which has dominated so much of

[54] Boswell's *Life*, ed. Hill, iii. 38. See also Gray's strictures (*Letters*, ed. Tovey, i. 182–3).

[55] Postscript to volume VI.

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later art, is becoming ominously important; and, as might be expected from the part Shenstone took in making the Collection and from the number of his poems included in it, the elegant but ineffectual sentimentalists, who reached their nadir in the Della Cruscans and their culmination in Leigh Hunt, have already begun to prattle.

Such a development was inevitable in view of the uncertainty into which the literary world had fallen. The old gods were dying and the new not yet born. The neo-classic discipline was being rejected as too rigid and narrow, but no new discipline was taking its place. An increasing number of both readers and poets were no longer completely satisfied with the subjects, the meters, the language, and the style of most of the poetry they knew; yet to discover a subject-matter or a style that pleased the more discriminating among them much better proved extremely difficult. It might be expected that much of the literature of such a period should be characterized by wavering, by flabbiness, inadequacy, triviality, and futility. What, one wonders, might a Milton or a Wordsworth have done? But such a question presupposes the crux of the difficulty—that the second quarter of the eighteenth century could have produced a Milton or a Wordsworth. At any rate, no one appeared who approached them in vigor, originality and independence, or poetic endowment; no Moses led out of the wilderness these children of the muses who were vaguely yearning and timidly striving for some new land. To be sure, a few succeeded in cutting out for themselves fresh paths (which they did not always follow); but it is likely that more forsook poetry entirely, while the great majority either continued, dully but often contentedly, in the old ways, or wandered on for forty years, or sixty, or even more.

If, then, the Miscellany reflects the temper of the times, it will contain some work of each of these classes, except, of course, of the men who left poetry for other fields. This it does, and unmistakably. Yet the productions of the last and most characteristic group—of which the less successful pieces of Mason, Shenstone, the Wartons, and Collins are fairly representative—can be understood only by turning to the poems themselves, since by their very nature they have long been forgotten, and since they have so little character that brief extracts make scarcely any impression. The other two groups, those who follow the old paths and those who make new, are obvious enough. The first

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volume, for example, has seventy pages of Tickell, twenty-eight of Lady Mary Montagu, one piece by Pope, one by Gay, one by Arbuthnot, two by Johnson, and five by Chesterfield, as well as a prolog, an epilog, two imitations of Horace, and a satire in Pope's manner,—nearly all in heroic couplets. But it also contains Dyer's "Grongar Hill" (octosyllabics) and "Ruins of Rome" (blank verse), Shenstone's "Schoolmistress" (Spenserian stanzas), "Prae-existence, in Imitation of Milton" (blank verse), and Collins's "Ode to Evening" (unrimed stanzas) and "How sink the brave" (stanzas). Similarly volume four, though it includes more of Lady Mary's verse, translations and imitations of Horace and Martial, "Epistles in the Manner of Ovid," and Johnson's "Vanity of Human Wishes, In Imitation of the Tenth Satire of Juvenal," yet opens with Gray's "Elegy" and "Hymn to Adversity," passes through Spenserian stanzas and Miltonic octosyllabics to two pieces by Collins and, later on, to two by Mason, four by Joseph Warton, and to the "Pleasures of Melancholy" and two sonnets by Thomas Warton. But these last, although often called "romantic," reveal amost nothing of that strangeness in beauty or of that desire of the moth for the star which lie at the heart of romanticism. They are closer to Dryden than to Shelley. Both they and the more rigorously neo-classic poems continued to be written and to share the popular favor down to the days of Crabbe and Rogers, a liking for one kind of verse not interfering in most cases with a cordial liking for the other.

Yet an examination of the meters used in Dodsley's Collection reveals a decided swing towards the newer poetry.[56] "In the first three volumes (published in 1748) there are 57 pages devoted to blank verse, 132 to octosyllabics, 205 to stanzas, and 404, or nearly half, to couplets; in the last three (the fourth published in 1755, the fifth and sixth in 1758) 73 pages are given to blank verse, 146 to octosyllabics, 427 to stanzas, and 246 (practically a quarter) to couplets. It will be noticed that in the ten-year interval the

[56] There is no reason for believing that Dodsley favored the newer poetry rather than the rigidly neo-classic, for he appears to have taken the best he could get wherever he could get it. He certainly was on excellent terms with the leaders of the conservative side; for Pope "assisted" him "with an hundred pounds that he might open a shop," Johnson (to whom he suggested the idea of the dictionary) called him his "patron," Chesterfield helped him in various ways, and Spence was one of his intimate acquaintances. All but a handful of the pieces he selected for the first volume of the Miscellany might well have been written under Queen Anne, and the last forty-four pages of volume III are devoted to the praise of Pope.

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stanzaic poems have exchanged places with those in couplets."[57] By comparing these figures with those previously given for Dryden's Miscellany, we see how great a change had come over English versification. In the first issue of that work heroic couplets filled 80 per cent of the space, leaving but 13 pages for blank verse, 81 for octosyllabics, and 88 for stanzas.[58] Even the last issue contains no Spenserian stanzas and but one sonnet, whereas Dodsley includes 170 pages of Spenserian stanzas and 16 sonnets.

These changes in meter mean far more than meter; they imply new models, new conceptions of poetry, and a desire to escape the monotonous regularity of neo-classic versification. For the heroic couplet had become so inseparably associated in the popular mind with the poetry of Pope and his friends that almost every one who wrote couplets adopted—unconsciously or even unwillingly—the prosody, the language, and more or less of the subject-matter and attitude of Pope. Similarly, those who experimented with Spenser's stanza generally used a language and a subject akin to his; those who wrote blank verse attempted the prosody, the inversions, the uncommon words, and the dignity of *Paradise Lost;* and those who turned to octosyllabics were apt to slip into some of the devices or into the phrasing of "L'Allegor" and "Il Penseroso". The 170 pages of stanzas similar to Spenser's would be misleading if it were not known that they constitute only nine poems.[59] For the stanza of the *Faerie Queene* was neither liked nor widely used in the eighteenth century. Aside from *The Castle of Indolence* and a

[57] These figures take no account of anapests, sonnets, and epigrams, or of irregular or dramatic works that do not fall into any of the classes named. "If we count the number of poems rather than the number of pages they occupy, we shall likewise find that blank-verse and octosyllabic poetry gained greatly in popularity; for in the first three volumes there are 7 poems in blank verse, 34 in octosyllabics, 77 in stanzas, and 83 in couplets; in the last three, 18 in blank verse, 58 in octosyllabics, 173 in stanzas, and 69 in couplets." This note and the passage in the text to which it is appended are taken from page 434 of my *Influence of Milton.*

[58] That is, according to the pagination of the 1727 edition. This has about one and a half times as many lines on a page as the first edition of Dodsley, to which all my figures refer. If the two Miscellanies had the same number of pages it would be fair to compare a page of one with a page of the other, because, regardless of the number of lines it contained, the one would be the same fraction of its whole as would the other. But, as the 1727 Miscellany averages 370 pages per volume and the first edition of Dodsley 340, the former should have a slightly larger number of pages of each class.

[59] There is, however, some influence from the *Amoretti* upon the sonnets of Thomas Edwards. See also notes 63, 68 below.

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few other pieces, Spenser's real significance through this period will be found, not in the imitation of his meter and his language, but in far less tangible ways,—in the stimulus he furnished the imagination, the interest he roused in medieval studies, the impetus he gave toward richer, less conventional language, and the liberalizing influence he brought to bear upon the ultra-rational conception of poetry.

The same can hardly be said of the influence of Milton; for, though he stimulated the imaginations of a far greater number than Spenser did, since his popularity was much wider, and though he acted no less powerfully as a solvent of neo-classic rigidity, he also left a profound and unmistakable impression on a very large number of poems including some of the most valuable and the most popular pieces written in the century. His influence, furthermore, did not spring, as did Spenser's, chiefly from one poem; for not only his blank verse but his octosyllabics and sonnets found hundreds of imitators, and his other pieces not a few. This state of affairs is faithfully mirrored in Dodsley's volumes where, besides the 16 sonnets and the 25 unrimed poems, many of the 92 pieces in octosyllabics, a fair number of the 250 in stanzas,[60] and even some of the Pindarics bear the mark of the "mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies." More than this, the echo of Miltonic phrases sounds from page after page of the collection,—as, for example in these lines from a "Monody" at which one of the volumes happens to open:

> O honour'd flood! with reeds Pierian crown'd . . . .
> And call thy chosen sons, and bid them bring . . . .
> Such as might half-inspire
> The iron breast of HADES to resign
> Our lost, lov'd CAROLINE.
> These are thy glorious deeds, almighty death![61]

[60] Including Collins's "Ode to Evening," in the meter of Milton's translation from Horace.

[61] "Monody on the Death of Queen Caroline," by Gray's friend, Richard West, ii. 278–9. (All references to Dodsley's Miscellany are to the first edition: i–iii, 1748; iv, 1755; v–vi, 1758.) Cf. "Lycidas," 85–6, 134; "L'Allegro," 148–50; *Paradise Lost*, v. 153. "Vacation" (vi. 148–54) copies almost every feature of "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso,"—the meter (including the irregular opening and the cadence), the train of personifications, the "hence," the "come," the parentage and birth of Vacation, the ending, and the occupations by day and by night. Immediately preceding it, the conclusion of Sneyd Davis's lines "To Thomas Taylor" employs several of these same features from "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" along

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Another evidence of Milton's influence is afforded by the odes to personified abstractions which bloomed profusely in the none-too-trim garden of the later eighteenth century. Dryden's Miscellany has none of these, and few odes of any kind; yet Dodsley's includes 23 addresses to abstractions and some 40 other odes. It will be remembered that the ode was a favorite form with Gray, Collins,[62] and their friends, who were also unfortunately addicted to the use of personifications. These last sprinkle the pages of Dodsley's Collection thick as motes that people the sunbeams. It is simply incredible how many they are, often ten or fifteen on a page and relatively few pages without at least one. Although probably encouraged by Spenser's practice,[63] the custom of using them seems to have had its origin chiefly in "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," to which, it is worth noting, nearly all the odes to abstractions in the Miscellany are indebted.

Milton has also set his stamp on the anthology's sixteen sonnets. This little handful of poems constitutes one of the most influential and probably the most novel features of the Collection, for it represents the first important publication of sonnets since 1660.[64] Furthermore, it constitutes the first publication in this field by two of the most important sonneteers of the century, Edwards and Thomas Warton. If we wonder why more such poems were not added in the last two volumes, we forget that sonnets (even Shakespeare's) were then regarded with contempt[65] and that very few were written between 1748 and 1758.[66]

Similarly, if we are disappointed that the Miscellany shows few evidences of interest in things medieval, we forget that Macpherson's *Fragments* did not appear until 1760, that Gray's Norse Odes were not written until 1761, that Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry*

with a blank verse derived from *Paradise Lost*. Francis Coventry's "Penshurst" (iv. 50–61) follows Milton's octosyllabics almost as closely as does "Vacation" and with more verbal borrowings.

[62] There are seven examples of the regular or true Pindaric ode which Gray and Collins favored.

[63] Nearly every Spenserian imitation in the Miscellany introduces a number of personified abstractions.

[64] Those by the Yorkes, Gray, and Benjamin Stillingfleet were not yet published. For other sonnets written between 1660 and 1748 see *The Influence of Milton*, 488–9, 685.

[65] *Ib.* 480–82.

[66] *Ib.* 495–9, 685–6. Furthermore, Dodsley probably gauged the public taste two shrewdly to include any more, even if more were offered him.

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were published in 1762, and that *The Castle of Otranto*, Evan Evan's *Specimens*, Percy's *Reliques*, and the Rowley poems came still later.[67] Besides, Gray's "Bard" *is* included, and coming as the last piece in the last volume serves as a climax to the Collection. Another poem that has considerable interest to a student of the medieval revival is Gilbert West's "Institution of the Order of the Garter." This production, which fills 63 pages, employs a chorus of spirits, another of bards, and a third of druids, besides containing a true Pindaric ode. Although called a dramatic poem, it is really modelled on the seventeenth-century masque, and makes use of a style and language curiously Elizabethan for anything published in 1742:

> the western isles,
> That, scatter'd o'er the rough Hibernian flood,
> Seem like huge fragments by the wild wave torn
> From stormy Scotland, and the Cambrian shore. . . .
> But see! in heav'nly panoply array'd,
> Whose streaming radiance skirts the clouds with gold,
> I view Pendragon burst the veiling shade.[68]

Aside from this masque of West's, the very few references I have found in the Miscellany to bards or druids,[69] the seven poems that speak appreciatively of Gothic architecture or ruins,[70] the five that mention fairies,[71] and the three that praise the noble savage and primitive life[72] are nearly all to be found in the work

[67] Although it includes several of the ballads of its own day, Dodsley's Miscellany, unlike Dryden's, is of no significance in the ballad revival. It is an anthology of contemporary verse and reprints few things that antedate 1725.

[68] Dodsley's Miscellany, ii. 114, 155. West's drama owes a good deal to *Comus* and makes use of a number of Milton's phrases, as in the 5th and 6th lines quoted above (cf. *P.L.*, vi. 760, v. 185–7). Two pieces by an anonymous author, "An Elegy, written on Valentine Morning" and "The Dowager" (vi. 217–25), also have at times an Elizabethan ring; the first shows the influence of Spenser's "Epithalamion."

[69] i. 55 (Tickell); iii. 98 (J. Warton); iv. 62 (Coventry), 225 (T. Warton); vi. 150 ("Vacation"), 326–32 (Gray). Here, as in similar cases throughout this article, figures and references cannot pretend to be complete but only to convey the right impression.

[70] i. 222, cf. 226–46 (Dyer); iv. 50–51, 55–6 (Coventry), 215, 221, cf. 223–4 (T. Warton), 297–8 (Marriott); vi. 139 (Davies), 221, 224 ("The Dowager"), 319–20 (Mason). Cf. also iii. 109.

[71] i. 43–62 (Tickell); iii. 105 (J. Warton); iv. 72 (Collins), 188 (Merrick), 351 (Shenstone).

[72] iii. 97–106, especially 100–102; iv. 208–10, 212 (all by J. Warton). The nearest approach to anything like revolt against the school of Pope is to be found in Joseph

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of Gray, Mason, Collins, and especially of the Wartons. That is, the dawn of a new era was not coming up quite so like thunder as might be hoped, for the men who are often thought typical of the mid-eighteenth century were rather the leaders of it and the most significant qualities in their work are none too common in that of their contemporaries.

Melancholy also disappoints us in not marking the Miscellany for her own. In the first edition of Dryden's anthology there are 15 elegies, in the last, 25; in Dodsley's there are between 12 and 15. But what is much more important, the later collection contains, so far as I have observed, only 15 other pieces in which the melancholy strain is fairly strong.[73] Inasmuch as Volume v alone contains over 125 titles, this is not a large number. Furthermore, of the 15 pieces that are not personal elegies—and these alone are significant—7 were written by the same small group of leaders. Between 1740 and 1747 Dyer's *Ruins of Rome*, Young's *Night Thoughts*, Blair's *Grave*, Hervey's *Meditations*, and Warton's *Pleasures of Melancholy* were published and Gray's *Elegy* begun; yet by 1758 these and other writings of the kind had apparently made little impression on their highly imitative age. Ossian and the tales of terror came some years later.

Premonitions of the Gothic romance may be found in the macabre details—"vaults and tombs," "hollow charnels," "tapers dim"—of at least four of the poems, notably those by the Warton brothers. But Mason is more typical in turning from "such terrific charms as these" to "the fainter forms of Sadness". As he explains,

> My sorrows are of softer kind,
> Thro' this still valley let me stray,
> Wrapt in some strain of pensive GRAY.[74]

It is, indeed, the tender, wistful, twilight pensiveness of Gray rather than the self-conscious, deliberate gloom of the Wartons

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Warton's "Enthusiast" and his "Ode . . . . West's Pindar." In the first he contrasts the "coldly correct" "lays of artful Addison" with "Shakespear's warblings wild"; in the second, "The fearful, frigid lays of cold and creeping Art . . . the courtly, silken lay," the "verse correctly tame," with the wild, powerful odes of Pindar. But similar ideas were frequently expressed in Addison's own day.

[73] To give such definite statistics regarding subjects as indefinite as this is obviously absurd, owing to the difficulty of knowing what poems should be counted. I have paid less attention to the poet's words than to what seems to be his purpose and real interest, and hope that my figures may be substantially true.

[74] "Ode, On Melancholy," *ib.* vi. 320.

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that is more usual in the Miscellany and in the other poetry of the period. Sentiment not passion is expressed: there is no despair, no anguish, none of Swift's misanthropy, nothing like *The City of Dreadful Night*. So little depth was there to this gloom that when Thomas Warton warbled of the *pleasures* of melancholy he struck a chord to which other hearts responded. More and more were to respond as sentimentalism, the love of solitude, and the sense of personal uniqueness increased and as more persons came to take pride in feeling with John Dyer,

How sweet thy diapason, Melancholy![75]

The devotees of the "Goddess of the tearful eye" were nearly all worshippers at nature's shrine: it was to woods and fields that they turned to soothe or to feed their pensive moods. And others were following the same paths; for the attention given to nature forms a considerable feature of the Miscellany (particularly of its last three volumes, which were published later) and one in which it differs most widely from its predecessor. In Dryden's anthology, it will be remembered, there are some forty pastorals but almost no verse, aside from the Jacobean and Caroline lyrics added in 1716, that shows any real love of the out-of-doors. In Dodsley's, on the other hand, the pastorals have almost disappeared[76] but a greal deal is said about flowers, streams, and groves, and over fifty pieces show real observation or genuine love of nature. Doubtless the authors of these effusions felt much more than they were able to express, and what appears to be lack of appreciation is often to be attributed rather to timidity and to deficiency of poetic endowment. Certainly there is little evidence of originality or of poetic gifts. In fact, apart from a few things by Collins and Gray, from Akenside's "Hymn to the Naiads," and from a number of short passages genuinely pleasing though not great, the mass of descriptive verse is of value for what it indicates, not for what it accomplishes. Take, for example, these lines in which Sneyd Davies speaks of the time when

The Muse wou'd take me on her airy wing
And waft to views romantic; there present

[75] "The Ruins of Rome," *ib.* i. 239. Note the preceding eleven lines; also Mason's "Ode" (*ib.* vi. 319–20) and Cole's "The Arbour" (*ib.* 92).

[76] I have noted but five, besides some songs of a pastoral nature by Percy and Shenstone. There are, to be sure, the "Six Town Eclogues" by Lady Mary Montagu, Pope, and Gay; but these are mock pastorals.

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> Some motley vision, shade and sun: the cliff
> O'erhanging, sparkling brooks, and ruins grey;
> Bad me meanders trace, and catch the form
> Of varying clouds.[77]

Here the observation, the reference to ruins and to "views romantic," the unusual appreciation of transitory, shifting beauties of the landscape, are all interesting; yet the lines make no appeal to the imagination and have no value as poetry.[78]

The bane of most of these efforts is vagueness and conventional poetic diction. Shenstone, for example, who unquestionably cared for the country and who was something of a poet, is often guilty of this sort of thing:

> Survey again that verdant hill,
> With native plants enamel'd o'er[79]

Like nearly all the contributors, Shenstone has nothing good to say of autumn and winter,[80] and is silent about the beauty of wild, mountainous scenes. Joseph Spence went much further and described Switzerland as land of

> horrid mountains ever hid in snow,
> And barren lands, and dreary plains below.[81]

But a few were less benighted. Jabez Earl wrote, in the course of a poem devoted to the praise of fall and winter:

> He pleas'd, in days autumnal sees
> The shadowy leaf diversify'd
> With various colours, and the trees
> Stripp'd, and stand forth in naked pride.[82]

[77] "To Frederick Cornwallis," *ib.* vi. 138–9.

[78] The contrast between imaginative poetry of a high order and pedestrian verse is well illustrated by comparing James Scot's description ("An Ode to Sculpture," *ib.* vi. 278–9) of the marble figure of Newton in Trinity College chapel with Wordsworth's lines (*Prelude*, iii. 58–63) on the same statue.

[79] "Ode to a Young Lady," *ib.* iv. 337. "Rural Elegance" is the characteristic title of an effusion of Shenstone's that contains two of the most real of his descriptive lines (*ib.* v. 9):

> The tangled vetch's purple bloom,
> The fragrance of the bean's perfume.

[80] See his "Verses to Lyttelton," *ib.* iv. 343–6; "Upon a Visit in Winter," *ib.* v. 26–7; and cf. Richard Jago's "The Swallows," *ib.* 72–7, J. Giles's "The Robin," *ib.* 90–91, and Miss Ferrer's "Ode to Spring," *ib.* 311.

[81] "An Epistle from a Swiss Officer," *ib.* iii. 52.

[82] "A Winter Thought," *ib.* v. 108.

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And the following lines are arresting, particularly from one who later became Archbishop of York:

> The winds were loud, the clouds deep-hung;
> And dragg'd their sweepy trains along. . . .
> But soon the gusts of sleet and hail
> Flew thick across the darken'd vale,
> And blurr'd the face of day.[83]

There is even a hint of the beauty of the sea:

> With ample gaze, I'd trace that ridge remote,
> Where op'ning cliffs disclose the boundless main.[84]

The praise which the Warton brothers bestowed on wild, mountainous country and on stormy weather[85] has received considerable attention, but it is not so well known that in his *Enthusiast* Joseph Warton emphasizes the spiritual ministry of nature. Shaftesbury, Thomson, Akenside, and other deists had previously done the same, yet so few were their followers that I have noted but two in the Collection. Warton's lines are not unlike Thomson's "Hymn," for after enumerating the various manifestations of "all-beauteous Nature" he concludes thus:

> all, all conspire
> To raise, to sooth, to harmonize the mind,
> To lift on wings of praise, to the great sire
> Of being and of beauty.[86]

On the whole, therefore, the impression made by Dodsley's Collection as to the susceptibility of the mid-eighteenth century to the beauty of the external world is disappointing. A good deal is said about "crystal springs and flow'ry meads," but there is

[83] Markham, "Written upon Leaving Wales," *ib.* iv.310.

[84] Thomas Cole, "The Arbour," *ib.* vi. 91. Cf. Coventry's "To a Friend in Wales," *ib.* iv. 61, and Warton's "Pleasures of Melancholy," lines 10–12, *ib.* 214.

[85] "The Enthusiast," *ib.* iii. 97–106, "Ode to Fancy," *ib.* 108; "Ode . . . West's Pindar," *ib.* iv. 212, "The Pleasures of Melancholy," *ib.* 214–22. See also Coventry's "To a Friend in Wales," *ib.* 62, and Marriott's "Ode to Fancy," *ib.* 297. Mason attacks the formal garden in "Ode to a Water-Nymph," *ib.* iii. 298–301.

[86] "The Enthusiast," *ib.* iii. 103, cf. 104–5. The other instance is the anonymous "Inscription," *ib.* 202. These descriptive poems frequently warn against all strong emotions and commend a contented, unambitious, inactive life; none dwell on the joys of physical exertion, of danger, of accomplishment. Such a state of affairs is to be explained not solely by the unadventurous character of the period but also by the conventionality and insincerity of its verse and by the wide gulf that lay between poetry and many aspects of life.

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scarcely any evidence of deep feeling and little of close observation. With a very few exceptions, only the pretty, cultivated, obvious aspects of nature are praised. Fondness for wild country, like the tendency to melancholy or the interest in primitive society, Gothic architecture, ruins, and other medieval matters, is in general limited to a few well-known poems. In fact, except for the meters used and for the remarkable devotion shown to Milton and, in a less degree, to Spenser, the Miscellany contains far fewer than might be expected of the things that are supposed to indicate romantic tendencies.[87] In some particulars, indeed, it seems even more neo-classic than its predecessor. In Dryden's anthology, for example, there are 10 epistles, whereas Dodsley's has 45; Dryden's volumes have some 20 epigrams, Dodsley's over 60; Dryden and Tonson selected only 20 satires, Dodsley 25. Yet it should be observed that none of the Dodsley satires are long and that few are biting or personal.[88]

For, although Dodsley's collection shows that the age was far more conservative, more akin to Pope and Addison, than has been believed, it makes clear that a great change had come over English poetry since the last revision of Dryden's anthology. Panegyrics, for instance, laudatory addresses to royalty, to patrons, to military and political leaders, or to authors are much less fulsome and less frequent than in the earlier anthology, where they are distressingly in evidence. Translations had practically monopolized Dryden's first two volumes, and had filled nearly half of the third and fourth, though but a third of the fifth and sixth. Dodsley's first volume, on the contrary, contains no translations and only three "imitations" of Latin authors;[89] his second has one translation and three more "imitations," besides five renderings from the Italian and Spanish; and so with the rest. Volume five, for example, aside from a "Satire in the Manner of Persius," devotes fewer than eight pages to "imitations" or translations from the classics.[90] Similarly the prologs and epilogs, though

[87] There is but one romantic narrative, Thomas Lisle's "History of Porsenna, King of Russia" (*ib.* vi. 178–210), a tale of impossible adventure and an otherworld mistress.

[88] It is sometimes forgotten that the Wartons wrote a few satires and Mason many.

[89] "Imitations" are free adaptations, like Johnson's *London*, which sometimes paraphrase the original, sometimes are merely suggested by it.

[90] In all (counting as one the 11 consecutive translations from Martial's epigrams, which fill but 3 pages) there are in Dodsley, but 21 translations, occupying

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they have not yet disappeared, have fallen from 48 in the earlier collection to 6.

Songs, it is interesting to note, have dropped off one half,—from the 125 to 150 in the Dryden collection to 73. These figures may indicate that Restoration song continued to echo even into the early Hanoverian period but became inaudible by the middle of the century.[91] At any rate, they serve to remind us that Gray, Collins, the Wartons, Mason, Shenstone, Akenside, and their lesser-known contemporaries were not really lyric. Song, though still alive in Scotland, was well-nigh dead in England; and even in the next century the very greatest lyrics fell on deaf ears when, as in the case of Blake's and Shelley's, they did not have the aid of strongly-marked rhythm, sentimentality, or other emotional appeal.

Dryden and his successors had enlivened their collection with ribald tales and songs, but it is characteristic of the later poetry that Dodsley and his advisers were more afraid of indecency than of tameness and conventionality. For the six volumes do not contain ten pieces that would bring "the mantling rose" into the cheek of "the fair." So marked a change does not mean that vice had suddenly died in England (*Roderick Random* and *Tom Jones* were the Miscellany's contemporaries), nor is it to be explained as the expression of but a small group. It is another evidence that, for better and for worse, poetry was coming under the domination of the feminine side of human nature and was gaining in manners what it lost in vigor. It is more than a coincidence that the leaders of the new poetry were not Fielding, Smollett, and Johnson, but Thomson, Young, Shenstone, Gray, Collins, the Wartons, Mason, and Cowper—men whose clean lives, clean verse, and whose influence in keeping the main currents of English poetry clean down to the times of Burns and Byron were due in part to the possession of sensitive, retiring natures and to a certain deficiency in physical vigor.

Yet the mid-eighteenth century was virtuous not negatively alone but positively and consciously; that is, it was didactic.

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about 130 pages, and of these only 9, filling about 50 pages, are from the Greek or the Latin. There are only 15 "imitations" of classic authors, which take up between 90 and 95 pages.

[91] Some excellent songs, of a kind,—Gay's for example and "Sally in our Alley,"—were written in the early eighteenth century; and it is worth noting that *The Hive*, "a collection of the most celebrated songs," which was published in 1724, reached a fourth edition in four volumes by 1732–3.

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The moralizing in which Addison, Pope, Thomson, Young, Johnson and Cowper delighted is so abundant in Dodsley's volumes that it may call as its own many more pages than belong to any other class of poetry. For it may justly claim, besides the consciously didactic verse, the reflective and that which aspires to be philosophic.[92] In the earlier anthology there is so little moralizing that it would not be far wrong to say that in the later work philosophizing and didacticism took the place which indecency, open or implied, had filled in the earlier. In this respect also the Collection is typical of its time and of the ensuing fifty years; for throughout the greater part of the century didacticism, usually complacent, shallow, obvious, and sentimental, was the bane not only of poetry but of fiction, criticism,[93] and of the drama as well. The danger was recognized by Joseph Warton, who, two years before Dodsley began to issue his Collection, had protested, "The fashion of moralizing in verse has been carried too far." "The Public," he declared, "has been so much accustom'd of late to didactic Poetry alone, and Essays on moral Subjects, that any work where the imagination is much indulged, will perhaps not be relished or regarded."[94] With this last opinion the shrewd publisher may have agreed. At least, there are many moralizing essays and few imaginative indulgences in his highly "relished" and "regarded" anthology.

Yet religion is still as carefully avoided as it was in Dryden's Miscellany, for in the six volumes I have noted only eight poems, most of them scriptural paraphrases, that are mainly concerned with it. In this respect the Collection is typical of most of its contributors and readers, with whom morality had largely superseded religion, but it is not typical of the English people as a whole. For the hymns of Isaac Watts were still enjoying an enormous sale and the Wesleyan revival was sweeping over the country like fire. But as yet all of these remained, along with *The Pilgrim's Progress*, without the pale.

One of the surest evidences of a better understanding of an individual or a period is that sharp lines disappear, strong lights

[92] Dodsley's Collection shows quite as much intellectual depth as would be expected from a miscellany; in emotional depth and sincerity, however, it is lacking.

[93] Six pieces were given over to literary criticism in Dryden's Miscellany; in Dodsley's there were three times that number

[94] Preface to *Odes*, 1746. One aspect of the didacticism of the period is its love of fables, of which the Miscellany has twenty.

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and shadows are modified, uniqueness and isolation melt away, the man is seen to be more like other men, the age like other ages. Some such result should be the outcome of the present study. It is true that no sound generalizations can be based solely or largely on two miscellanies even though they be of six volumes each and though, as their unusual vogue makes clear, they not only expressed but helped to form the popular taste. Yet it is to be hoped that this investigation has made the seventy-five years in which these anthologies were produced not only more real and human, but more baffling and inconsistent, less readily tagged and pigeonholed. The rigid, clear-cut, intolerant neo-classicism which is commonly supposed to characterize all Augustan writers should be seen to be an abstraction begotten by Confidence on Inadequate Information. Sounding phrases like "the dominance of the couplet," "the age of reason," "the beginnings of English romanticism" have given weight to half truths. Dryden's selections suggest that the poetry of his age and of Pope's may have been less keen and sententious than has been thought, more trivial and occasional, more eager for fun. They also suggest that satires, pastorals, and Pindaric odes were perhaps less popular than is generally supposed, and translations and bawdy much more so. The additions of 1716, consisting as they do of many of the best short pieces of the seventeenth century, are disturbing to those of us who hold, on excellent grounds, that the Augustans were as indifferent to most earlier literature as they were ignorant of it. Likewise the songs, although they take up little space (almost none at first), raise doubts as to the complete and sudden disappearance of the lyric impulse.

Dodsley's Collection is even more destructive of sharp lines and clearly marked periods. It leaves the impression that the literature of the mid-eighteenth century is more hesitant and conservative and has even less distinctive character than is generally conceived. It seems to show how little most poetry written before 1758 was affected by the medieval revival, the ballad and sonnet revivals, the love of gloom, or the beauty of nature, except in its cultivated and obvious aspects. It indicates the danger of confining the attention chiefly to Gray, Collins, the Wartons, and a few others, and of assuming that these men, who were far in advance of their time, were typical of it.[95]

[95] If, however, *all* the poetry of these writers is studied it will be seen to contain a much larger conservative element than is commonly realized.

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Yet it is not alone the study of a single miscellany but the comparison of one with another that is profitable. Dodsley's Collection may at first seem a feeble reflection of the age of Pope but when we compare it in detail with Dryden's anthology we realize how great the change has been. It is only by keeping in mind the two points of view that we can reach an understanding of this baffling, transitional period,—by realizing, on the one hand, how far it had gone, and, on the other, how very much farther it had to go.

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XX

L'INGÉNU DE VOLTAIRE; QUELQUES INFLUENCES

PARMI les romans philosophiques de Voltaire, *l'Ingénu* est intéressant à plus d'un titre. Il exprime les idées de l'auteur, mais, et sauf erreur de notre part, il éclaire aussi d'une vive lueur l'état d'esprit de l'écrivain. Puisqu'il est admis de nos jours que le succès de la *Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard* inspira le *Sermon des Cinquante*, pourquoi *l'Ingénu* ne serait-il pas une conséquence nécessaire du triomphe de la doctrine naturiste de J. J. Rousseau? La renommée grandissante de ce dernier ne blessait-elle pas l'ombrageux patriarche qui voyait, avec douleur, l'influence de son rival contrebalancer fortement la sienne? En effet, d'une discussion plutôt académique et littéraire sur la nature du sauvage et du civilisé, Rousseau sut tirer des conclusions aussi pratiques qu'angoissantes pour l'humanité. Entraîné par l'éloquence enflammée du philosophe, le public s'enthousiasma et discuta cette question avec passion. Voltaire, dont le génie a surtout été d'expliquer et de suivre son siècle alors même qu'il paraissait le précéder, se rendit compte de ce nouveau désir créé par l'intérêt général. La mode en étant à l'homme de la nature, il écrivit *l'Ingénu*, livre d'actualité s'il en fût. Le civilisé qu'était Voltaire ne pouvait guère prendre ce sujet bien au sérieux, mais enfin, et c'est ce qui lui importait, il restait dans le goût du jour.

Le but de cette étude est de signaler quelques influences trouvées dans *l'Ingénu*, et qui ne paraissent pas avoir été mentionnées jusqu'ici. Elles seront placées par rang d'importance, la logique de la composition ne permettant guère de suivre l'ordre chronologique.[1]

1. Alain le Sage

Dans son œuvre immense, Voltaire n'a mentionné Le Sage qu'une seule fois, et ce en termes quelque peu méprisants: "Son roman de *Gil Blas* est demeuré, parce qu'il y a du naturel; il est entièrement pris du roman espagnol intitulé: la Vida del escudero don Marcos de Obrego."[2] La méchanceté voulue de Voltaire lui fait manquer ici de mesure et de sens critique; rien ne reste à Le

[1] Tous les extraits de Voltaire contenus dans cette étude sont pris dans l'édition de ses *Œuvres* par L. Moland.

[2] Oeuvres de Voltaire, *Ecrivains Français du siècle de Louis xiv*,-xiv, 98.

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Sage, tout dans son livre est l'oeuvre de Vincente Espinel, accusation injuste, dont Lhintillac a fait justement raison. Pourquoi ce dédain, ou plutôt cette colère enfantine, lorsqu'il s'agit d'un auteur aussi célèbre que l'était Le Sage aux dix-huitième siècle? C'est que M. de Voltaire, dont le plus grand plaisir était de se moquer du monde, n'admettait pas qu'on pût lui rendre la pareille; de là son animosité envers Le Sage. En effet, durant son séjour à Valence, *Gil Blas* fut voir une tragédie nouvelle du *poëte à la mode*, don Gabriel Triaquero dont il se moque agréablement.[3] Ce poète, c'était Voltaire, assez ressemblant, du reste, pour être reconnu par les nombreux et malins lecteurs du roman. Voltaire ne pardonna jamais cette piqure faite à son épiderme chatouilleux; cependant, et nous l'allons montrer, il ne se fit pas faute de s'inspirer et même d'emprunter à Le Sage pour son *Ingénu*.

AVENTURES DU CHEVALIER DE BEAUCHENE (1732)[4]

Les parents de Beauchêne, Français d'origine, s'établissent au Canada. Les Iroquois font des incursions constantes, tuent les colons, mais épargnent les enfants mâles qu'ils enlèvent et élèvent parmi eux.

Vers 1689, Beauchêne, encore enfant, est pris par les Iroquois qui l'emmènent dans leur village. Il est adopté comme fils par une indienne qui venait de perdre son mari dans les combats. Ayant été élevé au milieu de ces sauvages, Beauchêne s'assimila si bien leur esprit qu'il ajoute: *"Je me suis regardé long-temps comme Iroquois"* (p. 14).

Il accompagne les Iroquois dans leurs luttes contre les Canadiens. Son ardeur guerrière l'entraîne un jour, et il est fait prisonnier. Un officier, le comte de Monneville, reconnait un blanc en lui, et lui propose de se faire soldat dans sa troupe. Beauchêne accepte, il est ramené chez ses parents, puis on lui donne le commandement d'une bande d'Algonquins.

Il devient marin et flibustier *"parce qu'il aime les aventures et voir du pays"* (p. 45). Il va à Saint-Domingue, descend à terre, et prend contact avec un planteur nommé de Rémoussin qui l'invite chez lui.

Aussitôt arrivés: *"Hola, ho, mesdames, s'écria M. de Rémoussin en appelant sa femme et plusieurs parentes qui étoient avec elle, voici un sauvage curieux que je vous amène. . . . . Vous allez voir un Iroquois, mais un Iroquois qui ne vous fera pas peur"* (p. 51). En effet, Beauchêne les divertit tous par sa naïveté intéressante, et il avoue que sa franchise intempestive *"sentoit tant soit peu l'Iroquois"* (p. 52). Bref, à l'entendre, *"on ne parloit aux environs que de l'Iroquois de M. de Rémoussin"* (p. 61).

Plus tard, à bord du navire flibustier où se trouvait Beauchêne, il y

[3] Le Sage, *Gil Blas de Santillane*. Paris 1821, II, 316 sq.

[4] Les citations en italiques dans ce résumé sont extraites de l'édition des *Œuvres de la Sage*. Paris, 1821.

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avait un compagnon étrange, *"un philosophe, um méditatif Malebranchiste"* (p. 91), qui exposait toujours ses vues sur la vie.

Les *Aventures de Beauchêne* contiennent un long récit intercalaire intitulé: *Histoire du comte de Monneville.* Le père de ce dernier aimait et était aimé dans sa jeunesse. Il fait des prodiges à la guerre pour plaire à celle qu'il aimait, Melle de Gauderon; et c'est *"ainsi que de tout temps et en tous les états, on a vu de grandes actions produites par l'amour. Le désir de plaire aux femmes a fait de vaillants guerriers"* (p. 147 sq.).

Malheureusement, on présente pour futur époux, à la belle demoiselle de Gauderon, le fils du Président du tribunal, *"un grand innocent d'écolier, efflanqué, ... stupide"* (p. 135 sq.). La jeune fille, qui aime Monneville et ne peut l'épouser, se moque du fils du Président, et on décide, sur sa demande du reste, de l'envoyer dans un couvent.

Monneville se lance dans les aventures et, finalement, on le met sur un navire en partance pour le Canada. Un bon père récollet s'intéresse au jeune de Monneville et à leur arrivée à Québec, il insiste à le faire entrer dans son ordre religieux; mais Monneville n'en a cure, et il devient soldat.

Dans toute sa carrière au Canada, Monneville est constamment en contact avec des Bas-Bretons. Quand à Beauchêne lui-même, il se distingue dans les combats et devient capitaine d'un navire flibustier.

L'INGÉNU (1767)[5]

En Basse-Bretagne, près de Saint-Malo, en 1689, (daté donnée par Beauchêne), l'abbé de Kerkabon et sa soeur s'entretiennent, sur la plage, de leur frère et de sa femme embarqués en 1669 pour aller s'établir au Canada. Des rumeurs fâcheuses courent sur leur compte, et l'on craint qu'ils n'aient été mangés par les Iroquois.

Un navire anglais entre dans la baie et l'équipage débarque. Un jeune marin de figure intéressante saute à terre et, parlant bien français, il prend contact avec le prieur et sa soeur; il répond à leurs questions: *"Je suis Huron"* (p. 249).

Il est invité à demeurer au prieuré et toute la bonne compagnie des environs s'y rend pour le connaître. Sa naïveté, sa franchise absolue, toute naturelle chez un sauvage, le rendent populaire. Tout le monde veut le connaître, lui parler, l'interroger, et il n'est bruit aux alentours que du Huron du prieur.

On lui demande comment, étant né Huron, il put venir en Angleterre, et il répond: *"J'ai été fait, dans un combat, prisonnier par les Anglais, après m'être assez bien défendu; et les Anglais, qui aiment la bravoure . . . . m'ayent proposé de me rendre à mes parents ou de venir en Angleterre, j'acceptai le dernier parti, parce que de mon naturel j'aime passionnément*

[5] Les citations en italiques dans ce résumé sont extraites des *Œuvres de Voltaire*, t. XXI.

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à voir du pays" (p. 250). (Ce qui prouve que l'on avait reconnu en lui un blanc.)

Afin de s'assurer que le sauvage est bien un Huron, le prieur prend dans sa bibliothèque *"une grammaire huronne dont le révérend P. Sagar Théodat, récollet, fameux missionnaire, lui avait fait présent"* (p. 251).

La belle demoiselle de Saint-Yves, impressionée par le Huron qui en devient amoureux, désire savoir comment on faisait l'amour en Huronie. *"En faisant de belles actions, répondit-il, pour plaire aux personnes qui vous ressemblent"* (p. 251). (Il faut ajouter que tout ceci se passe chez des Bas-Bretons et que l'Ingénu reconnait avoir été beaucoup en contact avec les Algonquins.)

Grâce à deux portraits qu'il porte au cou, l'Ingénu est reconnu être le neveu du prieur, et sa tante arrive à la conclusion qu'une *"femme huronne lui a sauvé la vie et lui a servi de mère"* (p. 254).

Un officier de justice, un bailli, présente à Melle de Saint-Yves son futur mari, *"un grand nigaud de fils qui sortait du collège"* (p. 255), et qui est *"sot et insupportable"* (p. 263). La demoiselle le regarde à peine car elle n'a d'yeux que pour le Huron. Promise au fils du bailli, ne pouvant épouser l'Ingénu dont l'amour devient dangereux, on la fait entrer au couvent pour la séparer de ce dernier.

Entre temps, le bon prieur voudrait faire entrer son neveu dans les ordres afin de lui résigner son bénéfice plus tard, mais l'Ingénu ne veut rien entendre.

Les Anglais débarquent en Basse-Bretagne comme ils le faisaient souvent, et s'apprêtent au pillage. L'Ingénu fait des prodiges de valeur, mais il se conduit beaucoup plus en flibustier qu'en gentilhomme, témoin la bourse de l'amiral qu'il ramasse et fait sienne sans vergogne.

Ses aventures le conduisent à la Bastille, et son compagnon de cachot, Gordon,[6] est un philosophe janséniste et Malebranchiste, avec qui il discute sur la vie et la *Recherche de la vérité*. L'Ingénu devient enfin plus tard un officier distingué.

Il n'est pas ici question d'une simple réminiscence, et la lecture des deux résumés peut dispenser de tout commentaire. Il est à regretter que Voltaire n'ait pas été plus juste envers un auteur à qui il était redevable d'une grande partie du cadre de son *Ingénu*.

2. Abbé Prévost

La grande influence que l'abbé Prévost a eue sur la littérature de son siècle est assez bien reconnue de nos jours. Hâtons-nous de dire que Voltaire a toujours rendu justice au "tendre et passionné

[6] Célèbre libre-penseur anglais du dix-huitième siècle, dont un des ouvrages fut traduit plus tard par d'Holbach.

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auteur de *Manon Lescaut.*"[7] Deux années plus tard, il ajoutait: "Si je pouvais rendre service à l'abbé Prévost, du fond de ma retraite, il n'y a rien que je ne fisse."[8] Chansons que tout cela! puisqu'un jour que l'abbé Prévost priait Voltaire de lui venir à l'aide, ce dernier lui témoigna sa haute estime, fit une pirouette, et se déroba avec force compliments. C'était peu et beaucoup, mais c'était Voltaire!

LE PHILOSOPHE ANGLAIS; HISTOIRE DE CLEVELAND. (1731).[9]

Abandonnés dans les déserts d'Amérique, Cleveland et sa femme tombent au pouvoir des sauvages Rouintons. Ces derniers s'emparent de leur fille et de Mme Riding, font un grand feu, et Cleveland ajoute: "*Je ne pus douter que ma fille et madame Riding ne servissent alors de proie aux flammes, pour servir ensuite de pâture à nos cruels ennemis*" (II, 230).

A son retour, Cleveland voyage en France où il est trop en contact avec les protestants, et il s'apitoie trop volontiers sur leurs maux. Il est arrêté par lettre de cachet et est interné, par ordre ministériel dans le palais de l'évêque d'Angers.

La protection de la duchesse d'Orléans rend Cleveland libre de toute contrainte. Il apprend alors qu'il avait été dénoncé au gouvernement par un jésuite, lequel craignait qu'il "*avaleroit le poison de l'hérésie avec toute sa famille*" (II, 490 sq.).

La mort de Cécile, fille de Cleveland, rappelle celle de Melle de Saint-Yves. Un homme puissant, le duc de Mommouth, amoureux de la belle Cécile, lui fait des propositions déshonnêtes. Comme elle les rejette avec indignation, il cherche à l'enlever, sans succès heureusement, et est forcé de partir. La honte et les persécutions amoureuses ont eu une fâcheuse influence sur la jeune fille; elle tombe malade de désespoir et meurt en peu de jours.

Le duc, dont l'absence n'a fait qu'aviver les désirs, ne peut vivre sans revoir Cécile. Il arrive dans la ville où s'était réfugiée Cécile, et ne se trouve qu'en présence de son cadavre préparé pour les funérailles. Cleveland furieux l'accuse de "*ce malheur que vous m'avez attiré par vos outrages*" (IV, 389). Mais enfin tout s'apaise, le duc prit de remords assiste ausc funérailles, et cherchant à pailler sa faute, car il n'avait pas mauvais cœur, il promet à Cleveland et à sa femme toute sa protection.

L'INGÉNU.

Le prieur et sa soeur se lamentent sur le sort probable de leur belle-

[7] *Œuvres*, XXXIII, 369.

[8] *Ibid.*, XXXIII, 578; voir aussi: XXXIV, 58; et XXXVI, 292.

[9] Les citations en italiques dans ce résumé sont extraites des *Œuvres choisies de l'abbé Prévost.* Amsterdam, 1783.

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soeur. *"Croyez-vous, disait Melle de Kerkabon, que notre belle-soeur ait été mangée par les Iroquois comme on nous l'a dit?"* (p. 248).[10]

Plus tard, un Jésuite déguisé entend converser l'Ingénu et une compagnie de protestants. Le jésuite trouve que l'Ingénu s'apitoie trop sur leurs maux, et il écrit au P. de La Chaise qui prévient le ministre. L'Ingénu est arrêté et envoyé à la Bastille dont l'intervention de Melle de Saint-Yves le sauve. Il apprend alors qu'un bailli et un jésuite l'ont dénoncé au gouvernement et il s'écrie: *"Est-il possible qu'un . . . . jésuite . . . . ait contribué à mon infortune?"* (p. 293).

De Saint-Pouange, le puissant sous-ministre, fait des propositions peu délicates à Melle de Saint-Yves, et elle s'y soumet pour délivrer l'Ingénu. La honte et le désespoir abrègent ses jours, et elle meurt dans les bras de son amoureux.

Le sous-ministre a toujours *"l'image de la belle Saint-Yves devant les yeux,"* et sa passion exaspérée par l'absence, le force à quitter Versailles. Il vient en Basse-Bretagne afin de revoir celle qu'il aime, et il arrive au milieu de ses funérailles. On lui laisse entendre qu'il est responsable de cette mort. Il s'adresse à l'Ingénu qui a peine à réprimer sa colère, et pris de remords il lui dit: *"J'ai fait votre malheur . . . . j'emploierai ma vie à le réparer"* (p. 304).

L'influence de l'*Histoire de Cleveland* se mélange à celle de la *Baronne de Luz* de Duclos,[11] en ce qui concerne la tentation et la maladie de mademoiselle de Saint-Yves. Cette influence qui a été signalée,[12] est la suivante: Mme de Luz est forcée d'accepter les avances d'un juge rapporteur pour sauver son mari accusé de trahison. La honte la fait beaucoup souffrir. Là, cependant, s'arrête la ressemblance de *l'Ingénu* avec une oeuvre qui finit au milieu d'aventures plutôt bizarres pour n'en pas dire plus.

3. Delisle de la Drevetière.[13]

Cet écrivain, dont le nom n'éveille aujourd'hui aucun écho, a eu quelque notoriété au dix-huitième siècle. Il fut un des premiers à opposer sur la scène, avec à-propos et entrain, le sauvage et le civilisé au détriment de ce dernier. Certains passages de l'oeuvre de J. J. Rousseau témoignent encore de son influence éphémère. Bien que Voltaire ne le signale nulle part, il semble bien s'être

[10] Les malheurs supposés de cette pauvre Mme Riding ont coûté bien des larmes aux sensibles lecteurs du dix-huitième siècle, parmi lesquels ils nous faut ranger Rousseau et Diderot.

[11] Voir *Œuvres de Duclos*, Paris, 1821, I, 147 sq.

[12] John Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction*, London, 1896, II, 481.

[13] Auteur dramatique secondaire du Dix-huitième siècle, mort en 1756.

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souvenu d'*Arlequin Sauvage* en composant un des épisodes de l'*Ingénu*.

ARLEQUIN SAUVAGE.[14]

Arlequin, le sauvage, séparé de son ami Lélio, (nous n'osons dire son maître), rencontre Flaminia accompagnée d'une charmante soubrette nommée Violette. Il tombe immédiatement amoureux de cette dernière et lui adresse des compliments à la huronne qui lui plaisent beaucoup tout en la faisant rougir.

La jeune servante trouve le hardi Huron à son goût et lui permet de lui faire la cour. Mais l'enthousiasme amoureux d'Arlequin sauvage s'inquiète bien peu de formalités et il s'écrie: *"Ah! quel plaisir! Allons, ne perdons point de tems: il ne s'agit plus de complimens ici, venez ma belle." (Il l'emporte dans ses bras.)* (Acte I, sc. v, 27.)

La soubrette apeurée se débat, crie au secours, et le père de sa maîtresse s'interpose fort heureusement en disant: *"Tout beau, Arlequin, ce n'est pas comme cela qu'il faut s'y prendre"* (I, v, 28). Il explique qu'il ne faut pas aller si vite en pays civilisés, et qu'il y a des conventions à observer, même en amour.

Arlequin n'est pas convaincu, et tout en se rendant à contre-coeur à ces raisons, il montre que ses impressions sur les Européens sont loin de leur être favorables. *"Tout ce que je sais* [dit-il], *c'est que vous naissez tous fous et coquins"* (I, v, 22); et il réitère en ajoutant plus tard: *"Je crains les gens qui ont besoin de caution"* (II, III, 49).

Arlequin bat un marchand de Paris qui s'est par trop moqué de sa naïveté (I, VII, 36). Cette querelle attire la maréchaussée qui veut l'arrêter; il se défend vaillamment, mais *"les archers se jettent sur Arlequin et l'enlèvent malgré sa résistance"* (II, I, 43), pour le conduire en prison.

L'INGÉNU.

Fort amoureux de la belle Saint-Yves, l'Ingénu pénètre de grand matin dans la chambre de sa bien-aimée. Sans nul souci des formalités, il se jette sur elle, et l'eut mise à mal *"si elle ne s'était débattue avec toute l'honnêteté d'une personne qui a de l'éducation"* (p. 263). L'Ingénu insiste et Dieu sait ce qui serait arrivé si le père n'était pas accouru *"aux cris perçants de la demoiselle"* (p. 263).

Il s'adresse à l'Ingénu et lui démontre combien un tel procédé était contraire aux conventions humaines. L'Ingénu lui oppose la loi naturelle et finit par dire: *"Vous êtes donc de bien malhonnêtes gens, puisqu'il faut entre vous tant de précautions"* (p. 264). Le père de la jeune fille a bien du mal à lui faire entendre raison et ne le convainct qu'à demi.

[14] *Arlequin Sauvage*, comédie en trois actes, Par le sieur D***. Représentée pour la premiere fois par les Comédiens Italiens Ordinaires du Roi, le 17 Juin 1721. Les citations en italiques dans ce résumé sont extraites de l'edition de Paris, 1753.

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Quand l'Ingénu arrivé à Versailles demande à quelle heure on peut voir le roi, il bat les porteurs qui se moquent de sa naïveté (p. 269). Arrêté plus tard par la maréchaussée pour être conduit à la Bastille, l'Ingénu se défend vaillamment contre les exempts qui finissent par l'enlever malgré sa résistance (p. 271).

A l'influence des *Voyages du baron de La Hontan*, signalée par Moland,[15] nous joindrons donc celle de l'*Arlequin Sauvage*; influence intéressante, puisqu'elle prouve que Voltaire, le civilisé par excellence, pratiquait assez sérieusement la "Littérature sauvage."

4. Blaise Pascal

Afin que la propagande anti-catholique de Voltaire pût réussir, il lui fallait tout d'abord détruire la conception du monde imposée à l'esprit français par le génie de Bossuet et de Pascal. Pascal fut donc une des constantes préoccupations de Voltaire. Le dernier écrit sorti de la main du patriarche concernait l'auteur des *Pensées*.[16] Etant donné le peu d'amour que Voltaire portait aux jésuites, il est naturel de trouver dans certaines de ses oeuvres quelques traces des *Provinciales*, "le premier livre de génie qu'on vit en prose, ... toutes les sortes d'éloquence y sont renfermées."[17]

LETTRES PROVINCIALES (1656).[18]

Le P. jésuite explique la morale de son ordre à Louis de Montalte en disant que: *"le grand Diana a rendu plusieurs opinions probables qui ne l'estoient pas auparavant, ... et qu'ainsi on ne peche plus en les suivant; au lieu qu'on pechoit auparavant"* (Lettre VI[e], p. 37). Il finit par ajouter: *"Nous avons donc des maximes pour toutes sortes de personnes, pour le: Beneficiers, pour les Prestres, pour les Religieux, pour les Gentils-hommes, pour les Domestiques, pour les Riches"* (*Ibid.*, p. 38).

Plus tard le jésuite s'écrie: *"Nous ne souffrons jamais d'avoir l'intention formelle de pecher, pour le seul dessein de pecher . . . . mais quand nous ne pouvons pas empescher l'action, nous purifions au moins l'intention; et ainsi nous corrigeons le vice du moyen, par la pureté de la fin"* (Lettre VII[e], p. 86).

Le jésuite réitère encore qu'on ne pêche pas dès que l'intention est bonne: *"cela est fort commode en beaucoup de rencontres, et est toûjours très-*

[15] *L'Ingénu*, p. 256.

[16] Voir *Œuvres de Voltaire, Remarques sur les Pensées de Pascal* (1734), XXII, 27 sq.; *Ibid.*, (1738), *Ibid.*, 58 sq.; *Dernières, Ibid.* (1777), XXXI, 1 sq.

[17] Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, XIV, 541; voir aussi *Œuvres*, L, 8.

[18] Les citations en italiques dans ce résumé sont extraites des *Œuvres de B. Pascal*. Paris, 1914; t. V.

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juste quand cela est necessaire, ou utile pour la santé, l'honneur, ou le bien" (Lettre IX', p. 205). Et comme Montalte proteste, le jésuite répond: *"Sanchez le prouve . . . . et notre P. Filiutius aussi . . . . c'est l'intention qui regle la qualité de l'action"* (*Ibid.*, p. 205).

L'INGÉNU.

Tout le chapitre XVI de *l'Ingénu* n'est qu'une paraphrase de certains points de morale, discutés dans la sixième, septième, et neuvième *Lettres Provinciales.*

La belle Melle de Saint-Yves raconte au jésuite les propositions infâmes qu'on lui a faites pour libérer l'Ingénu. Le P. Tout-à-tous profondément révolté s'écrie: *"Voilà un abominable pêcheur!"* (p. 288). Il veut en savoir le nom pour l'aller dénoncer de suite au P. de La Chaise, et le faire emprisonner. Dès que de Saint-Pouange est nommé, c'est un revirement complet: *"Monseigneur de Saint-Pouange! s'écria le jésuite; ah! ma fille, c'est tout autre chose; il est cousin du plus grand ministre que nous ayons jamais eu"* (p. 288).

Finalement, et malgré les protestations de Melle. de Saint-Yves, le jésuite l'engage à accepter les propositions du puissant sous-ministre en lui citant cette maxime: *"Les actions ne sont pas d'une malice de coulpe quand l'intention est pure, et rien n'est plus pur que de délivrer votre mari."*

Voltaire ne fut pas le seul des grands écrivains à se souvenir des *Provinciales*, témoin le passage de Molière dans lequel *Tartuffe* déclare son amour à Elmire:

> "Selon divers besoins, il est une science
> D'étendre les liens de notre conscience,
> Et de rectifier le mal de l'action
> Avec la pureté de notre intention." (*Tartuffe*, Acte IV, Sc. v.)

D'Alembert écrivait certain jour à Voltaire: "Je suis enchanté de *l'Ingénu* . . . . on dit que c'est un petit-fils de l'abbé Gordon, qui me parait avoir très bien élevé cet enfant-là."[19] Malgré le respect qui est dû au célèbre académicien, alors même qu'il plaisante, oh, bien lourdement! il nous faut conclure différemment. Petit-fils de La Hontan, frère puîné d'Arlequin sauvage et de Beauchêne, *l'Ingénu* est cousin de Cleveland, et apparenté quelque peu à Louis de Montalte par les *Provinciales*. Une belle lignée, somme toute, et dont il a droit d'être fier!

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[19] Lettre du 22 Septembre 1767; *Œuvres de Voltaire*, XLIV, 381.

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XXI

VOLTAIRE'S NAME

EVER since the Chevalier de Rohan met Voltaire at the Comédie Française and asked: "M. de Voltaire, M. Arouet, comment vous appelez-vous?" his name has been the subject of much dispute. Lately, the discussion was reopened when a certain M. P., having read in *Excelsior* that Voltaire was the name of a house in Saint-Loup, addressed a query to the *Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux* in an effort to verify the statement.[1] Students, admirers, or compatriots of Voltaire immediately gave their views, but other than a restatement of several of the old theories no positive result was gained. Somewhat previously Mr. G. B. Watts published a short article upon "Voltaire's Change of Name,"[2] but this article did not aim to throw light upon the general problem. At the present writing, Desnoiresterres'[3] treatment of the subject and that of Maynard[4] remain the most satisfactory. Nevertheless, neither critic pretended to have solved the question. They merely endeavored to collect in compact form the various theories previously proposed. Even in this modest endeavor, their presentations are defective, for, although they were prevented by circumstances from uniting all the theories, they have not always been careful to weigh their testimony. Moreover, the origin of the name is only one of three questions confronting the investigator. We are not only interested in how Voltaire chose his name, we are further curious to know why and when he did so. In the discussion which follows I do not claim to have solved these three questions; I shall be satisfied if I succeed in offering suggestions which may contribute to their solution.

At least twelve possible sources of the word Voltaire have already been suggested. Condorcet[5] intimated that it was taken from a fief which existed in the family. Servières[6] specified that the fief

[1] *Intermédiaire*, LXXXVII–LXXXVIII, *passim*.

[2] *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXVIII (1923), 329–333.

[3] G. Desnoiresterres, *Voltaire et la société française au XVIIIè siècle*, Paris, 1867, I, 159–161.

[4] Abbé Maynard, *Voltaire, sa vie et ses oeuvres*, Paris, 1868, I, 69.

[5] See Voltaire, *Œuvres* (Moland ed.), I, 190.

[6] Servières, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de M. de Voltaire*, Amsterdam, 1785, Part I, p. 30.

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was a domain belonging to the mother, whereas Lord Brougham[7] stated that it was an estate belonging to the father. The Abbé Nonnotte,[8] as early as 1770, thought that the name was formed by means of an anagram of Arouet with the addition of two extra letters. In 1820 the writer of an article entitled *Extraits de mêmoires inédits*[9] argued that the two extra letters, mentioned by Nonnotte, were an abbreviation for "le jeune," used by Voltaire to distinguish himself from his "janséniste de frère." Chevrier[10] derived the name from Volterra in Tuscany where, according to a legend, Voltaire at one time received very kind treatment during an illness. Paillet de Warcy[11] thought that Voltaire might be a contraction of "volontaire," a nickname which was given to the young Arouet on account of his obstinacy. In the opinion of the author of the *Souvenirs de la Marquise de Crêquy*,[12] it was taken from a little farm called "Veautaire" situated in the parish of Asnières-sur-Oise, at ten leagues from Paris. This piece of property, according to the same authority, was inherited by Voltaire from a certain Gromichel, his cousin. Montalant-Bougleux[13] saw in the word an anagram of "valet roi." Jal[14] suggested that it was probably taken from a certain Voltoire who published in 1620 at Lyons *L'Interprecte ou traducteur du français, espagnol et basque*, while Desnoiresterres[15] suggested that it may have found its origin in Voltare, a character in Jobert's *Balde, reine des Sarmates* not unlike Voltaire himself in the later stages of his career.

[7] Lord Brougham, *Works*, Edinburgh, 1872, II, 11.

[8] Nonnotte, *Les Erreurs de Voltaire*, Lyon, 1770, I, 198–199. "Il a été bien plus adroit, en changeant son nom bourgeois d'Arouet, pour l'ennoblir à l'aide d'une anagramme et de l'addition de deux lettres, et en faire le nom de Voltaire." It is to be noted that Nonnotte apparently did not know the source of the two extra letters l and j. It is not surprising that he sought to explain Voltaire as an anagram of Arouet. Anagrams were so common in his time that any one would endeavor to explain a name thus. Such an explanation does not, however, always prove acceptable. No one has ever satisfactorily explained d'Alembert's name by an anagram. One recalls also that J. B. Rousseau's new name, M. de Verniettes, was interpreted by some wag as being the anagram of "tu te renies."

[9] *Lettres champenoises*, 1820, II, 288.

[10] Chevrier, *Les Amusements des dames de B****, Rouen (1762), Part III, *Je m'y attendais bien*, p. 175.

[11] Paillet de Warcy, *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de Voltaire*, 1824, I, 20.

[12] *Souvenirs de la Marquise de Créquy*, Paris, 1834–35, III, 206.

[13] Montalant-Bougleux, *A Propos d'une anagramme sur le nom de Voltaire*, 1847.

[14] Jal, *Dictionnaire historique ou critique*, 1867, p. 1283.

[15] Desnoiresterres, *op. cit.*, I, 161, note 1.

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Borel d'Hauterive[16] felt certain that it was borrowed from Michel Voltaire, a sixteenth-century paternal ancestor, whereas some unknown sport writer of *Le Derby*[17] was equally certain that it belonged to some maternal ancestor. Finally, Mr. Price[18] has attempted to find in it a symbolic interpretation such as "Je veux taire" or "Je vole ma terre." None of these suggestions, however, is wholly satisfactory.[19]

Two theories carry great weight on account of their apparent reasonableness as well as on account of the quality and number of the critics[20] who support them. One is that the name was derived from a piece of property belonging to Voltaire's mother or father; the other, that it was formed from an anagram of Arouet l. j. Undoubtedly the impression which one receives from the name Arouet de Voltaire is that the last part of it must designate some estate, just as Montaigne designates a piece of property in Michel de Montaigne. It is also true that Voltaire can be formed without difficulty as an anagram of Arouet l. j. Nevertheless, there are objections to both suggestions. To that concerning the estate, there is the most serious drawback that no evidence has ever been produced that the Arouet family possessed even the smallest piece of land called Voltaire. A piece of land, the Pas-de-Cygne, and another, La Motte-aux-Fées, did exist in the family. François Arouet senior did own property in the neighborhood of Châtenay,

[16] Borel d'Hauterive, *Annuaire de la noblesse de France*, 1869, XXVI, 198–220.

[17] See *Pall Mall Budget*, Feb. 26, 1869, p. 19.

[18] W. R. Price, *Symbolism in Voltaire's Novels*, N. Y., 1911, p. 96 ff.

[19] Some of them, in fact, are completely devoid of proof. For instance, Voltaire, who was never in Italy, could not possibly have taken his name from Volterra for the reason assigned by Chevrier. Furthermore, although one of young Arouet's nicknames was Zozo, we have no record that he was ever called "le petit volontaire." As for the property called "Veautaire" left him by his cousin Gromichel, we neither know that there ever was a piece of property "Veautaire," nor that he had a cousin Gromichel. We have no evidence, moreover, that Voltaire knew *L'Interprecte ou traducteur du français, espagnol et basque* or *Balde, reine des Sarmates*, although since the latter work was dedicated to the Président de Maisons, with whose family he was intimate, he could have been acquainted with it. Up to the present writing no document has been produced to prove that he had any maternal or paternal ancestors named Voltaire. Nor can much justification be found for the symbolic interpretations of the word.

[20] Those supporting the estate suggestion are Condorcet, Mirecourt, Longchamps et Wagnière, Jal, Beuchot, Servières, and Cousin d'Avallon. Those supporting the anagram theory are Oettinger, Roche, Nonnotte, Maynard, *Lettres champenoises*, Lepan, Paillet de Warcy, Quérard. Desnoiresterres shows an inclination to accept either suggestion.

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but none of this property was known as Voltaire. Moreover, the pseudonym Voltaire was totally unfamiliar to the elder Arouet, even after his son had taken it, as can be inferred from his will written in 1721 where he mentions his son as M. de Volterre or M. de Voltere.[21] Had he owned a piece of property, it is conceivable that he would have known how to spell its name. To the proposal that Voltaire formed his name from Arouet l. J. by transposing the letters, there are also objections. Beuchot has already pointed out that no evidence has been found that Voltaire ever signed himself Arouet le jeune, although on one occasion, when the three Arouets were living together, he did request Olympe Dunoyer to address his correspondence to Arouet le cadet in order to distinguish himself from his father and from his "janséniste de frère." Moreover, Voltaire is only one of a possible 40,320 ways in which the letters of Arouet l. j. can be arranged. It can be the anagram of Arouet l. j., but it can also be that of "valet roi," as Montalant-Bougleux pointed out; or of "o alte vir," as some facetious personage has remarked; or even of the abbreviation of "Votre Altesse Royale"—*i. e.*, Ve. Alt. Roy. The initiator of the anagram theory, Nonnotte, apparently did not know the significance of the l. j. The interpretation of the letters as "le jeune" in 1820, one hundred and two years after Voltaire had made the change, has a strange "après coup" effect. Moreover, Voltaire later in life did form an anagram from Arouet. On several occasions he wrote under the pseudonym Eratou,[22] which weakens rather than strengthens the theory of the "le jeune." Lastly, as we shall see later, he did not change Arouet into Voltaire, he merely added Voltaire to Arouet—*i. e.*, he became Arouet de Voltaire. The anagram loses its significance in the face of such a change.

One other of the twelve suggestions is more worthy of closer consideration: the theory that the new name may have been taken from Volterra in Italy. Certainly it was not chosen for the reason assigned by Chevrier. But Volterra had the distinction of being the home town of Aulus Persius Flaccus, a Roman satirical poet born there on December 4, 34. Voltaire knew the poetry of Flaccus, with which he had evidently become acquainted during the years at Louis-le-Grand. In fact, he knew Flaccus well enough to quote

[21] J. Guiffrey, *Voltaire et la famille de Nicolay*, p. 5. Saint-Simon also wrote *Volterre*.

[22] *Cf.* G. Bengesco, *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Voltaire*, Nos. 628, 660.

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in after years on two occasions from his works.[23] Arouet, the satiric poet, may have seen sufficient likeness between himself and the Roman satirist to adopt the town of Volterra as his native town. The similarity between the two poets did not pass unnoticed. Baston[24] remarked upon it: "Quelle foule de surnoms vous auriez, monsieur, si chaque époque de votre vie vous coûtait un travestissement, celui auquel vous paraissez vous en tenir, vous rapproche un peu de Perse, ce fameux satyrique de Rome." At least one thing can be said in favor of this suggestion. It explains the reference in the elder Arouet's will to Voltaire as M. de Volterre. There are, nevertheless, some objections. First, although later in life Voltaire referred to his contemporaries under classical names, I know of no case where he referred to himself as the modern Flaccus. Moreover, the poet who was ambitious enough to compare himself in 1718 to Racine, Corneille, and Sophocles, would hardly have been content to compare himself with any Latin satirist of less calibre than Horace.

The reasons assigned for the adoption of the new name are almost as numerous as the proposals concerning its origin. Voltaire himself gave two in a letter to J. B. Rousseau.[25] "J'ai été si malheureux," he wrote, "sous le nom d'Arouet, que j'en ai pris un autre, surtout pour n'être plus confondu avec le poète Roi." His contemporaries ascribed to him other motives. Saint-Simon, in a much quoted passage,[26] regarded this only as an attempt on the part of young Arouet to disguise his patronymic: "Il [Arouet senior] n'avait jamais pu rien faire de ce fils libertin, dont le libertinage a fait enfin la fortune sous le nom de Voltaire, qu'il a pris pour déguiser le sien." Dangeau,[27] on the other hand, considered the step an attempt on the part of young Arouet to disguise his past conduct which had given offense to many: ". . . . Arouet, qui a changé de nom parce qu'on était fort prévenu contre lui à cause qu'il a offensé beaucoup de gens dans ses vers." The Cardinal Dubois, however, saw in the move an effort to acquire a certain nobility.[28] One[29] of Voltaire's enemies accused him of

[23] Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XVIII, 479; XXXI, 53.

[24] Baston, *Voltariana ou Eloges amphigouriques de F. Marie Arrouet*, Paris, 1748, p. 270.

[25] B. Fillon, *Inventaire des autographes*, 1879, No. 1066.

[26] Saint-Simon, *Mémoires* (Boislisle ed.), XXXI, 347.

[27] Dangeau, *Journal*, XVII, 418, Nov. 18, 1718.

[28] See the passage in his *Mémoires* quoted below on p. 558.

[29] Baston, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

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being ashamed "de porter le nom d'un porte-clef," another[30] quoted him as saying that it was "ce rouet à rouet qui lui porte malheur." Among his early biographers, Condorcet[31] alone attempted to motivate his action:

On a reproché a leur fils d'avoir pris ce nom de Voltaire, c'est-a-dire d'avoir suivi l'usage alors généralement établi dans la bourgeoisie riche, ou les cadets, laissant à l'aîné le nom de famille, portaient celui d'un fief, ou même d'un bien de campagne.[32]

It is easy to assign reasons for an action but it is correspondingly difficult to ascertain the motives inducing it. And so it happens with Voltaire's change of name. We are certain that he could not have taken this action because he was, as he said, "malheureux." We are also convinced that Voltaire, upon abandoning the bourgeois cognomen M. Arouet, called himself M. Arouet de Voltaire. M. Arouet de Voltaire could not reasonably hope to be less "malheureux" than M. Arouet, particularly since M. Arouet de Voltaire continued the escapades of M. Arouet. There was absolutely no reason why Arouet could make Voltaire more "malheureux" than Arouet de Voltaire. As a matter of fact, young Arouet was destined to discover that Arouet de Voltaire could produce greater misfortune than Arouet. Thus the first reason given by Voltaire is most certainly a blind. The second

[30] See Paillet de Warcy, *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de Voltaire*, 1824, p. 20, note 1.

[31] Condorcet, *Vie de Voltaire*. See Voltaire, *Œuvres*, I, 190. Cousin d'Avallon, in his *Voltairiana*, 1819, makes the same statement.

[32] The reasons given by Voltaire and his contemporaries are for the most part accepted by later critics and biographers. Servières, Price, Sabatier de Castres, Baston, Harel, Delort, Fillon, Crouslé, Paillet de Warcy and Montalant-Bougleux give as his primary reason that he was unhappy with his patronymic. Price, Delort, Fillon, Paillet de Warcy, and Watts accept also in good faith his statement that he wished to be distinguished from the poet Roy. Price and Crouslé mention incidentally his aspirations to become a noble as a factor in the change. On the negative side, Paillet de Warcy, the author of the *Souvenirs de la Marquise de Créquy*, and Desnoiresterres affirm that he was dissatisfied with François-Marie Arouet either because, as the author of the *Souvenirs* quotes him, it was "un nom insupportable et ignoble," or because, as Paillet de Warcy quotes him, it was "ce rouet à rouet qui lui porte malheur," or because, as Desnoiresterres points out, "son nom prêtait à l'équivoque." The *Pall Mall Budget* admits that he hated it as savoring of the peasantry, and Montalant-Bougleux stresses his well-known vanity. Finally, several of the later critics (Montalant-Bougleux, Simien-Despréaux and Desnoiresterres) call attention to the euphony of "Voltaire" and the cacophony of "Arouet."

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about distinguishing himself from the poet Roy, although more logical, is also debatable. There was undoubtedly some resemblance between the pronunciation Roi (rwɛ) and Arouet (arwɛ),—enough, in fact, to cause some confusion among the uninitiated,—and at least once, as Mr. Watts has pointed out,[33] a poem of Arouet was attributed to Roy. But there is no such close resemblance between "M. Arouet fils" and "M. Roy," between "le petit Arouet" and "le poète Roy," between "le sieur Arouet" and "le sieur Roy," between "François-Marie Arouet" and "Charles-Pierre Roy," and between "Arrouet, Harouet, Arouette, Arrouette, Arouët" and "Roy." Wherever the confusion could occur, the public had learned to make a distinction either by a qualifying word (petit, poète), or by the addition of a christian name (François-Marie, Charles-Pierre), or by the appositive "Sieur," or even by a distinguishing orthography. Mr. Watts cited only one case where the names were confused. To prove the need for such a change, one would have to cite many, and that is apparently impossible. In truth, the public of 1715–1720 saw similarities between Arouet and Roy not so much in name as in condition, conduct, and character. Both were sons of attorneys, both dabbled in law, both were about the same age, both were satiric poets, both wrote scandalous, personal satire, both lived in the shadow of the Bastille. A change of name, as the *Journal satyrique intercepté*[34] pointedly remarked, would not distinguish Arouet from Roy nearly so effectively as a change of conduct.

> Parce que le public avec Roy le confond,
> Arrouet se fait nommer Voltaire;
> Mais c'est peu de changer de nom
> S'il ne change de caractère.

Thus Voltaire's second reason is no more valid than his first. That of Saint-Simon is also debatable, since it is hardly a disguise of the name Arouet to add that of Voltaire. Young Arouet, as we know now, did not succeed in out-witting those whom he had outraged in his satires and who naturally were much incensed against him. They merely transferred to M. Arouet de Voltaire the resentment they felt toward "le petit Arouet." Likewise, other reasons proposed seem absurd. He was not ashamed of

[33] G. B. Watts, *Mod. L. Notes*, XXXVIII, 329–333.

[34] *Le Journal satyrique intercepté ou Apologie de M. de Voltaire*, etc., par le sieur Bourguignon. M.DCCXIX, p. 29 ff.

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having the name of a "porte-clef," because his father was never a "porte-clef." Nor did "Arouet" impress him as being "insupportable et ignoble," otherwise he would have changed it rather than made an addition to it. In a way Desnoiresterres was correct when he said Voltaire was dissatisfied with being called M. Arouet, not however, because his was a peasant's name, as the *Pall Mall Budget* puts it, but because it was not a noble one. Dubois alone of the early commentators of the change seemed to suspect the real reason. "He detests nobles, and he seeks nobility, styling himself pompously M. Arouet de Voltaire."

Thus, of all the critics who have concerned themselves with Voltaire's name, none have yet satisfactorily explained how it was formed, nor have they discussed fully why it was taken. Only one, the contemporary Dubois, has assigned a reason which appears incontrovertible and his statement has never been used by later critics. The date of the change has never received a serious consideration. Some critics have mentioned the dedication of *Oedipe* as the time of the alteration. Others have thought that the famous letter to the Duc d'Orléans marked its initial appearance. But to the letter has always been assigned the indefinite date 1718. Moreover, this can not be the first time that young Arouet signed himself Voltaire, for the letter begins in such a way[35] as to leave the impression that the word Voltaire was already well-known. In the face of these difficulties, no critic has dared assign to the date either a *terminus a quo* or a *terminus ad quem*. All have contented themselves with the mention of the year 1718, or with an indefinite "after leaving the Bastille." To all, the presentation of *Oedipe* has furnished the occasion for the short disquisitions upon the origin of the word Voltaire.

Still, the fact remains that the *Oedipe* did not give to young Arouet an incentive for altering his name. It merely presented to him a fortunate opportunity for placing it before the public. Nor did the imprisonment in the Bastille cause him to realize that there was need for a new name, for, that episode preceded the change only incidentally. Indeed, it is even possible that Arouet fils had contemplated calling himself M. Arouet de Voltaire before he ever went to the Bastille. The only part played by the imprisonment in the procedure was that it offered an eleven month's seclusion to the poet after which he could style himself

[35] "Monseigneur, faudra-t-il que le pauvre Voltaire ne vous ait d'autres obligations que de l'avoir corrigé par une année de Bastille?"

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M. Arouet de Voltaire without attracting undue attention. In the alteration, however, it played a very minor rôle. Consequently, if one is to understand how and why the addition was made, he can not limit himself to a study of the presentation of *Oedipe*, nor to the Bastille episode. He must study the poet's ancestors, his life prior to 1718, his associates, particularly the Cardinal Dubois, and lastly his ambitions. Only then will it become evident why Arouet fils desired to become Arouet de Voltaire and how he achieved his desire.

Voltaire's ancestors have been traced and his genealogical table has been drawn by many distinguished genealogists.[36] The Arouets originated in Poitou at Saint-Loup. There during the last part of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries they were prosperous merchants, tanners, and notaries. Sometimes, a member of the family rose to some public office such as that of mayor of the little village of Saint-Loup. Occasionally, one would set out to Loudun, or to Saint-Jouin-des-Marnes, or even to Poitiers, and there remain. Two Arouets journeyed as far as Paris and became successful in business. There were times when some member of the family would remain closer home and establish himself in the neighboring village of Airvault, only five kilometers away. They certainly owned property in Saint-Loup, and occasionally, they acquired other properties in Airvault. Somehow or other, they seemed to carry on more transactions in Airvault than in Saint-Loup, perhaps because Saint-Loup was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Abbey of Airvault. We have a few documents, which disclose the extent of those transactions. M. Chardonchamp has cited one:[37]

Sous la cote E[n] 233, les Archives du Département de la Vienne renferment une pièce de la plus haute importance pour la généalogie des Arouet. Il s'agit d'une transaction passée à Airvault, par devant Vaillant, notaire en la cour du scel de ladite baronnie, en la maison d'Hilaire Baillif, fermier général de l'abbaye d'Airvault, le 8 avril 1584. . . . .

Les Arouet réclamaient le partage d'une métairie sise au lieu de Jumeaux (commune des Deux-Sèvres, près d'Airvault) qui était "tant du patrimoine ancien de Thomas Pouzineau, de Phelippes Pouzineau et Andrée Beaufils,

[36] Fillon, Borel d'Hauterive, Pol Potier de Courcy, Beaune, Beauchet-Filleau, and, in recent years, M. Guy Chardonchamp have all made investigations, particularly among his paternal forbears. Although his genealogy is still obscure in many places, much has been accomplished and we are now reasonably certain about the major points of information concerning the Arouet family.

[37] G. Chardonchamp, *La Famille des Arouet*, Paris, 1911, p. 31.

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père et mère dudit Thomas qui partagea avec ses cohéritiers le 14 juin 1520, que des acquêts de Mathurin et Claude Pouzineau."

Beauchet-Filleau[38] has cited another which occurred in 1595, and a second which took place four years later in 1599:

Arouet (Bonaventure) rendit une déclaration d'héritages, à cause de Marguerite Pellison sa femme, à René Ysoré, Seigneur, baron d'Airvault, le 21 mai, 1599, signé de main originale B. Arouet, et Fouqueteau et F. Grabat, notaires. Arouet (Marie) rendit un autre aveu le 25 mai, 1595.

Another[39] such transaction can be found occurring in 1630:

Cession par dame Jacquette Marcetton, veuve du Sieur Arrouet, seigneur du Puyterré, demeurant à Saint Loup, à François Pineau, juge sénéchal de l'abbaye d'Airvault, d'une pièce de terre contenant trois boisselées, dépendant de la métairie du Puyterré, située au lieu appelé les Terres-Rouges, pour amortir une rente de trois boisseaux de seigle que la dite Marcetton devait à la Seigneurie de la Route (1630).

One is almost tempted to conclude that if the Arouets lived in Saint-Loup, they carried on their business in Airvault.

Of the two Arouets who settled in Paris, François Arouet became a prosperous cloth-merchant. In 1626, he married Marie Mallepart, who, according to M. Chardonchamp, gave him five sons and two daughters. His seventh child, also François Arouet, became the father of the poet, who, in time, became M. de Voltaire. The Arouets of Paris, as Benjamin Fillon has already pointed out, kept up relations with the Arouets of Poitou:

Les marchands de la Châtaigneraie entretinrent longtemps des relations amicales avec leurs cousins de Paris. On se visitait de temps à autre, on s'écrivait aux grands anniversaires, ou chaque fois qu'une circonstance heureuse ou triste rappelait lès liens de parenté.[40]

On November 24, 1694, Pierre Bailly, descendant of the second of the two Arouets who established themselves in Paris, wrote to his father in Poitou:[41]

Mon père, nos cousins ont un autre fils, né d'il y a trois jours; Madame Arouet me donnera pour vous et la famille les dragées du Baptême. Elle a été très-malade, mais on espère qu'elle va mieux. L'enfant n'a pas grosse mine, s'étant senti de la chute de la mère.

[38] Beauchet-Filleau, *Dictionnaire historique . . . . des familles de l'ancien Poitou*, Vol. I.

[39] *Archives départementales, Deux-Sèvres*, Série E, p. 132.

[40] B. Fillon and O. Rochebrune, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[41] G. Desnoiresterres, *op. cit.*, I, 4.

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On December 29, 1704, the son whose birth was announced in the previous letter, collaborated with his brother Armand in writing a letter to Madame du Pont-Bailly, à la Châtaigneraie, pays de Poitou:[42]

Madame et très-honorée cousine,

Mon papa m'a fait cette grâce de me comander d'estre son secrettaire ce premier d'année, et vous tesmoigner les humbles respects de nostre maison, avec les veux et les prières que nous faisons pour vostre prospérité, santé, bonheur et satisfacion, qui ne sont en doutte de vostre costé eu égard à nous. Il vous suplie, madame ma cousine, le croire toujours bon parent et ne vous despartir de l'affection que vous devez à sa famille, et moi, le secrettaire, je finiray en me disant, et Zozo,

Vos très-humbles et respectueux cousins,
Zozo. Arouet.

Madame du Pont-Bailly was Françoise Arouet, paternal cousin of Armand and Zozo. There can be no doubt that the Arouet boys knew about their ancestry in Poitou. No doubt also that François Marie, training to be a notary, had access to the Arouet minutes in the possession of the father where he could have seen the series of transactions which took place at Airvault.

Every one is familiar with the life led by Voltaire during his first twenty-three years. But no one has summed it up so strikingly and so succinctly as M. Lanson.[43] At the Temple, he meets Chaulieu, the Abbé de Bussy, the Chevalier de Bouillon, and the Président Hénault. At Sceaux, he comes in contact with the Cardinal de Polignac, M. de Malezieu, Mlle Delaunay. He is intimate with the Duc de Sully, who takes him to Sully-sur-Loire, where he meets the Duc de la Vallière and the Comtesse de Toulouse. He uses his friendship for schoolmates as an excuse to visit Maisons and Richelieu. He takes advantage of his father's friendship for Caumartin to visit Saint-Ange. Everywhere young Arouet goes, he is surrounded by nobles with so many and such dazzling titles. He, "le petit Arouet," finds himself in the midst of the most brilliant groups of French nobility. Does he realize his situation? Evidently! Jealous critics are not slow to make him feel it. One writes:[44] "Mr. le Président de B. ami de V***, petit-fils d'un paysan!" Some of the nobles even treat him with the haughtiness of a Saint-Simon. Oh! to have some harmonious name to add to

[42] Voltaire, *Œuvres* (Moland ed.), XXXIII, iii.
[43] G. Lanson, *Voltaire*, Paris, 1924, p. 16.
[44] Baston, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

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the name "roturier" Arouet. In despair, the poet affects disdain:[45]

> Eh! que sont en effet le rang et la naissance,
> La gloire des lauriers, l'éclat de la puissance,
> Sans le flatteur plaisir de se voir estimé,
> De sentir qu'on est juste, et que l'on est aimé;
> De se plaire à soi-même, en forçant nos suffrages;
> D'être chéri des bons, d'être approuvé des sages?
> Ce sont là les vrais biens, seuls dignes de ton choix,
> Indépendants du sort, indépendants des rois.

And even while these lines are being written, François Arouet is moulding his new name.

Of all the men with whom Voltaire associated, the one whose origin most closely resembled his own was Dubois. The son of an apothecary and town physician was no better than the son of a notary. The apothecary's son, indeed, was reputed even to resemble[46] physically the notary's son. But Dubois had risen, thanks to his diplomatic skill, thanks to his intimacy with the Duc d'Orléans, thanks also to the confidence placed in him by the Duchess Douairière d'Orléans. On December 25, 1690, Louis XIV had given to him the Abbey of Airvault in Poitou, where he resided at several intervals, notably in 1713, while awaiting a change in fortune. The change came in 1714 when he was recalled from Airvault and made counsellor to the Duc d'Orléans. Henceforth, his rise was meteoric. He was sent on a secret mission to England. Returning on February 9, 1717, he was named member of the Council of Foreign Affairs. On April 11, 1717, he was made Secretary of the King's Cabinet. And on September 24, 1718, he became "Secrétaire des Affaires Etrangères." Arouet must have followed closely the rise of Dubois. Many things made the minister the object of admiration for the youth. Social position, reputed resemblance, the ambitions of Dubois, all would have attracted the attention of young Arouet, even if the immense popularity of the Abbot had not done so. There can be no doubt that Dubois for a time became Voltaire's model. But if Arouet admired and envied Dubois' success, the suspicious Abbot of Airvault detested the witty son of the notary. He regarded all this

[45] Voltaire, *A S. A. S. Mgr. le Prince de Conti*, 1718.

[46] This resemblance has been noted recently by Emile Bourgeois in *Le Secret du Règent*. *Cf.* "Entre l'oeuvre de Rigault et l'admirable monument que Houdon a consacré à la vieillesse de Voltaire, il faudrait signaler plus d'une ressemblance inattendue."

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admiration as mere flattery. In fact, Dubois detested Arouet so much that he claimed the credit for putting him in the Bastille. His attitude to the twenty-four year old youngster can be found in his *Mémoires*:[47]

> Je suis cause de sa prison, qu'il a si fort sur le coeur: il devrait me remercier de l'avoir logé et nourri aux dépens du Roi, ça lui a été du bon temps pour faire de la satire. . . . . On prétend qu'il me ressemble; je ne m'en ferai pas compliment. Toutefois, il ne m'aime guère, malgré l'encens qu'il me brûle sous le nez, vienne ma disgrâce, et il me jettera de la boue. Il ne m'avait pas oublié dans les *J'ai vu*:
>
> J'ai vu des gens de rien tenir les premiers rangs.
>
> Il déteste les rois, et s'est fait leur courtisan; il déteste les nobles, et il recherche la noblesse, s'intitulant pompeusement M. Arouet de Voltaire.

If Arouet's associates gave him an incentive for altering his patronymic, his age made the change possible. On November 21, 1718, he would enter upon his twenty-fifth year, that is to say, he would begin the year in which he was destined to attain his complete majority. Until that time, he was legally an Arouet. Any dissatisfaction which he felt with the family name had to be endured. François-Marie Arouet senior had every reason to be proud of his family's name, and proud also of his own. He was certainly not inclined to countenance a change by a son who was destined to carry the family Arouet still higher in the social scale. The only concession he would make was to permit his younger son the nickname of Zozo. After November 21, 1719, however, his authority would cease. Young Arouet could call himself anything he wished. But, as we have seen, the eleven months of relative seclusion gave him before that date a golden opportunity for taking this step unnoticed. He was loath to let the occasion slip. Anyway, a tradition gave his birthday as February 21, and no one seemed disposed at that period to produce his birth certificate. He could feel free to make the change in the opening months of 1719. As usual,[48] he anticipated and his father, apparently realizing the futility of further opposition, acquiesced. The elder Arouet, however, continued to attach but little importance to the new name, so little, in fact, that he never knew apparently whence it came nor how it was written. He wrote indifferently Voltere or Volterre. But that he had misgivings about the pro-

[47] Dubois, *Mémoires*, 1829, IV, 161 ff.

[48] This attitude was common to Voltaire throughout his life. See Desnoiresterres, *op. cit.*, I, 3.

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cedure can be inferred from a sentence included in his will in 1721:[49]

J'exhorte mes deux fils autant que je le puis . . . . de se souvenir d'un conseil que je leur ai donné plus d'une fois, dont il me semble qu'ils n'ont guère profité: que le bon sens veut et demande de nous que nous nous accomodions à la portée de ceux sur qui nous croyons avoir une supériorité d'esprit et de lumière que nous ne devons jamais leur faire sentir.

Thus, François Marie Arouet, son of François Marie Arouet, notaire au Châtelet, and grandson of François Arouet, marchand drapier à Paris, approached his twenty-fourth birthday, highly pampered by the nobility, and fully aware that, whereas he was equal or superior to his associates in wit, in intelligence, and in brilliance, he was inferior to them in title. He determined to eliminate this element of inferiority. As he approached his legal maturity, an event occurred which hastened his determination: the eleven months' imprisonment in the Bastille. Future literary plans—the presentation and publication of the *Oedipe*, the writing and publication of *La Ligue*—also encouraged him to carry out his determination. For the first time, he was free to inaugurate what must have been a long cherished desire. He could soon legally assume a show of nobility; he had every reason to expect his act to pass unnoticed and unchallenged, thanks to the Bastille; he could popularize the new title of nobility in the first really important works he had ever composed. His plan appeared reasonable. All that remained was to choose a title. Since it was assumed and not acquired he had but two alternatives: he could manufacture an additional name or he could choose one from some place. Manufactured names, however, have certain disadvantages. Besides the difficulty in forming one from no pattern whatever, there is always the risk of forming a term which smacks of artificiality. Anagrams, pseudonyms, noms de plume practically always have a strangely unreal appearance. It would certainly be better to select some place as a pattern. Voltaire, however, could not take Paris, nor Châtenay. The best thing he could do would be to go back to his native Poitou. There Saint-Loup helped him but little, since it was difficult to disguise a combination containing Saint. Near Saint-Loup, however, the small village of Airvault seemed to offer everything he needed. Some of his ancestors came from there, childish memories and family connections

[49] J. Guiffrey, *Voltaire et la famille de Nicolay* (1722–1730), p. 6.

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carried him there. He had visited Richelieu[50] which was only fifty kilometers from Airvault. Moreover, his hero, Dubois, had been in Airvault. This place of all places must have come time and time again to Arouet's mind, suggested now by the famous personage, now by the visit, now by some relative, now by some document of the family. And all the time the little village of Airvault remained tucked away in the province of Poitou where envious critics and jealous enemies of the poet would never go to search for the origin of the new name. Moreover, Jean Baptiste Darrot, Seigneur d'Airvault, was the last of the direct line of the Barons of Airvault. He had no posterity. Arouet could even hope to buy the barony at a later date if his theft were discovered. He would, in the meantime, take pains not to have it discovered. He would invert the syllables. Of Airvault, he would form "Vaultair." Still, the disguise might be discovered. Some one who has a knack for transposing syllables, who, like Voltaire, writes Tonpla[51] when he means Platon, who plays upon the word "Nabussan, fils de Nussanab, fils de Nabassun, fils de Sanbusna,"[52] and calls Boyer "Yébor"[53]—such a person might easily discover the trick. It would be much safer to disguise the orthography, *i. e.* change the "au" to "o", and add an "e" for harmony's sake. Essentially, the pronunciation would remain the same. Thus Arouet whose ancestors were from Saint-Loup près Airvault, anxious to assume a title of nobility, admirer of Dubois, abbot of Airvault, becomes Arouet from Vaultair, who in turn becomes Arouet de Voltaire. The disguise is complete and sure. However, it remains to convince the public. He must drop the remark that he took the name from a piece of property belonging to his mother. Perhaps some curious individual will investigate but he will find no property.

Unfortunately, there are people who are not convinced. Dubois had no illusion about the new name. Saint-Simon still treated Arouet as a haughty duke and peer should treat "une sorte de personnage." The doughty old bourgeois Marais continued to call him Arouet. Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, whom he requested particularly to address him as M. de Voltaire, hesitated for a long period between Arouet, Arouet de Voltaire, and M. de Voltaire.

[50] G. Lanson, *Voltaire*, Paris, 1924, p. 16.
[51] Voltaire, *Œuvres*, XLV, 76.
[52] *Ibid.*, XXI, 67.
[53] *Ibid.*, XXI, 40.

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That his enemies chided him for the change is to be expected. That they guessed so accurately the reason is, however, surprising. A monologue written before 1748 is typical of the genre:[54]

Par tous les dons de la nature
Si l'on excepte ma figure,
Je suis un homme bien gentil!
Ergo Gentilhomme, dit-il.
Cette illustre Etymologie,
Vaut bien ma généalogie.
Pourquoi prôner, quand on peut mieux,
Les Pancartes des ses aïeux?
Si mes talents, si ma sagesse,
Sont mes vrais titres de noblesse. . . . .

Le Triomphe poétique,[55] written in 1736, suggests slyly that he never had a fief:

Sur les pannaux (of the carriage) en beau blason
Sera le timbre héréditaire,
(Du fief qu'on appelle V***
(Du fief qui n'a nul censitaire
Fief dont l'Empire Calotin
L'investit comme Suzerin.
(Et que Torsac, en ses annales
(Et fief qu'Aimon en ses annales
Place au bout des Terres Australes.

But the dissolute Chevalier de Rohan had already dealt the telling blow to his vanity. "M. de Voltaire, M. Arouet, comment vous appelez-vous?" No remark could have been more cutting to the man who had taken such pains to conceal the identity of his title of nobility.

At precisely what period did Voltaire make the addition to his name? On May 17, 1717, the following letter was penned to Monsieur de Bernaville, governor of the Bastille:[56]

Monsieur de Bernaville, je vous écris cette lettre de l'avis de mon oncle le duc d'Orléans, régent, pour vous dire que mon intention est que vous receviez dans mon château de la Bastille le sieur Harroüet (*sic*) fils, et que vous l'y deteniez jusqu'à nouvel ordre. Sur ce, je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait, Monsieur de Bernaville, en sa sainte garde.

Ecrit à Paris, le 17 mai, 1717.
Louis.
Fleuriau.

[54] Baston, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

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On May 21, 1717, young Arouet was subjected to his interrogatory. An extract from the report follows:

> Interrogé de son nom, surnom, âge, qualité, pays et demeure.
> A dit, après serment par lui fait de dire vérité, qu'il se nomme François-Marie Harouet, âgé de 22 ans, originaire de Paris, n'ayant aucune profession, etc.

Arouet, therefore, on entering the Bastille had not yet taken the step. On April 11, 1718, the letter ordering the release of the poet bore the name Arrouet. He was ordered to be exiled to Châtenay. From Châtenay, he wrote at least three letters to the Comte de Maurepas, dated respectively May 2, May 29, and July 4, 1718. All three of the letters figure in the Moland Edition of Voltaire's *Oeuvres* without signature. Nevertheless, one of the letters, presumably that of July 4, 1718, must have been signed Arrouet de Voltaire, for on July 11, 1718, the Comte de Maurepas addressed to him a letter of which the minute can be found at the Archives Nationales 0^{1x} 368, f. 23:

> Au Sr. Arrouet de Voltaire
> Du 11 juillet, 1718.
> Je vous adresse avec plaisir la permission que le Roy vous a accordée de venir et rester 8 jours à Paris. Je suis monsieur parfaitement à vous.

According to the *Revue Rétrospective*, another such letter was addressed to the Sieur Arouet de Voltaire on October 12, 1718, granting him permission to come to Paris "quand bon lui semblera." Consequently, Voltaire first used the name between April 11, 1718, and July 4, 1718. Since, according to the *Revue Rétrospective*, permission was accorded on May 19, 1718 the Sieur Arouet to come to Paris for 24 hours only, he most probably adopted it between May 29, 1718 and July 4, 1718. It is perhaps to this period that belongs the undated police report quoted in Delort: "Arouet de Voltaire est grand, sec, et a l'air d'un satyre. C'est un aigle pour l'esprit, et un fort mauvais sujet pour les sentiments." Evidently, the note was a memorandum which would enable the police to detect Voltaire in case he violated the terms of his release from the Bastille. In the meantime, the poet was too busy popularizing his new name to bother about violating his parole. Between July 4, 1718 and October 12, 1718, he insinuates himself

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 264.
[56] Ravaisson, *Les Archives de la Bastille. Voltaire*, Paris, 1867.

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back into the good graces of the Regent, even to the point of becoming "le pauvre Voltaire," a fitting substitution for "le petit Arouet." It is between the two above-mentioned dates that Voltaire sent his letter to the Regent seeking permission to dedicate to him *Oedipe*. Apparently,[57] it was written only shortly before October 12, 1718. Thanks to this letter, Voltaire obtained permission to come to Paris "quand bon lui semblera." The letter is also important because of the leave-taking. Voltaire was so elated over the success of his new title that he could not refrain from a sly reference to the man who claimed to have placed him in the Bastille, but who had also furnished him indirectly the origin of his name. "Je suis avec un profond respect, Mgr., de Votre Altesse Royale le très-humble et très pauvre secrétaire des niaiseries," he wrote, with an evident allusion to Dubois, who, on September 24, 1718 had become Secrétaire des Affaires Etrangères. The Regent, as it is already known, rejected the dedication of *Oedipe*. Voltaire, undaunted, determined to dedicate it to the other person to whom Dubois owed all his advancement—the Duchesse Douairière d'Orléans. And so the *Oedipe* became dedicated to the Duc d'Orléans' mother by the one who henceforth was destined to be known officially as M. Arouet de Voltaire.[58]

Voltaire maintained throughout his life certain attitudes which are easily explained once we know the history surrounding his name. "He detests nobles," wrote Dubois, and this disregard for nobles was affected by Voltaire throughout his life. We have already seen how in the very period when he was adopting the "de Voltaire" he decried in a poem to S. A. S. le Prince de Conti the nobility which comes from birth. In *Mérope*,[59] one of the characters says: "Qui sert bien son pays n'a pas besoin d'aïeux." In one of his early letters to Frederick, he makes him distinctly understand that it is the man and not the king who interests him. How can one explain this attitude except by the fact that he could never be certain that his stratagem had fully succeeded? There was always the possibility that some Chevalier de Rohan would

[57] Voltaire stated in the second sentence of the letter: "Il se flattait que, après l'avoir mis en purgatoire, vous vous souviendriez de lui dans le temps que vous ouvrez le paradis à tout le monde." That is to say, the Bastille is Hell, Châtenay is purgatory, Paris is Heaven.

[58] See E. Campardon, *Voltaire, documents inédits recueillis aux Archives Nationales*, Paris, 1880.

[59] Act I, sc. 3.

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question him about the origin of his nobility. And thereupon he assumes a second attitude—one of angry mutism whenever he is pressed with questions concerning the new name. In the Rohan affair, for instance, Voltaire manifested an anger out of all proportion to the offense. Undoubtedly, Rohan intended that his question should be taken as an insult, but had the question not been so suitably chosen, the insult would not have been so much resented. Voltaire, moreover, seems to have maintained a feeling of hostility throughout his life toward any one who pried into the origin of his name. A passage in Longchamps' *Mémoires*[60] is significant in this regard: "Son nom est François Marie Arouet de Voltaire. On m'a assuré qu'il prit le nom de Voltaire d'un petit domaine que possédait sa mère. J'avoue que je n'ai jamais osé demander à mon maître ce qui en était." Evidently, the Patriarch of Ferney knew how to compress his thin lips and wrinkle his brow when anybody dared touch upon that subject. Not only did he discourage the direct question, he avoided giving details which might aid in solving the riddle. When, in 1778, M. Dumoustier de la Fond began to investigate some of Voltaire's ancestors in and around Saint-Loup, a polite but carefully-worded letter put an end to the investigation. Curiously enough, this letter, one of the last he ever wrote, bore the signature "Arouet de Voltaire." The old man of eighty-three was still proud of the name which, in more than one sense, he had made for himself.

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[60] I, 20.

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XXII

SOME SOURCES OF GOLDSMITH'S *SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER*

AMONG nineteenth century critics it was the fashion to consider Oliver Goldsmith one of the most original of writers; and *The Vicar* and *She Stoops to Conquer* were always cited as examples of that originality. Modern scholarship, which has destroyed so many of the traditions concerning Goldsmith, has thus far left these two works intact.

In *She Stoops to Conquer* one of the most striking incidents is the trick played by Tony on his unsuspecting mother, whereby she is driven about her own garden, yet made to think that she has travelled far from home, and is wrecked on the dangerous heath. No hint has ever been offered that this curious bit of invention was not Goldsmith's own. Yet in No. 427 of the *Spectator* Steele, after arraigning gossips and tale-bearers, tells the following story about the worst of them, Lady Bluemantle:

> She is so exquisitely restless and peevish, that she quarrels with all about her, and sometimes in a Freak will instantly change her Habitation. To indulge this Humour, she is led about the Grounds belonging to the same House she is in, and the Persons to whom she is to remove, being in the Plot, are ready to receive her at her own Chamber again. At stated Times, the gentlewoman at whose House she supposes she is at the Time, is sent for to quarrel with, according to her common Custom: When they have a Mind to drive the Jest, she is immediately urged to that Degree, that she will board in a Family with which she has never yet been; and away she will go this instant, and tell them all that the rest have been saying of them. By this means she has been an Inhabitant of every House in the Place, without stirring from the same Habitation; and the many Stories which every Body furnishes her with to favour that Deceit, make her the general Intelligencer of the Town.

Here is an astonishing concurrence, not only of action, but of character—for it is evident that both Mrs. Hardcastle and Lady Bluemantle have the same "humour"—and there is even a similarity in the formation of the two names. It will hardly be doubted, therefore, that Steele's story furnished Goldsmith with the direct suggestion for the corresponding incident in his comedy.

Another story in the *Spectator* (No. 289)—this time from the pen of Addison—furnishes an interesting analogue to the main

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incident in the plot of *She Stoops to Conquer:* young Harlow's mistaking the home of Mr. Hardcastle for an inn. Addison concludes a discourse on the brevity of human life with the following anecdote which, he states, he had somewhere read in the "Travels of Sir John Chardin:"

A Dervise, travelling through Tartary, being arrived at the town of Balk, went into the King's Palace by a Mistake, as thinking it to be a publick Inn or Caravansary. Having looked about him for some Time, he entered into a long Gallery, where he laid down his Wallet, and spread his Carpet, in order to repose himself upon it, after the Manner of the Eastern Nations. He had not been long in this Posture before he was discovered by some of the Guards, who asked what was his Business in that Place? The Dervise told them, he intended to take up his Night's Lodging, in that Caravansary. The Guards let him know, in a very angry Manner, that the House he was in, was not a Caravansary, but the King's Palace. It happened that the King himself passed through the Gallery during the Debate, and smiling at the Mistake of the Dervise, asked him how he could possibly be so dull, as not to distinguish a Palace from a Caravansary? Sir, says the Dervise, give me Leave to ask Your Majesty a Question or two. Who were the Persons that lodged in this House when it was first built? The King replied, His Ancestors. And who, says the Dervise, was the last Person that lodged here? The King replied, His Father. And who is it, says the Dervise, that lodges here at present? The King told him that it was he himself. And who, says the Dervise, will be here after you? The King answered the young Prince, his Son. 'Ah Sir,' said the Dervise, a House that changes its Inhabitants so often, and receives such a perpetual Succession of Guests, is not a Palace, but a Caravansary.'

In this case, it may be granted, the resemblance to the situation in the play is by no means so close as in Steele's story of Lady Bluemantle. Setting, atmosphere, purpose, tone are altered to such an extent that if Goldsmith made use of this story of the dervish he obviously took it merely as a point of departure. Indeed, were it not for our discovery that Goldsmith, in constructing the plot of his comedy, appropriated the other story from the *Spectator* we might be disposed to dismiss the resemblance as simply a literary coincidence. In considering the possibility of a literary source for the incident of the house mistaken for an inn one must not overlook the existence of a current tradition that this owed its origin to an actual experience in Goldsmith's own youth. The tale is told by Forster in his biography of Goldsmith and is said to have been current among the author's

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old neighbors at Ballmahon. It was vouched for by Jack Fitzsimmons. It runs as follows:

At the close of his last holidays, then a lad of nearly seventeen, he left home for Edgeworthstown, mounted on a borrowed hack which a friend was to restore to Lissoy, and with a guinea, store of unaccustomed wealth, in his pocket. The delicious taste of independence beguiled him into a loitering, lingering, pleasant enjoyment of the journey; and instead of finding himself under Mr. Hughes's roof at nightfall, night fell upon him some two or three miles out of the direct road, in the middle of the streets of Ardagh. But nothing could disconcert the owner of the guinea, who, with a lofty confident air, inquired of a person passing the way to the town's best house of entertainment. The man addressed was a wag of Ardagh, a humorous fencing-master, Mr. Cornelius Kelly, and the schoolboy swagger was irresistible provocation to a jest. Submissively he turned back with horse and rider till they came within a pace or two of the great Squire Featherstone's, to which he respectfully pointed as the "best house" of Ardagh. Oliver rang at the gate, gave his beast in charge with authoritative rigour, and was shown, as a supposed expected guest, into the comfortable parlour of the squire. Those were days when Irish innkeepers and Irish squires more nearly approximated than now; and Mr. Featherstone, unlike the excellent but explosive Mr. Hardcastle, is said to have seen the mistake, and humoured it. Oliver had a supper which gave him so much satisfaction that he ordered a bottle of wine to follow; and the attentive landlord was not only forced to drink with him, but, with like familiar condescension, the wife and pretty daughter were invited to the supper-room. Going to bed, he stopped to give special instructions for a hot cake to breakfast; and it was not till he had dispatched this latter meal, and was regarding his guinea with a pathetic last look, that the truth was told him by the good-natured squire. The late Sir Thomas Featherstone, grandson to the supposed inn-keeper, had faith in the adventure; and told Mr. Graham that as his grandfather and Charles Goldsmith had been college acquaintance, it might the better be accounted for.

Forster, however, clearly had his doubts as to the truth of the story. "On which, if true," he concludes, "the leading incident of *She Stoops to Conquer* was founded." And it must be confessed that when scrutinized the story looks apocryphal—would Oliver have been likely to keep the guinea in his pocket until the next morning after breakfast?

However, it is more than likely that *some* such experience of his own lay at the bottom of the incident in *She Stoops*. It is an interesting phenomenon of Goldsmith's genius, not yet sufficiently

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noted, that he never knows which of his own experiences constituted literary material. He had to be guided by similar incidents which he found in print. In this case, the mistake of the dervish, as found in the *Spectator*, pointed the way to the use of his own boyhood mishap.

Interesting as inquiries as to sources may be, however, it is only when they are interpreted in their bearing on an author's method that their real significance appears. In the case of Goldsmith such interpretation is especially necessary. The fact has long been known that he made use of French writings in many works: *The Chinese Letters*, and *The Animated Nature* in particular; but it has generally been supposed that his obligations to English writers have been confined to phrases, figures, and turns of speech,—the sort of thing to be found in any writer. Again, while he is known to have translated *verbatim* from the French at times, his usual method has been supposed to be one of condensation,—never of expansion or development. Yet in the two instances cited he is found doing exactly this. In each case he takes a slight illustration, and makes of it a major incident. He seizes upon an idea, and works it up into a story. These cases, to be sure, are slight. But it may well be that further comparison of his writings with those of other English authors may yield results that will compel a revision of judgments long considered settled.

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XXIII

A STUDY OF CLOUGH'S *MARI MAGNO*

MARI MAGNO, by Arthur Hugh Clough, is a series of six narratives in verse related by voyagers across the Atlantic. Clough wrote these tales during his travels for health through southern Europe in the final year of his life—the last tale, indeed, on his very deathbed—and he left them unrevised at the end.[1] Though in themselves deficient in narrative power, these tales present to the literary investigator two distinct problems, neither of which has as yet been satisfactorily solved. The first of these relates to the extent to which Clough in his narrative drew upon the events of his own life; the second is the question of the nature and the importance of the influence exerted upon him by the works of other authors, particularly Chaucer and Crabbe.

I

Inquiry into the autobiographical elements in *Mari Magno* has thus far been almost entirely neglected by students of Clough. Indeed, the only writer thus far who recognizes the existence of such elements is Mr. J. I. Osborne, who observes that these tales appear to be based on "situations that almost occurred in Clough's life."[2] However, he leaves the question with this general observation without following out its details.

In considering *Mari Magno* as reflecting events in the author's own life it should be observed at the outset that Clough in his long poems was in the habit of borrowing heavily from his own experiences. Thus *The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich* depends, in great part, on his own adventures in the Highlands of Scotland,[3] and *Amours de Voyage* is the richer for his stay in Rome in 1849 when the French were besieging Mazzini's followers in that city.[4] The same is true of *Mari Magno*, both in the framework, which consists of a prologue and of links between tales, and in the tales themselves. Thus Clough's trip to America on the *Canada* in 1852

[1] *The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough with a Selection from His Letters and a Memoir*, edited by his wife (two volumes, London, 1869), II, 365. These volumes, whether for memoir, letters, or poems, I cite as *Works*.

[2] J. I. Osborne, *A. H. Clough* (London, 1920), pp. 173–74.

[3] *Works*, I, 28–30, 107 note.

[4] His letters from Rome written during the siege (*Works*, I, 140–163) refer to many events which have been used in the poem.

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contributes many details to the account of the voyage in the prologue and links of *Mari Magno*, though there are some divergences. Both trips take place in autumn, though the time is not exactly the same, for Clough's lasted from October 30 to November 12, whereas in *Mari Magno* he represents the voyage as taking place in September. Again, in the scanty fragments preserved of Clough's letters we read: "Last night came on a sort of gale, with cloud and fog, and we moreover just off Cape Race, and, I believe, really running straight upon it . . . . However, we stopped and sounded and stopped and sounded again, and changed our course southward and were safe past before bed-time." The account in *Mari Magno* is exactly similar:

> 'Twas fog, and were we off Cape Race?
> The captain would be certain of his place,
> Wild in white vapour flew away the force,
> And self-arrested was the eager course
> That had not ceased before. But shortly now
> Cape Race was made to starboard on the bow.
> The paddles plied. I slept.[5]

Later, as we read in the letters, the ship put into Halifax at night, and the same event is narrated in *Mari Magno*.[6] Finally, on November 12 at sunset, the *Canada* arrived in Boston.[7] In the same way, the concluding verses of the poem narrate the arrival:

> The following day
> Bore us expectant into Boston Bay;
> With dome and steeple on the yellow skies,
> Upon the left we watched with curious eyes
> The Puritan great Mother City rise.

Even more interesting are the resemblances between the narrators of the tales in *Mari Magno* and Clough's fellow passengers. In the poem, the author is accompanied by "an elder friend," who is a lawyer, and the two associate frequently on board with an English clergyman and a New Englander. Story telling comes to be their chief recreation, and so fascinating does it prove that the group of four is occasionally joined by a young soldier or by the ship's mate. Now Clough's letters mention a fair number of fellow passengers on the *Canada*. Among them is "a young

[5] *Works*, I, 182 (letter) and II, 425 (verse).
[6] *Works*, I, 182 (letter) and II, 425 (verse).
[7] *Works*, I, 183.

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Engineer officer, bound for Bermuda", who, of course, is the original of the young soldier in *Mari Magno*, where he is presented as

> An officer of engineers, and round
> By Halifax to far Bermuda bound.[8]

Furthermore, for the New Englander, though no one, to my knowledge has noticed the matter previously, we likewise discover an original, and an original of far greater interest. Clough describes him as follows in the poem:

> Of the New England ancient blood was one;
> His youthful spurs in letters he had won,
> Unspoilt by that, to Europe late had come,—
> Hope long deferred,—and went unspoilt by Europe home.
> What racy tales of Yankeeland he had!
> Up-country girl, up-country farmer lad;
> The regnant clergy of the time of old
> In wig and gown;—tales not to be retold
> By me. I could but spoil were I to tell:
> Himself must do it who can do it well.[9]

Now as Clough's letters show, the *Canada* carried, altogether, three authors,—a most precious literary freight for one ship. These were Clough himself, Thackeray going to lecture in America, and James Russell Lowell returning from his first trip abroad. The lines quoted fit Lowell perfectly: he was of old New England family; he had already made a literary reputation; he had more than once previously formed plans of visiting Europe;[10] and the "racy tales of Yankeeland" are just such as we should imagine him telling. Clough and Lowell were friendly on the steamer, forming an acquaintance which they continued in Cambridge.[11] Moreover, at the final banquet aboard ship, after Thackeray's health had been drunk, we learn from Clough's letters, "Mr. Degen proposed Lowell, the American poet; and Lowell, in returning thanks, proposed the English poet—me!—and all the

[8] *Works*, I, 181 (letter) and II, 415 (verse).

[9] *Works*, II, 366.

[10] H. E. Scudder, *J. R. Lowell, a Biography* (2 vols., Boston, 1901), I, 307.

[11] *Works*, I, 181–91. Lowell also refers to this voyage with Thackeray and Clough: "Even smoking becomes an employment instead of a solace. Who less likely to come to their wit's end than W.M.T. and A.H.C.? Yet I have seen them driven to five meals a day for mental occupation." Lowell, *Prose Works* (Boston, no date, 6 vols.), I, 101–2.

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people stared at this extraordinary piece of information, and I made my very modest speech, etc. etc."[12]

Having now discovered the undoubted originals of the officer of engineers and the New Englander, we are tempted to see what we can do with the other narrators,—the mate, the English clergyman, and the lawyer. No mention of the mate occurs in Clough's letters, but Eyre Crowe, an artist who accompanied Thackeray to America as his secretary, has left us a little sketch of the captain's "lieutenant"—and so probably the mate—assisting him in taking an observation with sextant.[13] In the case of the clergyman, if Clough took him from any passenger on the boat, it must have been from "the Rev. Dr. Cook, of the Presbyterian Established Church in Quebec" who preached a sermon on ship board on Sunday, November 7.[14] The clergyman in *Mari Magno* obviously made the complete trip from England to Boston and not just to Halifax, for *Mari Magno* records that at Halifax the group "set one companion down",[15] and this one must have been the officer of engineers. Moreover, the Boston *Daily Advertiser* of November 13, 1852, which records the arrival of the *Canada* on the day before, gives a list of all the passengers, including "Mr. Jas. Lowell, Mrs. Lowell, and maid... W. M. Thackeray and friend [i.e. Eyre Crowe]... A. K. Clogh" [sic]. In the list the "Rev. Dr. Cook" is the only clergyman recorded as coming all the way from England. Thus, if any passenger suggested the clergyman to Clough, it was Dr. Cook, but Clough may well have filled in the picture, years later, from other clergymen, especially, perhaps from his clerical uncles.

The only remaining person, the lawyer, finally, demands close scrutiny. Clough describes him as follows:

> My guardian friend was now, at thirty-three,
> A rising lawyer—ever, at the best,
> Slow rises worth in lawyer's gown compressed;
> Succeeding now, yet just, and only just,

[12] *Works*, I, 183.

[13] Eyre Crowe, *With Thackeray in America* (London, 1893), 16. Crowe mentions Thackeray and also Clough: "Coming up the companion ladder, I noticed a burly form, in mustard-colored inexpressibles, and a wideawake hat crowning a swarthy face. This was Arthur Hugh Clough, the poet and Oxford Don." The only other person spoken of by Crowe is one who was in such need of soap and razor that the other passengers presented him these articles on landing.

[14] *Works*, I, 181.

[15] *Works*, II, 425.

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His new success he never seemed to trust.
By nature he to gentlest thoughts inclined,
To most severe had disciplined his mind;
He held it duty to be half unkind.
Bitter, they said, who but the exterior knew;
In friendship never was a friend so true:
The unwelcome fact he did not shrink to tell,
The good, if fact, he recognized as well.
Stout to maintain, if not the first to see,
In conversation who so great as he?
Leading but seldom, always sure to guide,
To false or silly, if 'twas borne aside,
His quick correction silent he expressed,
And stopped you short, and forced you to your best.
Often, I think, he suffered from some pain
Of mind, that on the body worked again;
One felt it in his sort of half-disdain,
Impatient not, but acrid in his speech;
The world with him her lesson failed to teach
To take things easily, and let them go.[16]

Now in Clough's letters there is no mention of any special companion on the ship, of any one who might be called his "guardian friend." Again, if there had been such a companion not mentioned in the letters, he could not have been "an *elder* friend" and yet only thirty-three, for that was Clough's own age in 1852. Thus we see that the portrait cannot be true in all its details, like Lowell's, of any one on the ship. If, however, we consider whether the lawyer may not be a *partial* likeness of a fellow voyager there is much to make us take Thackeray as the original. In the first place, though none of the other passengers made any impression on Clough to judge from his letters, he mentions Thackeray several times. On November 7, he records, "Thackeray and I also get on."[17] Four days later, on November 11, Clough relates that he talked a "half hour with Thackeray, who was laid up in his berth."[18] After landing in Boston on the evening of November 12, Clough remarks, "Found Thackeray at this hotel, and that I had been enquired for. Supped with Thackeray and Co., and went to bed."[19] The next day (November 13), once more, we read: "Then I dine at the hotel, at the 'Ladies' Ordinary', with Thackeray and the Lyells; then lionize with Thackeray and his friend

[16] *Works*, II, 366–67.
[17] *Works*, II, 181.
[18] *Works*, II, 182.
[19] *Works*, II, 183.

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Crowe through the streets."[20] In a word, then, if Clough was interested enough in any one on board the *Canada* to draw his literary portrait, it is more likely to have been Thackeray than anybody else, particularly as there are later references to the novelist in the letters.

To come to the details about Clough's legal friend, there are many characteristics in common between him and Thackeray. The novelist was eight years older than Clough; he had studied law and was called to the bar in 1848;[21] his progress in his chosen profession—letters—had been slow compared with a man like Dickens. At the time of this voyage, also, Thackeray was very melancholy. In addition to the general sorrow of his wife's becoming hopelessly insane some years before, he had suffered particular agony in parting from his little daughters for this voyage—an agony which he never forgot—and his melancholy was increased by a certain ill health.[22] Thus there was ample reason for Clough's lines about the lawyer:

> Often, I think, he suffered from some pain
> Of mind, that on the body worked again.

Finally the mixture of a kindly heart with a somewhat bitter censuring of the "false or silly" as depicted in the lawyer's character is in harmony with Clough's own analysis of Thackeray as is evident from a description on meeting him on January 3, 1853, at a dinner attended by Longfellow, Dana, and Fields: "Thackeray doesn't sneer; he is really very sentimental; but he sees the silliness sentiment runs into, and so always tempers it by a little banter or ridicule. He is much farther into actual life than I am; I always feel that, but can't be two things at once, you know."[23]

In view of all these similarities then, I believe that Thackeray is the original of the lawyer, but that Clough, not wishing a British public to recognize the picture, as they would be more likely to do than in the case of a foreign writer like Lowell, disguised the borrowings by omitting Thackeray's literary attainments and lessening his age.

[20] *Works*, II, 183.

[21] *Dictionary of National Biography*, XIX, 573 and 578.

[22] L. Melville (pen-name of L. S. Benjamin), *The Thackeray Country* (London, 1905), 198–9. See also the same author's *W. M. Thackeray* (2 vols., London, 1910). I, 343.

[23] *Works*, I, 191.

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The tales themselves are six, being told respectively by the lawyer, the clergyman, the author, the mate (who later joins the party), the clergyman, and lawyer.

The first story is about a boy who occasionally visits his six girl cousins (a clergyman's daughters) and is most intimate with the one named Emily. During adolescence, he is devoted to his books and so awkward in relations with her that they drift apart. Meeting her later at Brienz in Switzerland, he suddenly realizes that he loves her, only to make the lamentable discovery immediately afterwards, that she has just married his somewhat older school friend, Helston. The hero is inclined to accept a college fellowship, though this would prevent his taking a wife, but by Emily's advice he later prefers marriage. The autobiographical borrowings, in this tale, are numerous. Clough had two uncles that were clergymen and "a large connection of friendly cousins," upon whom he made numerous visits, which, according to Mrs. Clough, are reflected in this tale.[24] Clough himself, like the hero of this story, was extremely serious and bookish during his boyhood.[25] Moreover, the places visited by the hero of the tale had occurred in the poet's own itineraries. Thus in 1843, he is in the region about Brienz, for he writes that he went "over the Grimsel Pass, and one or two others in the Bernese Oberland and so to Thun and Berne,"[26] and on a later tour he visited Greece and Constantinople,[27] places where the story hero had travelled before arriving in Brienz. Helston, once more, "my schoolfellow but much my senior" in the poem, may be taken, with a change to a more poetic name, from "my oldest and only friend Simpkinson"[28], an older schoolmate of Clough's referred to in the letters and frequently corresponded with. In addition, the desirability of the fellowship and the accompanying question of marriage appear in Clough's own life in that he held a fellowship at Oriel College from 1842 until resigning it in 1848 and in that his sister, on one occasion during these years, had evidently urged upon him matrimony as against the fellowship, to judge from his reply to her letter.[29] Finally, be it observed, the hero's failure to realize his love until too late is paralleled by that of Claude, hero of *Amours de Voyage*, who vacillates as to whether to propose to Mary Trevellyn, one

[24] *Works*, I, 10.
[25] *Works*, I, 9–11.
[26] *Works*, I, 90.
[27] *Works*, I, 251, 255; II, 385.
[28] *Works*, I, 60 ff.
[29] *Works*, I, 107.

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of three sisters, and makes up his mind to do so only when she has left his vicinity.

The second story, told by the clergyman, concerns Edmund and Emma, who are in love, but hesitate to marry, preferring, instead, to record lengthy reasonings on the subject. Later Edmund, breaking down with overwork, goes to the seashore, and there the lovers chancing to meet again, decide after all to marry. The hero of this tale has many of Clough's traits: he is "o'ertasked at school, a serious boy" as Clough was under Dr. Arnold at Rugby. Similarly, like the author, he is "introspective overmuch" and is characterized always by

> "A self-correcting and ascetic bent."[30]

The travel in which Clough was engaged for the sake of his health during the composition of this tale is doubly reflected in the story,—in the hero's touring "half of Europe" and in his later arduous labors as a clerk breaking him down and driving him to a health resort. Finally, the lover of this second tale, like that of the first and like Claude of *Amours de Voyage*, is one of Clough's favorite questioning heroes, who are harassed in their decisions and undoubtedly, like Byron's dark heroes, represent one side of their author.

The third story related by the poet himself and known as *My Tale* is a string of descriptive passages dealing mostly with a journey by diligence in southern France. It begins

> I stayed at La Quenille, ten miles or more
> From the old-Roman sources of Mont Dore.

As his letters show, Clough stayed in this district at Mont Dore-les-Bains for his health[31] in July, 1861, and, in a passage from one of them, declares that "the high land was a green pastoral district with rounded hills mostly; no very distinct craters on the route; a lake a little way off was one, I suppose." Similarly in *My Tale* we read

> "The mountains of Auvergne are all in sight;
> Green pastoral heights that once in lava flowed,
> Of primal fire the product and abode."[32]

Later he continued his journey down to the Pyrenees, hence traversing the very course described in the tale,—from Laqueuille

[30] *Works*, II, 394.
[31] *Works*, I, 262–4.
[32] *Works*, I, 262 (letter); II, 402 (verse).

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to Tulle—and very likely meeting the identical people mentioned. Maps, it should be noted in passing, reveal no La Quenille near Mont Dore; hence we must suppose that in his posthumous manuscript, *u* was misread as *n*. Appended to the diligence journey and, on the whole, very ill connected with it, is another short descriptive fragment, *Currente Calamo*, about the Pyrenees and obviously delineating some persons and scenery which Clough beheld there.

The fourth story, told by the mate, relates how a French governess, on her way home from Ireland to France, is stranded penniless in Liverpool, but is saved from misfortune by being married by the ship's captain. It is thinner and poorer than any other tale, a circumstance due, we may well conjecture, to its having no autobiographical details to give it body and reality.

The fifth tale, recounted by the clergyman, relates how Edward breaks down from overwork and is sent by his wife Jane to a continental resort—probably in France—for his health. Here he is led astray by an attractive woman and, on his return to England, lives in remorse apart from his family till recalled by the temporary sickness of his little girl. The hero of the story is like Clough in enjoying a happy marriage, in having a physical breakdown, and in being obliged to sojourn in foreign health resorts. Indeed, something of Clough's own invalid's languor is found in the lines:

> A dismal thing in foreign lands to roam
> To one accustomed to an English home,
> Dismal yet more, in health if feeble grown,
> To live a boarder, helpless and alone
> In foreign town, and worse yet worse is made,
> If 'tis a town of pleasure and parade.[33]

The sixth and last narrative, related by the lawyer again, tells how a college tutor staying in the Scotch Highlands has a love affair with a peasant girl named Christie. Intending to marry her, he escorts her to her relatives in Glasgow, but is obliged to return for a short time to the University. The relatives, meanwhile, take her to Australia. The tutor, after a fruitless trip to that distant land in search of Christie, contracts a childless marriage, and is, years later, surprised to see Christie in London with their son, with a husband, and with a family by the

[33] *Works*, II, 417.

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latter. Before returning to Australia, Christie sends the boy to reside with his English father.

This story, we notice immediately, shows marked resemblances to *Amours de Voyage* and *The Bothie.* As Claude in the former poem cannot decide whether to propose to Mary Trevellyn, so this doubting hero of the sixth tale, though intending marriage, fails to state the matter plainly and thus, after Christie's departure, is left to lament his own maladroitness and go on an ineffective trip to Australia, just as Claude bootlessly scours northern Italy for his lady.

Even more notable are the resemblances to the *Bothie.* In this earlier poem, after leaving a reading party in the Highlands, an Oxford student named Philip Hewson has flirtations with a Highland girl named Katie and with a Lady Maria, and thereafter a more serious affair with the lovely Highland lass Elspie. He proposes marriage to Elspie and is accepted, but is compelled by the girl's father to return to Oxford for a year's study before marriage. Philip does so; then he marries Elspie, and takes her to live in New Zealand. Thus in the *Bothie* and likewise the final tale of *Mari Magno,* the hero is named Philip (with no surname given in the latter poem)[34] and, after leaving a reading party, meets a charming peasant girl,—in both cases at a dance. He falls enough in love to wish to marry the girl, but in both cases has to return for a while to Oxford. In the *Bothie,* Philip comes back to the Highlands, marries the girl, and takes her to New Zealand; in *Mari Magno,* through lack of initiative, he misses the girl, who goes herself to the equally distant Australia. In both, likewise, a woman of higher class is involved; Lady Maria in the *Bothie* and Lady Mary, whom Philip later marries, in *Mari Magno.* Finally, though Philip is a tutor in the later poem and only a student in the earlier, a tutor nicknamed "Adam" plays a prominent, though not a necessary, part in the *Bothie.*

This recurrence of the same details of plot, and the fact that Clough was in the habit of borrowing heavily from his own experience for his long narratives, inclines me to believe that a personal love affair must lie behind these two poems, for an experience happening to a student on a reading party would not have impressed Clough so strongly. Details are lacking on the point, but we are informed in the *Memoir* that the scenes, characters, and

[34] *Works,* II, 440.

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incidents of the *Bothie* were drawn from reading parties in the summers of 1846 and 1847,[35] on both of which Clough was the tutor. One inclines to believe, then, that Clough himself, after finishing his summer studies, fell in love with a Highland girl in one of those years, that he was tempted to give up his tutorship to marry her, but returned, instead, to Oxford. The girl may later have gone to Australia, or perhaps this far journey may have been suggested by the sojourn of Clough's good friend J. P. Gell in Tasmania.[36] Furthermore, it is possible that a girl of higher class named Mary may have exercised some attraction over Clough also. However, in view of the universally high tributes to his character, as well as the cheerful mood of the *Bothie*, no one would charge Clough with the moral slip of the *Mari Magno* hero. If these conjectures are true, may we not say that, writing the *Bothie* soon after the occurrence, Clough chose to attribute the affair to a student and to create the figure of a tutor in order that people might not connect the story with the author himself, but that in the later *Mari Magno*, when students had forgotten the affair, he made the tutor the hero, as was the actual case? In both stories, of course, the outcome is different from reality; Clough neither went to the Antipodes nor contracted a childless marriage. But each tale would be a possible outcome of the love affair: one of them, an idyll crowning it with marriage and a happy life in a new world; the other, a tragedy owing to a moral slip and to the lack of initiative of a typical Clough hero, like those of *Amours de Voyage* and the first and second *Mari Magno* tales. Finally, Clough may have named the second hero Philip—as he does only once obscurely by saying that the illegitimate child was named so after the father—in order to pair the stories for his own satisfaction as two possible might-have-beens for his youthful love affair.

This theory that Clough fell in love with a Highland girl is borne out by several of his lyrics. The most explicit of these is Ὁ Θεὸς μετὰ σοῦ!,[37] a heartfelt poem in which he calls to mind a Highland lass, her beauty, the "joyous Highland reel" in which they engaged, and their parting, and in which he fancies the joy of being married to her. *Wirkung in der Ferne*,[38] the following poem

[35] *Works*, I, 28–30, 107 note. This information is confirmed by *Letters and Remains of A. H. Clough* (For Private Circulation, London, 1865), p. 82.

[36] *Works*, I, 83, 85.

[37] *Works*, II, 30.

[38] *Works*, II, 31.

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in the edition of 1869, similarly protests his desire, among the varied haunts of men, to return to the girl whom he loves. One other poem *Sehnsucht*[39] might likewise refer with regret to the same love idyll.[40]

It is interesting, furthermore, to inspect the scanty facts about Clough's life in order to determine when this love affair is most likely to have occurred. Elspie lives at the head of a loch connecting with ocean, a loch situated on the west coast of Scotland, as is evident from the mention of Glencoe.[41] Christie is a waiting maid at

"A Highland inn among the western hills"[42]

The few scraps from letters of the summer of 1846,[43] indicate no trip to the western highlands, but those of 1847 show that Clough stayed there about a month and that he looked back on his sojourn there with special longing. He writes to his friend Shairp on September 1 from Glenfinnan Inn, Fort William, on the day before a big deer-stalking party to naval officers.[44] The next letter, written from Liverpool, October 3, to the same correspondent, runs: "I wrote to you last from Glenfinann. I enjoyed myself greatly in that Hesperian seclusion [though he admits he made few trips] . . . . I came back here yesterday. If I could have forced myself sooner out of the Highlands, I would have quitted Liverpool, and come to Rugby sooner also; but I could not. Woe's me, but one doesn't like going back to Oxford, nor coming to Liverpool either; no, nor seeing the face of hat and coat-wearing man, nor even of elegantly-attired woman."[45] In view of these facts, one feels that the Highland love affair very probably took place at this time and in this locality.

If one desires to venture a mere guess still further, one may suppose that, since the heroes of the two poems both met their

[39] *Works*, II, 193.

[40] I find that Alfred Huth (*Über A. H. Clough's The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 50) believes Clough fell in love with a Highland girl. He mentions the *Bothie*, the last *Mari Magno* tale, and 'O θεὸς μετὰ σοῦ but does not point out any resemblances in detail between the plots or carry the matter further.

[41] *Works*, II, 257–8. Clough took the name of *Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich* from a hut in a different part of Scotland—namely on Loch Ericht. (*Works*, I, 28–9 and *Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 43, p. 109.)

[42] *Works*, II, 427.

[43] *Works*, I, 107–8.

[44] *Works*, I, 114–15.

[45] *Works*, I, 115–16.

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ladies at dances, Clough fell in love with his Highland lass at the dance at Glenfinnan Inn at the close a of deer-stalking party,—a dance to which came "the English sailors, officers, a few Highland lairds, Highland farmers and shepherds, with their wives and daughters" and a dance where, we learn, Clough himself engaged in Highland reels.[46]

II

The other inquiry with which the present paper is concerned relates to the literary influences which are to be recognized in *Mari Magno*. The two authors whose influence upon Clough in this poem has been affirmed are Crabbe and Chaucer. Earlier critics were inclined to compare these tales with the work of Crabbe. Thus a reviewer in the *Cornhill Magazine* declared that they were "written in the style of Crabbe, with some affectation of Crabbe's prosaic plainness."[47] *Every Saturday* found these tales of Clough "suggested by his fondness for Crabbe";[48] and *Macmillan's Magazine* pronounced them written "in the plain, hard manner of Crabbe."[49] Henry Sidgwick in an article which originally appeared in the *Westminster Review* for 1869 says that the tales in *Mari Magno* "are written in obvious emulation of Crabbe; and in a natural and faithful homeliness of style which occasionally becomes a transparent medium for a most impressive tenderness, they certainly rival Crabbe."[50] In recent years, Elton speaks of the tales being in "Crabbe-like lines" and running to "a Crabbe-like prosiness", and Osborne in his book on Clough says the tales are much in the manner of Crabbe, Clough being "more austere with his words than Crabbe," but "less austere with his people."[51]

More recent students, on the other hand, are disposed to emphasize the influence of Chaucer. Miss Hertwig in her volume on Chaucer's influence quotes some passages from *Mari Magno* which resemble the *Canterbury Tales*,[52] and so does Miss Lutonsky

[46] *Works*, I, 30.

[47] *Cornhill Magazine*, 14, 418–19.

[48] *Every Saturday*, 8, 509.

[49] *Macmillan's Magazine*, 6, 331.

[50] Sidgwick, *Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses* (London 1904), p. 87.

[51] Oliver Elton, *A Survey of English Literature, 1780–1880* (N. Y. 1920), IV, 96; J. I. Osborne, *A. H. Clough*, p. 173–4.

[52] Doris Hertwig, *Der Einfluss von Chaucers "Canterbury Tales" auf die englische Literatur* (Marburg, 1908), pp. 57–9. Alfred Tobler, *Geoffrey Chaucer's Influence in*

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in her volume on Clough.[53] The *Cambridge History of English Literature* finds *Mari Magno* "reminiscent of Chaucer."[54] R. H. Hutton in an essay on Clough, moreover, goes farther and considers Clough "a modern and intellectualized Chaucer" and *Mari Magno* as akin to *The Canterbury Tales* not only in structure but in type of genius.[55] Finally Samuel Waddington in a volume on Clough considers the resemblances to both Crabbe and Chaucer but rejects the former in favor of the latter.[56]

In view of these divergent opinions, it becomes necessary to examine *Mari Magno* and to determine just what elements appear to be derived from Crabbe and what from Chaucer. We may first consider Clough's indebtedness to Crabbe.

Clough's decided interest in Crabbe is attested by a letter of five years before, November 13, 1856, wherein he declares, "I have been reading nearly through Crabbe lately .... There is no one more purely English (in the Dutch manner), no one who better represents the general result through the country of the last century. His descriptions remind even me of the things I used to see and hear of in my boyhood. And sometimes, though rarely, he has really the highest merit e.g. Ruth in the 'Tales of the Hall.'"[57]

The stories as a whole—except the third, *My Tale*, which is really not a connected story at all—are more like Crabbe than Chaucer. They are not medieval in subject matter, nor do they belong to medieval genres; they are not romantic; they present no situations like those in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. On the other hand, they bear a moderate resemblance to Crabbe's, dealing with every day subjects in unadorned manner and touching often on the darker side of things. In manner, they vary considerably, the style at times having an eighteenth century stiffness and rhetoric like Crabbe but usually being free from these qualities. All except the first tale are in heroic couplets, which,

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English Literature (Berne, 1905), p. 121, mentions Clough in connection with Chaucer without citing passages.

[53] Paula Lutonsky, *A. H. Clough* (Wien, 1912), pp. 52–3.

[54] XIII, 104.

[55] R. H. Hutton, *Essays in Literary Criticism* (Philadelphia, no date), p. 169.

[56] Samuel Waddington, *A. H. Clough* (London, 1883), pp. 276, 279–84.—Clough is also mentioned as "a careful student of Chaucer" in E. P. Hammond, *Chaucer, A Bibliographical Manual* (New York, 1908), p. 154.

[57] Clough, *Works*, I, 228. This passage is also cited by J. I. Osborne, in *A. H. Clough*, p. 171–72.

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in general, are more apt to be closed than Chaucer's but less apt to be so than Crabbe's. After reading all Crabbe's poems, I can discover no tale which bears a striking resemblance to any of Clough's, but in several instances Clough approaches Crabbe's manner whether in plot or style. Clough's tales, again, like Crabbe's, usually treat of love.

The first tale, in iambic tetrameter, does not resemble Crabbe notably in any respect. The second tale, on the other hand,—the one in which Edmund and Emma reason individually on whether to marry and at length do so only after he has broken down with overwork—is nearer in style to the eighteenth century and thus to Crabbe than is any other story. Some of the couplets written by Edmund exemplify the point.

> If light at all, can light indeed be there,
> Yet only permeate half the ambient air?
> Can the high noon be regnant in the sky,
> Yet half the land in light, and half in darkness lie?
> Can love, if love, be occupant in part,
> Hold, as it were, some chambers in the heart;
> Tenant at will of so much of the soul,
> Not lord and mighty master of the whole?
> There are who say, and say that it is well;
> Opinion all, of knowledge none can tell.[58]

The names *Edmund* and *Emma*, moreover, sound like those of people in Crabbe's tales, and indeed Emma occurs as the name of a character in at least three of them.[59] Again the story ends with a strong moralizing passage, a sort of termination beloved by the didactic Crabbe. As regards theme, this tale has less action and more reasoning than is usual with Crabbe, though one of his tales is fairly similar in this respect,—a dialogue in which Henry and Emma discuss their loss of love and how they may revive their affection.[60]

The third tale, the series of pictures portrayed by the author, is wholly unlike Crabbe. The fourth story—that of the French governess stranded in Liverpool—has a Crabbe-like matter-of-factness but is far more cheerful in outcome than the "Pope in worsted stockings" would have made it.

[58] *Works*, II, 395–6.

[59] *The Poetical Works of George Crabbe*, edited by A. J. and R. M. Carlyle (Oxford, 1914), 243, 439, 482.

[60] *Works of Crabbe*, 439.

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The fifth and sixth tales, though bearing no resemblance to Crabbe in style, are more like him in subject matter than are any others in *Mari Magno*. The fall from virtue of a husband in the fifth tale and his consequent pangs of conscience are of frequent occurrence in Crabbe's works, but, instead of allowing him to become reconciled with his wife after the sickness of a child, Crabbe would have laid on the penalty with a willing hand. Thus his tale of Edward Shore, perhaps the most similar in subject matter, punishes the seducer of a married woman with a tormenting conscience, dissipation, jail, and insanity.[61] The names of Clough's hero and heroine—Edward and Jane—echo Crabbe; in fact an Edward occurs in two of the latter's tales and a Jane in four.[62]

Similarly, the seduction of a Highland lass by a college tutor in the sixth tale of *Mari Magno* is paralleled in Crabbe by many such calamities to poor girls at the hands of gentlemen. Again, however, Clough shows his mercifulness, for Crabbe would not have ended by sending the son to live with his English father, and Christie would have been tormented by the burning jealousy of her Australian husband.

Though I have discovered no individual borrowing between Crabbe and Clough, then, I believe influence to have existed because of the plain subject matter of the *Mari Magno* tales and their treatment of love, because of several similarities in plot, and because of occasional passages by Clough in neoclassic style. These similarities, since we have external evidence of Clough's having read Crabbe recently with admiration, are the result, we may believe, not of chance but of influence.

In discussing the relationship to Chaucer, scholars have been more specific than in treating that to Crabbe. They have, in particular, quoted individual passages of similar flavor, but they have not determined exactly how much of *Mari Magno* is influenced by Chaucer and to what degree.

From letters and prose works, we gather ample evidence that Clough knew Chaucer well. In a letter of 1853, he writes to C. E. Norton apropos of Professor Child's edition of the medieval poet: "Tell Child not to be too learned about his Chaucer, for my sake; and, above all, to make his verses scan. . . . . People won't read

[61] *Works of Crabbe*, 275.

[62] *Works of Crabbe*: Edward, 267, 275; Jane, 381, 445, 521, 537.

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Chaucer against their ears."[63] In the next year, moreover, he writes to Professor Child himself and discourses learnedly for a whole printed page on how to mark final *e*'s.[64] Finally, in his *Lecture on the Development of English Literature from Chaucer to Wordsworth*, he especially lauds the *Prologue* for its able description of medieval England and quotes some of the passage about the monk.[65]

A study of *Mari Magno* itself shows just which parts range themselves under the banner of Chaucer: namely, the prologue, the links, and the third or "My Tale." The clearest way to prove the existence of such influence is to quote the lines in the prologue—lines cited by other scholars—about the clergyman.

> An English clergyman came quick and span
> In black and white—a large well-favoured man,
> Fifty years old, as near as one could guess.
> He looked the dignitary more or less.
> A rural dean, I said, he was, at least,
> Canon perhaps; at many a good man's feast
> A guest had been, amongst the choicest there.
> Manly his voice and manly was his air:
> At the first sight you felt he had not known
> The things pertaining to his cloth alone.
> Chairman of Quarter Sessions had he been?
> Serious and calm, 'twas plain he much had seen,
> Had miscellaneous large experience had
> Of human acts, good, half and half, and bad.
> Serious and calm, yet lurked, I know not why,
> At times, a softness in his voice and eye.
> Some shade of ill a prosperous life had crossed;
> Married no doubt: a wife or child had lost?
> He never told us why he passed the sea.[66]

The Chaucerian influence is clearly evident in this passage in its nervous succintness, in compression, in giving physical details of the man, and in speculating about his past experiences. But, more than this, the very phrases have a Chaucerian ring. The third line, for example, suggests Chaucer's.

[63] *Works*, I, 214. Also quoted in C. F. E. Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion* (7 vols., London), III, 12.

[64] *Works*, I, 220. Also quoted in Miss Spurgeon's work, III, 17.

[65] *Works*, I, 337–40. Also quoted, in part, in Miss Spurgeon's work, III, 8.

[66] *Works*, II, 366. This passage is quoted by Waddington and Miss Lutonsky.

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Of twenty yeer of age, he was, I gesse.[67]

Some of the clergyman's traits seem to resemble those of Chaucer's monk, and Clough's final line exemplifies a favorite trick of Chaucer's in describing characters in the *Prologue*,—namely, the addition of a new idea at the end, contained in a single line and somewhat by way of an afterthought.[68] The other two characters, described in lines already quoted, do not have a Chaucerian ring, and one line about the lawyer

Slow rises worth in lawyer's gown compressed[69]

is evidently a half-playful echo of Samuel Johnson's famous line

Slow rises worth, by poverty depressed.[70]

If, however, we consider the rest of Clough's prologue, we notice a similarity in plan to that of the *Canterbury Tales* not noted before. Chaucer begins by eighteen lines describing the exquisite freshness of spring and the consequent joy of pilgrimages. Similarly Clough commences with just eighteen lines, as it happens, in which after saying he is on a voyage, he gives a brief account of the pleasure of ocean travel and the beauties of nature.[71] Thereafter, in the case of both poets, comes the portrayal of the narrators and then an account of how the story telling began. In *Mari Magno*, the clergyman and the lawyer discuss marriage so long that the New Englander bursts out in a dogmatic way evidently suggested by the host in the *Canterbury Tales:*

"Appeal," he said, "to me; my sentence hear.
You'll reason on till might and reason fail;
My judgement is you each shall tell a tale;
And as on marriage you can not agree,
Of love and marriage let the stories be."[72]

Thus, then, however unexpectedly, is James Russell Lowell

[67] *Prologue*, line 82. W. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford, 1894), vol. 4.

[68] E.g., His eyen twinkled in his heed aright,
As doon the sterres in the frosty night.
This worthy limitour was cleped Huberd. (Prologue, l. 269)
Other examples are lines 207, 284, 410.

[69] *Works*, II, 367.

[70] *London*, l. 177.

[71] *Works*, II, 365.

[72] *Works*, II, 368.

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pressed into the rôle of Chaucer's host, a strange position, indeed, for a New England college professor.

The links between the *Mari Magno* tales are evidently inspired, somewhat remotely, by Chaucer, for the listeners discuss the story briefly and the next man prepares for his tale. There are, however, none of those racy disputes which enliven the *Canterbury Tales*.[73]

The third or "My Tale," similarly, is indebted to Chaucer. Indeed the sub-title—*A la Banquette, or a Modern Pilgrimage*—is a guide post pointing to him. In this, the poet records a journey by diligence in Auvergne, describes his fellow travellers, records a song by the *conducteur* and a brief tale by a priest, and finally relates how he himself fell asleep over the postillion's story. The other voyagers on the ocean liner then press the author for an expected love story, but he gives them only some verses entitled *Currente Calamo*, descriptive of wayfarers in the Pyrenees.

The Chaucerian influenced is best proved by the concise descriptions of the wayfarers, which resemble that of the clergyman but which, being cited by other scholars, need not be quoted here. The same influence continues to be evident in the fact that the travellers sing songs or relate episodes, in the interplay of character, and in the humorous way in which the poet is put to sleep by the *patois* of the last teller, much as Chaucer's *Sir Topaz* makes the host explode with impatience. The priest's story of how a sick little girl is cured by the Virgin, as Miss Hertwig points out, may well be suggested by the *Prioress' Tale*,[74] and the mention of Chaucer in the link after the poet's tale,[75] which she also remarks on, is surely significant of the direction Clough's thoughts were going. Finally in the *conducteur's* song of how, though old, he has fallen in love with a young girl, occurs the line

But now! midwinter to be matched with May!

[73] *The Tales of the Hall*, the only series by Crabbe to have a framework, are quite unlike *Mari Magno* in this respect. At the beginning of them, we have a long, rather abstract account of the elder brother George, his opinions, and the purchase of the hall, and, thereafter, an account of the younger brother Richard, ending with his visit on George. Later, the customary procedure is for Richard to see some strange personage at the beginning of each division of the poem and for George, consequently, to recount the individual's history.

[74] *Works*, II, 407.

[75] *Works*, II, 411. Miss Hertwig notes these points in *Der Einfluss von Chaucers "Canterbury Tales" auf die englische Literatur*, 57–59.

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a line, though not noted before, clearly reminiscent of the tale of January and May in Chaucer.[76]

Having traced what the various parts of *Mari Magno* owe to Crabbe and Chaucer, I am tempted to conclude this study by speculating in what order these influences became operative, what Clough's aims were in different stages of composition.

Mrs. Clough in the memoir informs us that her husband wrote the first and perhaps the second tale on his journey for health to Greece and Constantinople from mid April to June, 1861. All the rest, except the last, were composed in southern France, where he travelled alone from July to mid-September, and the last was written in Italy during his final illness.[77]

Of the tales, the first is different from the rest in being much longer,[78] in being divided into numbered parts, in using iambic tetrameter instead of pentameter, and in being written in the first person, whereas all the others except "My Tale" are in the third person. Thus in writing this first tale, Clough has evidently not yet got into his stride in the series. Very likely indeed, he wrote it as an independent narrative like the *Bothie*, quite without thought of a collection. It is only with the second tale, which I have shown to be much closer to Crabbe than was the first, that the influence of that author clearly becomes operative.

Even more different from the others is "My Tale." The New Englander, in verses which I have already quoted from the introduction, suggested that stories be told about love and marriage, and all but this tale are on these subjects. Again, though all the other stories have a distinct plot, this has not; it is a mere string of descriptions of people with unrelated characteristic actions. Finally, it is entirely too similar to the general prologue of *Mari Magno*. In both, different people are described in brief, Chaucerian wise, and, in both, these people give recitations, though in the third tale these are only a song by the *conducteur*, a brief episode by a priest, and the postillion's attempt at a story which puts the poet to sleep. In view, then, of these facts, I believe that, when he wrote this tale, Clough had not yet written the general prologue and had not even conceived it. On the other hand, I believe that the writing of this little travel sketch suggested the

[76] *Works*, II, 406.

[77] *Works*, I, 51–3. *Currente Calamo* was written, we are told in a letter, on August 13, 1861. (I, 267.) Clough died November 13.

[78] The length of the tales is 22, 7, 8, 2, 8 and 13 pages respectively.

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Chaucerian framework for the whole series of Crabbe-like tales or that, as is possible, he may have begun this for the general framework of the series, but finding the characters unsuitable to the stories he wished to relate, finished it differently and made it a tale. In either case, I think, the prologue and links were written after "My Tale."

"My Tale," likewise, breaks in the middle. It is a unified account of a diligence journey till the poet is put to sleep.[79] Then the other passengers on the ocean liner pester the speaker to tell them of a love affair which they think he has had with a French peasant beauty, but he gives them only *Currente Calamo*, the descriptive verses about wayfarers in the Pyrenees. If one wishes to adopt some such theory as I have sketched for the third tale's origin, one might well hold that this latter half of the tale was tacked on to make the account of the diligence journey fit as well as possible among the stories of love and marriage told by the ocean voyagers. If this is so, the device was perhaps the best that could be hit upon at the time, and the tales were never revised.

Mari Magno, then, is made up of numerous elements drawn from Clough's own life,—his experiences, his acquaintances, his own character. The poet composed the narratives on the general pattern of Crabbe's tales, but, after getting well under way, he was impelled by the influence of Chaucer to write a framework and one story after the manner of the *Canterbury Tales*.

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[79] *Works*, II, 408.

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XXIV

BROWNING AND HIGHER CRITICISM

AMID the shifting cross currents of religious controversy in England during the middle years of the nineteenth century, there are few points of view equal in freshness and interest to that of Browning. Nor among his brother poets of the Victorian age is there one whose work throws more light on the typical attitude of the English mind in relation to philosophy and religion. Individualism, subjectivity, lack of systematic development, absence of radicalism,—attributes which have been singled out as eminently characteristic of English speculative thought in the nineteenth century[1]—are strikingly illustrated in Browning's representation of the religious problems of the mid-Victorian era.

Though Browning's religious views were not, in the traditional sense, orthodox, his attitude towards Higher Criticism, with what he conceived to be its rationalistic interpretation of Christianity, was one of clearly marked antagonism. That this hostility, first expressed in *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day*, 1850, continued to the close of his life, is shown by the following anecdote concerning the poet, in which Mrs. Humphry Ward refers to his disapproval of the liberal theology of Robert Elsmere:

> He did not like *Robert Elsmere*, which appeared the year before his death; and I was told a striking story by a common friend of his and mine, who was present at a discussion of the book at a literary house. Browning, said my friend, was of the party. The discussion turned on the divinity of Christ. After listening awhile, Browning repeated, with some passion, the anecdote of Charles Lamb in conversation with Leigh Hunt, on the subject of "Persons one would wish to have seen"; when, after ranging through literature and philosophy, Lamb added: "But without mentioning a name that once put on a semblance of mortality . . . . there is only one other Person. If Shakespeare was to come into the room, we should rise up to

[1] Cf. John Theodore Merz, *A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh and London, 1914), IV, 360–363. In a note on page 363, Merz stresses the importance of the contribution of the great English poets of the nineteenth century to religious thought, as follows: " . . . . Imaginative writers, such notably as Tennyson and Robert Browning, who have, together with Wordsworth, perhaps more than any other writers, not only supplied thoughtful minds in this country with as much philosophy of religion as they required or could assimilate, but exhibit more than any others those specific characteristics of British thought which are so difficult for the foreigner to get hold of."

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meet him; but if that Person was to come into it, we should fall down and try to kiss the hem of His garment."[2]

Although Mrs. Ward was apparently unaware of it, there are other instances recorded of Browning's quotation of these words of Lamb. One, in particular, occurs twelve years before the occasion to which he alludes. In a letter written in 1876, as a message of comfort to a woman who believed herself to be dying, the poet, while dwelling on the evidences for the power and love of God, speaks of his soul having been thrilled to its depth by the convictions of certain men of genius regarding the person of Christ. Illustrating this statement he writes:

> As when Napoleon, shutting up the New Testament, said of Christ: "Do you know that I am an understander of men? Well, He was no man!" ("Savez-vous que je me connais en hommes? Eh bien, celui-là ne fût pas un homme.") Or as when Charles Lamb, in a gay fancy with some friends as to how he and they would feel if the greatest of the dead were to appear suddenly in flesh and blood once more, on the final suggestion, "And if Christ entered this room?" changed his manner at once, and stuttered out, as his manner was when moved, "You see, if Shakespeare entered, we should all rise, if *He* appeared we must kneel."[3]

While the reasons for Browning's dislike of Higher Criticism are more complex than at first appear, his antagonism may in part be attributed to the influence of historical environment. As contrasted with the liberal tendencies of Continental thought, insularity and conservatism dominated English theology from 1800 to 1860. The vast majority of Browning's fellow countrymen were totally ignorant of the aims and methods of Biblical Criticism. The rank and file of the clergy stoutly adhered to the traditional view of the verbal and mechanical inspiration of the Scriptures. Writing to Julius Hare in 1835—the year of the publication of Strauss's *Leben Jesu*—Thomas Arnold notes as one of the objects of a proposed Theological Review: "To make some beginnings of

[2] *A Writer's Recollections* (London, 1918), II, 59–60.

[3] From a letter dated May 11, 1876. This was printed in *The Nonconformist*, 1890, and in *Letters from Robert Browning to Various Correspondents, Edited by Thos. J. Wise*, 1895, I, 35–38. See also Mrs. Sutherland Orr's statement with regard to Browning: "He has repeatedly written or declared in the words of Charles Lamb: 'If Christ entered the room I should fall on my knees'; and again, in those of Napoleon: 'I am an understander of men, and *He* was no man.' He has even added: 'If he had been, he would have been an imposter'." *Life and Letters of Robert Browning* (London, 1908), p. 303.

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Biblical Criticism, which, as far as relates to the Old Testament, is in England almost nonexistent."[4] In 1841, Connop Thirlwall—who had previously declared that at Oxford a knowledge of German exposed a divine to the suspicion of heterodoxy—wrote to a correspondent: "There is no English theological journal connected with the Church, which does not *studiously* keep its readers in the dark as to everything that is said and done in German theology."[5]

Nor, despite the broadening influence of *Essays and Reviews*, was the situation changed essentially, so far as the popular mind was concerned, by the time of the publication of Colenso's *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined* and Renan's *La Vie de Jêsus* in the eighteen sixties. In 1861, the Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin preached a series of sermons at Oxford against *Essays and Reviews*, in which, as has been wittily said, he smote the "seven champions" of these heretical treatises with "the jawbone of an ass." During the course of his fiery philippics he asserts:

> The Bible is none other than "the voice of Him that sitteth upon the Throne! "Every book of it—every chapter of it—every verse of it—every syllable of it—(where are we to stop?) every *letter* of it—is the direct utterance of the most High! The Bible is none other than the Word of God—not some part of it more, some part of it less, but all alike, the utterance of Him who sitteth upon the Throne—absolute—faultless—unerring—supreme.[6]

In 1864, eleven thousand clergymen signed the *Oxford Declaration* on inspiration and eternal punishment, in which they pledge themselves to accept "without reserve or qualification the inspiration and Divine authority of the whole canonical Scriptures as, not only containing, but being the Word of God." In the same year, a British reviewer sounds the following note of warning to the public:

> Heresy is creeping in through very narrow meshes. We have the poison of the *Essays and Reviews* creeping in through the veins of the talented, the philosophical, and the learned; we have the false arithmetic of Colenso

[4] Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold* (5th ed., London, 1845), I, 404.

[5] From a letter of 1841 in *Letters Literary, &c.*, p. 175.

[6] John William Burgon, *Inspiration and Interpretation*, p. 89. The passage is cited as quoted in Colenso's *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, p. 46.

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making the books of Moses a cunningly devised fable; we have Renan's "History of Christ," in which our Savior is painted in terms so beautiful as to make him a moon-eyed enthusiast and an unworthy imposter. Are these the times in which we are to remove the landmarks of our fathers?[7]

In 1875, Robertson Smith's article on the Bible in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, was received, as Edmund Gosse has put it, "with a howl of horror," and led to its author's expulsion from his chair of Biblical Exegesis at Aberdeen in 1881. Even as late as 1890, the great English statesman Gladstone, in *The Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture*, strove to show that, despite the discoveries of modern science and the results of historical criticism, the early chapters of Genesis were infallible.

Nor was the distrust of such writers as Strauss and Renan confined to the orthodox and conservative. Many of the intellectual pioneers of liberal theology in England were repelled by the rationalistic temper of German criticism. Neither the critico-historical group of English liberals represented by Thomas Arnold and the Oriel Noetics, nor the philosophical group represented by Frederick Denison Maurice and the followers of Coleridge, were prepared to subscribe to the findings of the *Leben Jesu* and the *Vie de Jésus*. Though denounced by Newman as a free thinker, on account of his acceptance of degrees of inspiration in the Old Testament, Arnold, in 1839, expressed his abhorrence of the teachings of the Tübingen School. Amongst various symptoms of the distressed state of the Church, he notes:

> And the Zurich Government putting Strauss forward as an instructor of Christians! It is altogether so sad, that if I were to allow myself to dwell upon it, I think it would utterly paralyse me. I could sit still and pine and die.[8]

In like manner, Maurice, who was dismissed from King's College, in 1853, on account of the "dangerous tendency" of his opinions on the doctrine of eternal punishment, was violently repelled by Bishop Colenso's rationalistic examination of the Hexateuch. In a letter to Llewellyn Davies he says:

> The pain which Colenso's book has caused me is more than I can tell you. I used nearly your words. "It is the most purely negative criticism I ever read," in writing to him.[9]

[7] Cited as quoted in R. M. Wenley's "Some Lights on the British Idealistic Movement in the Nineteenth Century," *Amer. Jour. of Theol.*, July 1901.

[8] Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, *op. cit.*, II, 175.

[9] Frederick Maurice, *The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice* (London, 1884), II, 423.

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Even Matthew Arnold, a champion of disinterested criticism and a free lance in theology, ranged himself with the opponents of Colenso, and regarded his work as an unwarranted introduction of the minutiæ of science into the sphere of religious truth.[10]

Through their more intimate knowledge of German philosophy and Biblical scholarship, the younger group of Broad Churchmen were more sympathetic with the outlook of the Tübingen school than Thomas Arnold or Maurice. The publication of *Essays and Reviews* in 1860 constitutes a landmark in the history of English theology. As Pfleiderer says: "The storm which this collection of theological essays by various authors called up in England had great similarity with the commotion produced in Germany by Strauss's *Leben Jesu*."[11] Yet even these polemical papers indicate the difference between English thought of the most advanced type on the central dogmas of religion and the more radical views of Strauss and Renan. The spirit of free inquiry is tempered by an instinctive absence of revolutionary sentiment, and progress is conjoined with that innate reverence for the past so embedded in the English character.

Were the religious attachments of Browning between 1850 and 1870 such as would incline him to take a more liberal and sympathetic view of the writings of Strauss and Renan than that of the average educated English layman? In an article entitled "Robert Browning's 'Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day' und 'Das Leben Jesu' von D. F. Strauss," Fräulein Käthe Göritz declares: "Aus dem Geiste der Broad Church Movement ist Browning's 'Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day' geboren."[12] But the poet opposed the representative Broad Church *Essays and Reviews* and Colenso's *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined* as vigorously as he did the more drastic works of Strauss and Renan. Witness the following verses from *Gold Hair* published in *Dramatis Personæ*, 1864:

> The candid incline to surmise of late
> That the Christian faith proves false, I find;
> For our Essays-and-Reviews' debate
> Begins to tell on the public mind,
> And Colenso's words have weight:

[10] See Matthew Arnold's strictures on Colenso in two articles in *Macmillan's Magazine* (Jan. and Feb. 1863), and in his *Essay on the Function of Criticism* (1865).

[11] Otto Pfleiderer, *The Development of Theology in Germany since Kant, and its Progress in Great Britain since 1825* (tr. by J. F. Smith), London, 1890, p. 387.

[12] *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, CXLVII, 203.

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I still, to suppose it true, for my part,
  See reasons and reasons; this, to begin:
'Tis the faith that launched point-blank her dart
  At the head of a lie—taught Original Sin,
The Corruption of Man's Heart (vv. 141–150).

Nor, as we have seen, was he any more friendly to *Robert Elsmere*, a book which might truly be said to have been born out of the spirit of the Broad Church Movement. So far as Browning can be claimed by a religious party, his affiliations lie with the Evangelicals rather than with the Broad Churchmen. The poet's family traditions were Nonconformist. His mother had been brought up in the Scottish kirk, but for the last forty-three years of her life she was a devout member of the Independent congregation meeting for worship at York Street, Walworth. His father, originally an Anglican, joined the same congregation in 1820. Browning's marriage in 1846 with Elizabeth Barrett, whose nonconformist traditions and sympathies were at least as strong as his own, strengthened these early associations. If Mrs. Browning could speak of her husband as having "the blood of all the Puritans in him," she could refer to herself as one of "those schismatiques of Amsterdam"—holders of the Independent church principle—whom Dr. Donne would have put into the dykes. The correspondence between the two is ample evidence that, however far their religious views outreach the literal and crude puritanism of a "Mount Zion" chapel meeting, they are of the spiritual lineage of the Evangelical Movement.[13] It is significant that the narrator in *Christmas-Eve* finds more of the love of Christ in the baldest form of Protestant worship than in the splendour of the midnight mass at St. Peter's, or in the intellectual analysis of Christianity by the professor of Göttingen. Nor can it be doubted that Browning declares his own preference for a simple and unritualistic type of service in the lines:

My heart does best to receive in meekness
That mode of worship, as most to his mind,
Where earthly aids being cast behind,
His All in All appears serene

[13] See *The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Barrett* (N. Y. and Lond., 1889), I, 145, 147: II, 427, 434. Cf. "Mrs. Browning's Religious Opinions as Expressed in Three Letters" cited in *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*, II, 123–142.

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> With the thinnest human veil between,
> Letting the mystic lamps, the seven,
> The many motions of his spirit,
> Pass, as they list, to earth from heaven.[14]

Such influence as Evangelical pietism had upon Browning's attitude towards Biblical Criticism was negative in two respects. Notwithstanding the important contribution of Protestant Evangelicalism to the spiritual life of England, it lacked breadth and freedom of thought. Regarding the Scriptures as a sacred talisman and devoted to a clear cut but narrow system of doctrinal ideas, the Evangelicals produced no work of the first order in theology, and they were more unwilling than any other party to abandon the theory of verbal inspiration. In their eyes, Higher Criticism was an attack on the very citadel of Protestant faith and a synonym for rationalism and infidelity. While Browning, as is shown by his views on the Atonement and eternal punishment, was far from being a rigid Calvinist, he could scarcely fail to be influenced by that deep-seated distrust of Biblical Criticism felt by the religious party with which he was most closely allied. But the most vital way in which the poet's nonconforming traditions affected his attitude towards the historical criticism of the New Testament and the origins of Christianity, was through their limitation of his education. Up to the year 1854 no dissenter could take a degree at Cambridge, and no dissenter could even matriculate at Oxford. As a consequence, Browning's University education was limited to a single term in 1828–1829, at the newly founded University of London. During the formative years of his life, he missed that intimate contact with leaders and tendencies of religious thought which a University residence would have given him. Had Browning gone to Oxford in 1828, he would have been in touch with the germinating forces that afterwards bore fruit in the Broad and High Church Movements. Oriel, in particular, under the brilliant leadership of Copleston, who was Provost from 1814 to 1828, was the nursery of seedlings destined to produce

[14] *Christmas-Eve*, XXII, 66–73. Browning's own religious observance was in keeping with this declaration. In 1885, he wrote to W. G. Kingsland: "I frequently attended the service at Mr. Jones' Chapel about twenty years ago." The place of worship referred to is Bedford Chapel, London. In Normandy, the poet went to a French reformed service with Milsand. In Venice he often attended a chapel of the Waldenseans. His son was baptised in the church of the French Lutherans at Florence.

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such different flowerings as *Tracts for the Times* and *Essays and Reviews*. Here, while Newman was beginning his memorable ministry at St. Mary's and Keble writing *The Christian Year*, Whately, Thomas Arnold, and Hampden were bringing a new breath of intellectual freedom into the Church of England. The Oriel Noetics were pioneers in the field of liberal theology. Yet, through their emphasis on the progressive character of divine revelation, they were laying the foundations for a study of the Bible based upon critical and historical principles. Had Browning become an Oxford student in the eighteen-twenties, Oriel and Whately might have meant to him what Balliol and Jowett meant to Matthew Arnold in the eighteen-forties. It is significant to note, in this connection, that it was not until 1850, seventeen years after the publication of the first *Tract* and the initiation of the Oxford Movement, that the doctrinal controversies of the era find an echo in his poetry.

Apart from the important, though somewhat vague and indeterminate influence of Protestant Nonconformity on Browning's religious views, he cannot be classified as a follower of any particular movement or tendency in English theology. He stands, necessarily, in general relationships to the religious background of the mid-Victorian epoch. But to regard Browning's representation of Christianity as the mere by-product of his historical environment is to miss its flavour and distinction. So far from reflecting the influence of a school or body of theological opinion, he is typically English in the rugged individuality of his thought. His approach to the problems of religion is inseparably bound up with the characteristic attitudes of mind, or dispositions of spirit, traceable throughout his poetry. As has been said: "It is not as a creed, still less as a body of religious opinion, that Christianity attracts Browning. It is as a living experience that its spell is potent."[15] The "incidents in the development of a soul" with which he is primarily concerned, centre about the paradox that man is a being in whom the claims and purposes of the finite and infinite, body and soul, flesh and spirit, time and eternity, meet and must each receive due recognition. While, from one point of view, life must be an unceasing aspiration in pursuit of an infinite ideal, from another it must be a continuous stooping to a world of weakness and finitude. Justice must be done to the natural and

[15] Cited from *The Quarterly Review*, CLXX (1890), 492–493.

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human as well as to the mystic and divine aspect of personality. Likewise, it must be borne in mind that Browning frequently attains to the cardinal truths of Christian faith in undogmatic fashion, by regarding these as a corollary to what has been called "the richest vein of pure ore" in his poetry, his view of the nature and function of love. In the poet's philosophy of life—for it may reasonably be called that—with its profound sense of human experience as poised between the absolute and the relative, lay a natural channel of approach to the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation.

The direct references of Browning to Biblical Criticism lie in a group of poems published between 1850 and 1870. These are, *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day*, 1850; *Bishop Blougram's Apology*, 1855; *Gold Hair*, 1864; *A Death in the Desert*, 1864; *Epilogue to Dramatic Personæ*, 1864. With this group should be linked certain writings which deal with evidences for the Incarnation and thus practically involve the issues of Biblical Criticism. The most important of these are, *The Pope*, in *The Ring and the Book*, 1869; *The Sun* in *Ferishtah's Fancies*, 1884; *With Bernard De Mandeville*, in *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in their Day*, 1887. The following poems allude to the theme of the Incarnation in a more general way: *Saul, X-XIX*, 1855; *An Epistle containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish the Arab Physician*, 1855; *Cleon*, 1855, *A Pillar at Sebzevar*, 1884.

Browning was married in 1846 and the influence of the devout religious spirit of his wife may be discerned in the composition of *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day*. But the primary reason for his vivid sketches of Evangelical nonconformity, Roman Catholic ritualism, and German criticism, in this poem, lies in the pressure of the religious controversies which were rife in England around the year 1850. In particular, the description of the teaching of the German professor at the University of Göttingen is, under a thin dramatic disguise, the expression of Browning's own reaction to the writings of Strauss and his followers. The publication of the *Leben Jesu* in 1835 was an epoch making event in the history of Biblical Criticism, and the theological upheaval that followed in its wake may be traced in a variety of ways. Beginning, in England, with Charles Hennell's *Inquiry concerning the Origin of Christianity*, 1838, it gave rise to a continuous series of books and articles. Amongst the more important writings that reflect the influence of Strauss's work, in the decade of Browning's *Christ-*

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mas-Eve and Easter-Day, are Theodore Parker's *The Transient and Permanent in Christianity*, 1841; J. A. Froude's *Shadows of the Clouds*, 1847, and *The Nemesis of Faith*, 1849; Arthur Hugh Clough's *Epi-Strauss-ium* and *Easter-Day*, 1849; Francis Newman's *The Soul*, 1849 and *Phases of Faith*, 1850; William Rathbone Greg's *The Creed of Christendom*, 1851. While the classical English version of the *Leben Jesu* was that of George Eliot in 1846, it was not the first translation of the book. As early as 1841, John Sterling writes: But the oddest sign of the Times, I know, is a cheap Translation of Strauss's *Leben Jesu*, now publishing in numbers, and said to be circulating far and wide."[16] Two years before this, Sterling had read much of this critical life of Jesus and foresaw the effect of it on the thought of his generation. In a letter of 1839 he tells Carlyle: "In this way I have gone through a good deal of Strauss's Book; which is exceedingly clever and clear-headed; with more of insight and less of destructive rage than I expected. It will work deep and far, in such a time as ours."[17] The wide circulation of the *Leben Jesu* in the eighteen-forties is attested to by one of the leaders of the Oxford Movement. In 1843, W. G. Ward[18] noted that Strauss's work is selling more than any other book.

In considering Browning's references to Higher Criticism in *Christmas-Eve* and elsewhere, it must be remembered that he writes as an artist, not as a theologian, and that he deals with the facts of religion in an individualistic and untechnical way. By comparison with the equipment of such English men of letters as Coleridge and Carlyle, his knowledge of the historical and philosophical backgrounds of Biblical criticism was slight. According to Mrs. Orr, Browning professed his ignorance of German philosophy, being "emphatic in his assurance that he knew neither the German philosophers nor their reflection in Coleridge, who would have seemed a likely medium between them and him."[19] Yet in 1843 he writes to Domett that he reads German tolerably and is using Schlegel and Tieck's translation of Shakespeare to aid him in the

[16] Thomas Carlyle, *The Life of John Sterling* (London, 1851), p. 271.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

[18] *Ideal of a Christian Church*, 1843, p. 266.

[19] Mrs. Sutherland Orr, *Life and Letters of Robert Browning* (rev. ed.; London, 1908), p. 100. See also the statement in Mrs. Orr's *A Handbook to Browning's Works*, that Browning "has no bond of union with the German philosophers but the natural tendencies of his own mind," and "resembles Hegel, Fichte, or Schelling . . . . by the purely creative impulse which has met their thoughts."

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study of the language.[20] Again, he informs Domett that certain quarterlies contain articles on Leibnitz, Spinoza, and Descartes.[21] The evidence seems to show that Browning was not completely ignorant of German thought, as Mrs. Orr has represented. On the other hand, his acquaintance with it was, indisputably, superficial and sporadic. It could not have enabled him to meet a writer like Strauss on his own grounds, nor does he attempt to do so. The arguments used to refute the conclusions of the Gottingen professor, in *Christmas-Eve*, are those of the ordinary "Christian" man, rather than those of the theological expert. At the same time, the native power and insight of the poet's mind, conjoined with the emotional intuitions of genius, enable him to throw illuminating flashes on the problems of the religious consciousness.

In his *apologia* for Christianity in sections XV-XVII of *Christmas-Eve*, Browning takes a general survey of the rationalistic tendencies of the day. The professor of Göttingen is an imaginative creation and therefore not to be identified arbitrarily with any particular critic of the German school. Yet the fact that the *Leben Jesu* was a storm centre of controversy in the eighteen-fifties, and the references to the "Myth of Christ" in the text of the poem, make it unmistakably evident that the poet has Strauss in mind. In the lines,

> It matters little for the name
> So the idea be left the same (*Christmas Eve*, XV, 25-26).

the distinction which Strauss draws between the transient and the permanent elements in Christianity is clearly indicated. But in the general outline of the Christmas-Eve discourse, lines of demarcation between various critics of a rationalistic temper are blurred. Starting with the premises of Strauss, the Göttingen professor draws conclusions which resemble those of Comte and Matthew Arnold rather than those set forth in the *Leben Jesu* and the *Vergängliches und Bleibendes in Christentum*. With Hegel's conception of the relationship between idea and reality in mind, Strauss regarded the doctrine of Christ's divinity as unaffected by the results of Biblical Criticism. His position is plainly stated in the preface to the first German edition of his life of Jesus, where he writes:

[20] Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, *Robert Browning and Alfred Domett* (Lond. 1906), p. 52.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

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The author is aware that the essence of the Christian faith is perfectly independent of his criticism. The supernatural birth of Christ, his miracles, his resurrection and ascension, remain eternal truths, whatever doubts may be cast on their reality as historical facts.[22]

It is this distinction—made more explicit in the *Vergängliches und Bleibendes im Christentum*—between the symbolic and temporally conditioned representation of the Incarnation in the historical life of Jesus and its absolute realisation in the Christ of religious consciousness, that is pivotal in Strauss's thought. Apart from the initial reference to the contrast between "name" and "idea," no allusion is made in *Christmas-Eve* to the philosophical implications that lie back of Strauss's "mythical theory." The conclusions of the professor in his lecture room at Göttingen are frankly rationalistic. He does not attempt, in the spirit of Strauss, to substitute a metaphysical for a historical concept of "the God in Christ." On the contrary he dispels the myth of Christ's divinity to disclose

> A Man!—a right true man, however,
> Whose work was worthy a man's endeavour (*Christmas Eve*, XV, 37–38)

Thus Christ becomes a purely human figure whose virtue lies in his teaching rather than in the uniqueness of his person, and religion is reduced to "morality touched with emotion."

Without attempting to weigh historical evidences, or to consider specifically the problems of miracle and revelation, Browning attacks this position on several grounds. In the first place, he regards it as inconsistent with the claim of Christ to be divine and "one with the Creator." In the second place he feels that it is wholly inadequate to satisfy the craving of the religious consciousness. It is not a mere knowledge of God's truth, but power to act upon such knowledge that is the supreme need of humanity.

A moral code or a body of teaching lacks the spiritual dynamic

> . . . . to furnish a motive and injunction
> For practising what we know already (*Christmas Eve*, XVII, 24–25)

This can only be supplied through the enkindling and transfiguring power of a divine personality operative in the lives of men. As Browning phrases it:

[22] Cited from the 6th ed. of George Eliot's translation of Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu* (London, 1913), p. xxx.

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Morality to the uttermost
Supreme in Christ as we all confess,
Why need we prove would avail no jot
To make him God, if God he were not?
What is the point where himself lays stress?
Does the precept run "Believe in good,
In justice, truth, now understood
For the first time?"—or, "Believe in me,
Who lived and died, yet essentially
Am Lord of Life?"[23]

While *Cleon*, *Saul X-XIX*, and *The Epistle of Karshish* deal with the Christian concept of the Incarnation in a general way, the only direct allusion in the poetry of Browning between 1850 and 1864 to contemporary Biblical Criticism occurs in *Bishop Blougram's Apology*. Here Cardinal Wiseman, under a thin disguise, is placed in limbo between St. Paul and Luther as types of ardent faith and Strauss as a type of "bold unbelief."[24] Here, too, curiously enough, that argument for faith in the Christian Revelation based upon the relativity and fallible character of human knowledge, on which Browning was afterwards to lay so much stress, first makes its appearance in the ingenious web of casuistry woven by his subtle prelate.

[23] *Ibid.*, XVII, 30–39. Fräulein Kathe Goritz draws attention to an interesting parallel between these lines and the following passage from Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*:

"Did Christ come from Heaven, did the Son of God leave the glory *which he had with his Father before the world began*, only to shew us a way to life, to teach truths, to tell us of a resurrection? Or saith he not, *I am the way—I am the truth—I am the resurrection and the life?*"

In view of the seminal influence of *Aids to Reflection* on the religious thought of minds as various as those of John Sterling, Frederick Maurice, Cardinal Newman and John Stuart Mill, it is possible that Browning may have been directly indebted to Coleridge's work. On the other hand, Mrs. Orr has stated that he "was emphatic in his assertion that he knew neither the German philosophers nor their reflection in Coleridge." In any event, since the argument for Christ's divinity based on his life as the essence of his revelation is as frequently used by Tractarian and Evangelical writers as by Coleridge and Maurice, it does little to support Fräulein Goritz's contention, "Aus dem Geiste der Broad Church Movement ist Browning's 'Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day' geboren." Perhaps the most elaborate example in English theology of a vein of thought similar to that in which Browning contrasts "mere morality" with "the God in Christ" is to be found in the Bampton Lectures of the High Churchman Canon Liddon, *The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, and in his *Some Elements of Religion*.

[24] Cf. *Bishop Blougram's Apology*, II, 578–595.

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The publication of *Dramatis Personæ* in 1864 coincides in point of time with the signing of the *Oxford Declaration* by eleven thousand clergymen of the establishment. It was a restless and troubled epoch in the religious thought of England, when the theological controversies stirred up by Biblical Criticism were reaching an acute stage. The printing of *Essays and Reviews* in 1860, followed by Colenso's rationalistic work on the Hexateuch in 1862, provoked a storm of hostility in orthodox circles. This was widened and intensified by the publication of Renan's *La Vie de Jésus* in 1863. The popular and dramatic qualities of Renan's book ensured its rapid circulation. With the possible exception of Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu*, no work in the whole range of Higher Criticism caused such an immediate sensation, or became the focus of such heated controversy. The book was published on June 23, 1863 and in November of the same year sixty-five thousand copies had been sold.

Browning's interest in the problems of Biblical Criticism that were agitating the religious thought of England in the eighteen-sixties, is strikingly revealed in *Dramatis Personæ*. Reference has already been made to his outspoken criticism of *Essays and Reviews* and the writings of Bishop Colenso, as voiced in *Gold Hair*, one of the minor pieces in this collection. In the *Epilogue to Dramatis Personæ*, Renan is one of the three speakers, and the subject of the poem is Browning's assertion of the essential divinity of Christ, in answer to what he regards as the thoroughly negative conclusions of the French theologian.

With the single exception of the Pope's monologue in *The Ring and the Book*, *A Death in the Desert* is the most elaborate and closely reasoned *apologia* for Christianity throughout Browning's poetry. In common with *Christmas-Eve* the poem deals with the general idea of Christ's divinity, but it also treats of the origins of Christianity, the question of miracles, and the historical development of the Christian faith. *A Death in the Desert* is Browning's most direct rejoinder to the attack made upon the historical basis of Christianity by the critics of the Tübingen school. Here, as in *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day*, the influence of Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu* is unmistakable.

Does the poem also echo the turmoil of the second great inbreak of religious controversy reaching England from continental shores during the lifetime of Browning? In view of the allusion to Renan in the *Epilogue to Dramatis Personæ* and the extraordinary furore

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stirred up by *La Vie de Jésus* in 1863, it is tempting to hazard the inference that the polemical elements in *A Death in the Desert* were aimed in part at Renan's famous book.

Such a conjecture, however, runs contrary to a statement made by the Rev. J. Llewellyn Davies at a meeting of the Browning Society on February 25, 1887. In the minutes of the discussion that succeeded the reading of Mrs. M. G. Glazebrook's paper on *A Death in the Desert*, a digest is made of Mr. Davies' remarks as follows:

> The poem was published in the "Dramatis Personæ," which came out soon after Renan's "Life of Jesus"—and consequently many people imagined it referred to that. But Browning wrote the poem long prior to the publication of Renan's work; and he thought Mrs. Glazebrook was right in assuming it to be an answer to Strauss; for in reading it we can see that Browning recognizes all the force of that destructive writer's reasoning.[25]

Though many of the poems included in *Dramatis Personæ* may have been written anywhere between 1855 and 1864, this is the only statement to my knowledge, that definitely places the composition of *A Death in the Desert* prior to the year 1863. All other testimony leads to the conclusion of Sir Frederic Kenyon regarding this poem that "no direct evidence of its date remains."[26] There is, however, in the recently published letters of Browning to Isa Blagden, an important passage which throws light on his attitude towards Renan's *La Vie de Jésus* and fixes the date of his first reading of the work. In a letter to Miss Blagden of November 19, 1863, he writes as follows:

> I have just read Renan's Book, and find it weaker and less honest than I was led to expect. I am glad it is written; if he thinks he can prove what he says, he has fewer doubts on the subject than I, but mine are none of

[25] *Browning Society Papers*, Vol. II, Pt. III. Cited from the "Abstract" of the Forty-eighth Meeting.

[26] References in the letters of Browning make it evident that a number of the poems printed in *Dramatis Personæ* were composed in the later part of his Italian period before the death of his wife in 1861. On the other hand, Edmund Gosse is of the opinion that the greater part of *Dramatis Personæ* was written at the village of Ste. Marie, near Pornic, Brittany, where the poet spent the summers of 1862, 1863. Passages in Browning's letters to Isa Blagden allude to the composition of various pieces at Ste. Marie which were to be included in "the new poems" (i.e., *Dramatis Personæ*). Of the few poems in the first edition of *Dramatis Personæ* whose dates of writing can be approximately determined by internal evidence, *Prospice*, *James Lee's Wife*, *Gold Hair*, *Apparent Failure*, and the *Epilogue*, were written after Mrs. Browning's death, and several of these as late as 1863.

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his. As to the Strauss school, I don't understand their complacency about the book, he admits many points they have thought it essential to dispute, and substitutes his explanation, which I think impossible. The want of candour is remarkable; you could no more deduce the character of his text from the substance of his notes, than rewrite a novel from simply reading the mottoes at the head of each chapter; they often mean quite another thing, unless he cuts away the awkward part, as in the parable of the Rich Man & Lazarus. His admissions & criticisms on St. John are curious. I make no doubt he imagines *himself* stating a fact, with the inevitable license, so must John have done. His argument against the genuineness of Matthew, from the reference to what Papias says of the λογια is altogether too gross a blunder to be believed in a Scholar, and is repeated half a dozen times throughout the book; if Pen, in three .... means, an oracle or revelation .... he'll stand badly off for .... honest old Tom Paine stands .... miracles were cheats, and their author a cheat! What do think of the figure *he* cuts who makes his hero participate in the wretched affair with Lazarus, and then calls him all the pretty names that follow? Take away every claim to man's respect from Christ and then give him a wreath of gum-roses and calico-lilies or, as Constance says to Arthur in King John "Give Grannam King John and it grannam will give it a plum, an apple and a fig."[27]

The feeling aroused in Browning by the reading of *La Vie de Jêsus*, and, in particular, his hostility to Renan's views on St. John and miracles, would suggest the likelihood of *A Death in the Desert* being either composed or revised between November 1863 and the publication of the poem in 1864. In view of this, one could wish that Mr. Davies had stated the source of his information that it was written "long prior to the publication of Renan's work." There is, however, no positive circumstantial evidence that *La Vie de Jêsus* was in the poet's mind when he wrote *A Death in the Desert*. The attacks upon the historicity of the fourth gospel made by Strauss and his immediate followers are in themselves sufficient to account for the form and subject matter of the poem. Then, too, it must be recalled that in *An Epistle of Karshish*, printed as early as 1855, eight years before the appearance of Renan's life of Jesus, Browning's interest in the Johannine gospel is already evident. A further point, in support of Mrs. Glazebrook's and Llewellyn Davies contention that *A Death in the Desert* is aimed primarily at the Tübingen School, is that the views of Strauss and Baur on the Johannine gospel were much

[27] *Letters of Robert Browning to Miss Isa Blagden*, Arranged for publication by A. Joseph Armstrong, Waco, Texas, 1923, pp. 100–101.

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more radical than those of Renan. Strauss maintained that the fourth gospel was a controversial book written late in the second century after Christ by a theologian of the Greek Gnostic and anti-Jewish school. Renan, on the other hand, considered it to be in substance the work of the Apostle John, though possibly revised and retouched by his disciples. It is plainly the position of Strauss rather than Renan that the poet has in mind in *A Death in the Desert* when he pictures St. John, with prophetic insight, hearing "unborn people in strange lands" inquire:

> Was John at all, and did he say he saw?
> Assure us, ere we ask what he might see! (vv. 196–7)

Nevertheless, were it not for Mr. Davies explicit statement to the contrary, I should have conjectured that Browning's keen interest in Renan's life of Jesus, as shown by his letter to Miss Blagden of November 19, 1863 and his reference to Renan in the *Epilogue to Dramatis Personæ*, was in part responsible for the composition of *A Death in the Desert*. The vigorous hostile comment in the Isa Blagden letter is evidence, at least, that in the year preceding the publication of the poem, Browning was stirred up by the reading of *La Vie de Jésus* and associated Renan with Strauss as a rationalistic and destructive critic of Christianity.[28]

There are a number of reasons why *A Death in the Desert* is a pivotal poem, in a study which seeks to define the attitude of Browning towards Biblical Criticism. While less profound than

[28] As Chapman and Hall's advertisement of the first edition of *Dramatis Personæ* appeared on May 28, 1864, *A Death in the Desert* was published six months after Browning's reading of Renan's *La Vie de Jésus*.

The contemporary notices of *Dramatis Personæ* in English literary journals generally assume that the poet had Renan's book in mind when composing *A Death in the Desert*. For example, the *Athenæum* review of June 4, 1864, discussing the religious import of the poem, states: "It embodies the death of St. John in the desert and has the piquancy of making the beloved apostle reply with last words, in far off ghostly tones, which come, weirdly impressive, from that cave in the wilderness, to the Frenchman's 'Life of Jesus.' It is done simply and naturally; but could any sensation-novelist contrive anything so striking?" In like fashion, the *London Quarterly Review* of July 1865 comments as follows: "After M. Renan's 'Life of Jesus,' and the prelections of the Strasbourg school of theological thought, it should be welcome as it is worthy." But, in *David Gray, and other Essays*, 1868, Robert Buchanan regards *A Death in the Desert* as being aimed at Strauss: "The second extract is from 'A Death in the Desert,' in which John the Evangelist is supposed to detail his opinions of his contemporaries, and, in a spirit impossibly prophetic, to review the arguments in the 'Leben Jesu,' against miracles."

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the soliloquy of the Pope in *The Ring and the Book*,—one of the greatest examples of constructive religious thought in nineteenth century poetry—it is in more intimate touch with the contemporary situation created by the assaults of Higher critics on orthodox views of the inspiration of the New Testament. It also illustrates clearly Browning's way of approach to the basic truths of Christianity, and his central and unwavering position on the question of the divinity of Christ. As Professor Herford has pointed out, the poet makes no attempt in *A Death in the Desert* to meet Strauss on his own ground, with the weapons of history and comparative religion. Even had he wished to do this, his lack of expert knowledge would have precluded it. Only amongst the more advanced leaders of the Broad Church party in England, outside of the camp of Positivism, was there any genuine understanding of the historical groundwork and philosophical inheritance of such a work as *Das Leben Jesu*. With neither of these movements was Browning allied by tradition or education. To approach the writings of Strauss from the standpoint of the authors of *Essays and Reviews* and Matthew Arnold, would have been as alien to him as to sit with George Eliot at the feet of the father of the Tübingen school. His attitude towards Higher Criticism was very much that of the average English layman in the eighteen-sixties, distrustful of it as a product "made in Germany," fearful of its iconoclastic tendencies, and with little sympathy for its sifting of documentary evidence and patient work of scientific investigation.

Nor should it be forgotten that Browning, with all his intellectual bent, exercises the artist's prerogative to roam experience rather than to systematize it. The problems involved in the method and technique of Biblical Criticism, the evaluation of historical data, the scrutiny of origins and sources, the reconstruction of a complex religious environment, lay beyond the poet's ken. Moreover, in seeking to cut the Gordian knot of these difficulties, Browning, to an even greater degree than Tennyson, made a distinction between love and reason, feeling and intelligence, which led him eventually to adopt a sceptical view of human knowledge.

As a consequence, particularly in his later writings, he came to regard the validity of the Incarnation and the Crucifixion as historical facts, incapable of proof or disproof. On the other hand, his faith in the intuitive testimony of the heart to the existence of a loving, self-sacrificing God, working with redemptive and

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transfiguring power in human experience, never wavers. The clue to Browning's religious position lies in the recognition of the fact that with him, as in the case of many of his contemporaries, it is the function of the heart to "melt the freezing reason's colder part." His gnosticism is primarily emotional.

In accordance with this basic distinction between faith and reason, the natural stress of Browning's *apologia* for Christianity is to evaluate it as a living experience rather than as a historical creed. In this way he seeks to turn the flank of the attack made by rationalistic criticism on the historic foundations of Christianity. Untechnical as Browning's approach to the critical problems of the New Testament, in such a work as *A Death in the Desert*, undeniably is, the depth and discernment of his religious intuition give it genuine significance. The purport of the argument of the poem as put into the mouth of St. John, the beloved disciple, is to represent Christianity as a religion of the spirit, with love as its inspiring motive. While the authority of the New Testament sources is not questioned, the poet tends to minimize the importance of the appeal to history, and refuses to base the truth of Christianity on an intellectual proof of the factual character of a series of past events. It is the realization and appropriation of the divine love of God in the lives of men and women, the abiding presence of the ever living Christ in the hearts of his disciples, that he regards as an irrefutable proof of the validity of the Christian faith. Approaching Christianity from the human rather than the dogmatic side, Browning finds its sovereign credential in the fact that it harmonizes with the central truths of man's experience. Though the historical character of the Christian revelation cannot be proven by reason, it satisfies the reason. It does this because it discloses that conception of the nature of God and his relationship to man which has already been attested by the independent witness of the heart and revealed as the supreme factor in the creative moulding of personality.

> . . . . the acknowledgment of God in Christ
> Accepted by thy reason, solves for thee
> All questions in the earth and out of it,
> And has so far advanced thee to be wise.
>
> (*Death in the Desert*, vv. 474–7.)

It is therefore plain that Browning considers the historical evidences of Christianity only as a corollary to what may be called

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the gospel of the eternal Christ, or, less theologically, the unceasing revelation of the infinite love and self-sacrifice of a divine being in lives transfigured by his presence.

> To me, that story—ay, that Life and Death
> Of which I write 'it was'—to me, it is;
> —Is, here, and now: I apprehend naught else.
> Is not God now i' the world His power first made?
> Is not His love at issue still with sin,
> Visibly when a wrong is done on earth?
> Love, wrong, and pain, what see I else around?
> Yea, and the Resurrection and Uprise
> To the right hand of the throne. . . . .
>
> (*Death in the Desert*, vv. 208-16.)

In a classic of literary criticism, *Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher*, Professor Henry Jones has given a brilliant analysis of that cleavage between Reason and Love which he characterizes as "the fundamental error of the poet's philosophy." The same line of demarcation may be traced throughout Browning's reflection on the cardinal doctrines of Christianity. Whenever he is on the ground of historical evidences, there is a note of uncertainty and ambiguity in his utterance, for which his sceptical theory of knowledge is directly responsible. On the other hand, whenever he dwells on the inner witness of the heart to the universal truth of Christianity, he is absolutely unfaltering in his convictions. He then speaks with as infallible accents as the Pope in *The Ring and the Book:*

> I
> Put no such dreadful question to myself,
> Within whose circle of experience burns
> The central truth, Power, Wisdom, Goodness—God:
> . . . . . .
> No—I have light nor fear the dark at all.
>
> (*The Pope*, vv. 1625-8, 1654.)

One of the most striking illustrations of the purely relative and subordinate value which Browning attached to the historical evidences of Christianity, is a conversation with Mrs. Orr in 1869, which the latter records in an article, in *The Contemporary Review*, on *The Religious Opinions of Robert Browning*. Nothing could more forcibly exemplify the pervasive ambiguity which the poet's intellectual agnosticism involved him in, when dealing with Christianity as a historical revelation, than the following words cited by Mrs. Orr:

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"I know the difficulty of believing," he said once to me, when some question had arisen concerning the Christian scheme of salvation. "I know all that may be said against it, on the ground of history, of reason, of even moral sense. I grant even that it may be a fiction. But I am none the less convinced that the life and death of Christ, as Christians apprehend them, supply something which their humanity requires, and that is true for them." He then proceeded to say why, in his judgment, humanity required Christ. "The evidence of divine power is everywhere about us; not so the evidence of divine love. That love could only reveal itself to the human heart by some supreme act of *human* tenderness and devotion; the fact, or fancy, of Christ's cross and passion could alone supply such a revelation."[29]

Without a comprehension of the theoretical difficulty in which the poet through his distrust of reason was enmeshed, these words might seem to justify Mrs. Orr's conclusion that "the one consistent fact of Mr. Browning's heterodoxy was its exclusion of any belief in revelation." In reality they mean nothing of the kind, and the whole tenor of Browning's poetry as well as the evidence of his life refute Mrs. Orr's statement. What he does deny is that the historical character of the events of the life of Christ recorded in the New Testament can be demonstrated by reason, in the sense that the events in the life of Napoleon are matters of factual knowledge. But this is accompanied by an unswerving faith in the revelation of the Incarnation and "Christ's cross and passion" within the spiritual experience of humanity.

Yet it is evident that Browning's abnegation of reason continually sprains his argument whenever he is dealing with the historical bases of Christianity. For, if the incidents of the gospel narrative are placed beyond the pale of reason, it is difficult to show how they possess objective validity. The vacillation of the poet's own point of view on this ground is a testimony to the unsoundness of his premise.[30] At times, while disavowing the possibility of an intellectual proof of the historical truth of the New Testament story, he puts into the lips of such characters as St. John and Pope Innocent XII, words which ascribe to it a high degree of rational probability. Thus the Pope soliloquizes in *The Ring and the Book:*

[29] *The Contemporary Review*, Dec. 1891, p. 879.

[30] The lack of consistency that characterizes the poet's thought in this respect has been ably discussed by A. C. Pigou in his valuable and discriminating *Burney Essay* for 1900, *Robert Browning as a Religious Teacher.*

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There is, beside the works, a tale of Thee
In the world's mouth, which I find credible:
I love it with my heart: unsatisfied,
I try it with my reason, nor discept
From any point I probe and pronounce sound.
(*The Pope*, vv. 1343–7.)

In addition, the Pope supports the reasonableness of the Gospel narrative by an argument drawn from the disparity between man's inner and outward experience. Within the heart of man, the trinity of God's love, power, and wisdom is subjectively revealed. But in the world without, while there is ample evidence of divine strength and intelligence, the goodness of God is not equally apparent. The life and death of Christ, therefore, provide an objective manifestation of God's love and self-sacrifice and bring the testimony of the visible universe regarding his nature into harmony with the ideal conception of the heart:

What lacks, then, of perfection fit for God
But just the instance which this tale supplies
Of love without a limit? So is strength,
So is intelligence; let love be so,
Unlimited in its self-sacrifice,
Then is the tale true and God shows complete.[31]

But in the poet's later writings, where his intellectual agnosticism is most pronounced, he becomes extremely sceptical of any approach to religious truth through the exercise of reason.

Were knowledge all thy faculty, then God
Must be ignored; love gains him by first leap.[32]

In laying exclusive stress on love, he is inclined to regard the historical evidences of Christianity, not merely as unproven, but as embodying a narrative of events which are absolutely unconceivable from the point of view of reason. In the parable of *The Sun*, the intellect of Ferishtah's disciple is staggered by the notion that "God once assumed on earth a human shape." Wherefrom

What is to follow—if I take thy sense—
But that the sun—the inconceivable
Confessed by man—comprises, all the same,

[31] *Ibid.*, ll. 1362–1367. It is of interest to note that this is the identical argument used by Browning in the course of his conversation with Mrs. Orr in 1869. See pp. 27–28 of this article.

[32] *Ferishtah's Fancies—A Pillar at Sebzevar*, vv. 134–135.

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> Man's every-day conception of himself—
> No less remaining unconceived![33]

Nor does Ferishtah's answer offer any solution of the paradox. As a matter of fact he admits the intellectual contradiction of the doctrine of the Incarnation, but bids his pupil fall back on the intuitive response of the heart to such a faith.

> "How?
> An union inconceivable was fact?"
>
> "Son, if the stranger have convinced himself
> Fancy is fact—the sun, besides a fire,
> Holds earthly substance somehow fire pervades
> And yet consumes not—earth, he understands,
> With essence he remains a stranger to—
> Fitlier thou saidst 'I stand appalled before
> Conception unattainable by me
> Who need it most'. . . . . " (vv. 165–73)

Though the cry of Tennyson "I stretch weak hands of faith and grope" seems inadequate to express the invincible optimism of Browning's creed, "God! Thou art love! I build my faith on that," the pressure of the problems of the day drove Browning to a more sceptical theory of knowledge than even Tennyson ever contemplated. Yet the theoretical difficulties which the poet has conjured up by his denial of knowledge do not prevent his practical acceptance of the essential truths of Christianity. For, in Browning's eyes, the validity of the New Testament narrative is quite independent of a proof of its historical authenticity. Its warrant lies first in the fruitage of the life and teachings of Christ as a creative spiritual power operative in the lives of his disciples throughout the ages. From a study of the origins and documentary sources of Christianity, which his fear of the sophistries of reason and his dislike of the coldly rationalistic temper of Higher Criticism made him profoundly distrust, he appeals to Christian experience.

> It is the idea, the feeling and the love,
> God means mankind shall strive for and show forth
> Whatever be the process to that end—
> And not historic knowledge, logic sound,

[33] *Ferishtah's Fancies—The Sun*, vv. 139–143.

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> And metaphysical acumen, sure!
> "What think ye of Christ," friend? when all's done and said,
> Like you this Christianity or not?
> (*Bp. Blougram's Apology*, vv. 621–7.)

Sensitive, as an artist, to all that rich play of imagination and poetic sentiment which forms the mystic penumbra of Christian faith, his heart revolts at the devitalizing of it in the critical laboratory. In addition he sees, and in this is in accord with the ripest thought of today, that history can never say the last, or indeed the most important, word regarding such doctrines as the Incarnation and Crucifixion. That these truths, in their highest reaches, set aside temporal limitations and express the universal significance of God's love and self-sacrifice, as manifest in human experience, is a cardinal article of Browning's belief.

As a matter of fact, the doubts and uncertainties which the scrutiny of Biblical Criticism casts upon the New Testament story are frequently regarded by the poet as providentially arranged to give scope for the exercise of faith. They are like the apparent breaks in a mountain road, due to the imperfect vision of the traveller, which prove at last

> The most consummate of contrivances
> To train a man's eye, teach him what is faith? (vv. 206–7)

Regarding man's life on earth as a period of probation, and acutely conscious of the relativity and finiteness of his intelligence, Browning never ascribes to the historical evidences of Christianity an absolute value. Their authority is not inherent, but derived from the fact that they are a pendant to a larger revelation of the divine nature within the spirit of man. Paradoxical as it may seem, in view of his attitude towards Strauss, the words of the Tübingen critic in the preface to the first edition of the *Leben Jesu*, precisely state Browning's position; "The supernatural birth of Christ, his miracles, his resurrection and ascension, remain eternal truths, whatever doubts may be cast on their reality as historical facts." Nor does the analogy cease here. In Browning's constant wavering regarding the character of the evidences for Christianity enshrined in the gospel story, his doubt whether these are fact or fancy, history or fiction, reality or symbol, there is much that recalls the famous "mythical theory" of Strauss. The poet, however, by placing the whole subject beyond the pale of reason, avoids forcing the issue. That

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is to say, the vital thing, to him, is that the New Testament narrative supports the intuitive faith of his heart and harmonizes with that conception of God and his dealings grasped through personal experience.

In *A Death in the Desert*, *The Ring and the Book*, *Ferishtah's Fancies*, and *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance*, Browning constantly reiterates his conviction that the validity of the gospel story is independent of a proof of its historical character. In his greatest religious monologue, he makes the Pope refuse to pronounce on the historicity of the Christian tale handed down through the centuries, and even speaks as if this were a matter of indifference.

> . . . . whether a fact
> Absolute, abstract, independent truth,
> Historic, not reduced to suit man's mind—
> Or only truth reverberate, changed, made pass
> A spectrum into mind, the narrow eye,
> The same and not the same, else unconceived—
> Though quite conceivable to the next grade
> Above it in intelligence,—as truth
> Easy to man were blindness to the beast
> By parity of procedure,—the same truth
> In a new form, but changed in either case:
> What matter so intelligence be filled?
> . . . . . .
> . . . . so my heart be struck,
> What care I,—by God's gloved hand or the bare?[34]

In view of the relative and subordinate character assigned to it, the question arises, does the poet regard this temporally conditioned Christian story, hovering indeterminately between fact and fable, as having a permanent significance for humanity in its own right. Or is it merely a stepping stone to be dispensed with, when men have apprehended the absolute spiritual truth which the tale expresses in historical or symbolic guise. In connection with this query it should be noted that in *Christmas-Eve*, *Saul*, *The Ring and the Book*, and other religious poems, Browning has depicted characters who apprehend the essential nature of God's infinite love and self-sacrifice without the aid of a historical revelation. In *A Death in the Desert* St. John draws a distinction between his own spiritual vision of an eternal and ever

[34] *The Ring and the Book—The Pope*, ll. 1383 ff.

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present manifestation of God's being, and the feebler sight of those who, as he says,

> . . . . needs must apprehend what truth
> I see, reduced to plain historic fact,
> Diminished into clearness, proved a point
> And far away: ye would withdraw your sense
> From out eternity, strain it upon time,
> (*Death in the Desert*, vv. 235-9).

Here the poet makes the apostle of love the spokesman of the truth that the embodiment of spiritual realities in the gospel story brings these within the comprehension of the average man and woman. This conception of the adaptation of the historical life and death of Christ to the need and understanding of commom humanity, has been exquisitely voiced by Tennyson in *In Memorian*.

> For Wisdom dealt with mortal powers,
> Where truth in closest words shall fail,
> When truth embodied in a tale
> Shall enter in at lowly doors. (XXXVI, 5-8).

In summing up Browning's attitude towards the historical evidences of Christianity it must be borne in mind that, in conjunction with a spirit of romantic idealism which aspires towards the infinite, he has a very deep sense of the necessity of stooping to the limited and finite channels of human experience. To disdain or reject the revelations of truth, goodness, and beauty vouchsafed to man on earth, because they are relative or imperfect, is to attempt like Sordello to overleap the conditions of life. Therefore the poet considers the deflection of the absolute truth concerning God's nature, in passing through the prism of the gospel narrative, a means whereby it is fitted to the relative scale of man's faculties. By robing itself in the prismatic colours of imagery and symbol the Christian story captivates the heart, where the white radiance of absolute truth, like Lazarus's vision of heaven, would sear and blind through excess of light.

> . . . . Clouds obscure—
> But for which obscurations all were bright?
> Too hastily concluded! Sun-suffused,
> A cloud may soothe the eye made blind by blaze,—
> Better the very clarity of heaven;
> The soft streaks are the beautiful and dear.
> What but the weakness in a faith supplies

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> The incentive to humanity, no strength
> Absolute, irresistible comports?
> How can man love but what he yearns to help?
> And that which men think weakness within strength,
> But angels know for strength and stronger yet—
> What were it else but the first things made new,
> But repetition of the miracle,
> The divine instance of self-sacrifice
> That never ends and aye begins for man?[35]

Though the Incarnation is a stumbling block for the abstract reason, such a stooping of God to human ken is recognized by the heart as in exquisite harmony with the nature and function of love. This paradox is dramatically illustrated in *An Epistle of Karshish*, where the Arab physician, repelled by the intellectual difficulty of a belief in Christ's divinity, is, nevertheless, thrilled to the depths of his being by this representation of an infinite love submitting itself in the spirit of lowliness and self-sacrifice to the limitations of man's lot.

> The very God! think Abib; dost thou think?
> So, the All-Great, were the All-Loving too—
> So, thro' the thunder comes a human voice
> Saying, "O heart I made, a heart beats here!
> Face, my hands fashioned, see it in myself!
> Thou hast no power nor mayst conceive of mine:
> But love I gave thee, with myself to love,
> And Thou must love me who have died for thee!"
> (vv. 304-11).

In like manner, David attains to a prophetic vision of the Incarnation, through his realization of the tender humanity that lies at the heart of God, disclosing itself in a love stooping to conquer and triumphing in the midst of conflict and suffering.

> He who did most, shall bear most, the strongest shall stand the most weak.
> 'Tis the weakness in strength, that I cry for! my flesh that I seek
> In the Godhead! I seek and I find it. O Saul, it shall be
> A face like my face that receives thee; a Man like to me,
> Thou shalt love and be loved by, for ever: a Hand like this hand
> Shall throw open the gates of new life to thee! See the Christ stand![36]

[35] *The Ring and the Book—The Pope*, ll. 1637–1652.

[36] *Saul*, ll. 307–312. It is a strange travesty of Browning's thought in *Saul* to infer, as Gilbert Chesterton has done, that he regarded the Incarnation as proceeding from an envious desire of the Almighty to surpass his creature in sorrow and

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If proof were needed that Browning's sceptical theory of knowledge never shook his faith in the validity of the Christian revelation, it would be furnished by the fact that it is in his later works, where his intellectual agnosticism is so marked, that he feels most keenly the human worth of the gospel story of "Christ's cross and passion." The parables of Ferishtah revolve about the thought of God's condescension to human weakness, and the unfolding of his divine nature through relative, symbolic, means of representation adapted to the lowliness and finiteness of man. A still more striking illustration occurs in the *With Bernard De Mandeville* section in *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance*. Here, through the analogy of Prometheus confining the Sun's fire in a tube for the service of man, Browning lays stress upon the truth that a God whose perfection excludes all human attributes is for man a mere negation and abstraction. His experience of God, as distinguished from a definition of his absolute nature, must be that of a personal being, or, at least, one who includes within Himself the attributes which in humanity are bound up with personality. Before Prometheus brought fire from heaven to earth, man strove in vain to understand the nature of the Sun. But once a spark was obtained which men could use, then the Sun's self was made palpable. It is true that the fire thus won is "glass-conglobed," and narrowed to "a pin-point circle." Nevertheless it is "the very Sun in little," sharing its elemental nature,

> Comprising the Sun's self, but Sun disrobed
> Of that else-unconceived essential flame
> Borne by no naked sight.[37]

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self-denial and read into the Crucifixion the "tremendous story of a Divine jealousy." Were it not for the weight given to such a statement by the imprimatur of Mr. Chesterton, it would hardly seem needful to point out that the poet has no such monstrous paradox in mind. Rather, he is simply voicing a fundamental Christian idea connected with the Incarnation, that, since love at its highest contains an element of suffering and self-sacrifice, God's love must exceed man's in the manifestation of these qualities. Equally surprising is Mr. Chesterton's assertion that one of Browning's two great theories of the universe is what may be called "the hope that lies in the imperfection of God." This is to caricature the poet's view and invert its true perspective. So far from basing his argument for the necessity of the Incarnation on "the hope that lies in the imperfection of God," Browning bases it on the hope, or rather the assurance, that lies in the perfection of God and the infinite resources of his love. The conception of God which Chesterton represents Browning as holding is that which the poet himself ascribed to Caliban. Cf. G. K. Chesterton, *Robert Browning* (New York, 1903), p. 178.

[37] *Parleyings, etc.—With Bernard De Mandeville*, XI, 8–10. The Pope in *The*

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The myth of Prometheus is a symbol of Christ's revelation of God to man. As man is able to repeat the miracle of the Titan by using the flame once won, so the concentration of the fire of divine love in the person of Christ enables man to repeat the miracle of the Incarnation. He too achieves a creative type of personality informed by and radiating the sovereign energies of God's love. In this way he satisfies the deepest instinct of his being.

> I solely crave that one of all the beams
> Which do Sun's work in darkness, at my will
> Should operate—myself for once have skill
> To realize the energy which streams
> Flooding the universe.[38]

Yet, along with this perception of the human worth and significance of the life and death of Christ as set forth in the New Testament, the poet believes that the partial gleams of God's infinite love, discerned through the prism of history and symbol, are meant to "sting with hunger for full light." The task of man, while not disdaining the props of earth, is to unceasingly correct and enlarge his relative vision of truth, so that it may approximate, ever more closely, to an absolute and spiritual conception of God's being. In this connection, Browning suggests that criticism of

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Ring and the Book, voices the complement of this faith, from the human side, when he avows that man's perception of God must be conditioned by the finiteness of his faculties.

> "O Thou,—as represented here to me
> In such conception as my soul allows—
> Under Thy measureless, my atom width!—
> Man's mind, what is it but a convex glass
> Wherein are gathered all the scattered points
> Picked out of the immensity of sky,
> To reunite there, be our heaven for earth,
> Our known unknown, our God revealed to man?
> Existent somewhere, somehow, as a whole;
> Here, as a whole proportioned to our sense,—
> There, (which is nowhere, speech must babble thus!)
> In the absolute immensity, the whole
> Appreciable solely by Thyself,—
> Here, by the little mind of man, reduced
> To littleness that suits his faculty
> In the degree appreciable too
> Between Thee and ourselves" (*The Pope*, vv. 1308–24).

[38] *Ibid.*, X, 43–47.

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the traditional record and report of Christ's life may be necessary to prevent men from looking upon the historical revelation of Christianity as final and absolute.

Pope Innocent XII is represented as hearing "whispers of time to come" when, as he declares, an age of doubt will "shake this torpor of assurance from our creed." As Christianity shattered the beliefs of paganism, so it may be needful to shatter faith in an infallible Christian record to avert the danger of substituting the historically conditioned, and therefore relative, conception of God's love enshrined there, for its absolute content.

> As we broke up that old faith of the world,
> Have we, next age, to break up this the new—
> Faith in the thing, grown faith in the report—
> Thence need to bravely disbelieve report
> Through increased faith i' the thing reports belie?
> . . . . . .
> Correct the portrait by the living face,
> Man's God, by God's God in the mind of man?[39]

Yet, while the trying and testing of Christianity in the crucible of rationalistic criticism may ultimately lead to an enlargement of faith, Browning takes pains to point out that Pope Innocent would have been repelled had he foreseen the ruthless iconoclasm that the age of reason was to let loose upon the world.

> If he thought doubt would do the next age good,
> 'Tis pity he died unapprised what birth
> His reign may boast of, be remembered by—
> Terrible Pope, too, of a kind,—Voltaire.[40]

I have reserved the *Epilogue* to *Dramatis Personæ* for final consideration, because in it Browning has practically dropped his dramatic disguise to state the essence of his faith in the divinity of Christ. Moreover, he contrasts his own belief with the points of view of two great movements, Tractarianism and Higher Criticism, which were agitating the religious life and thought of mid-Victorian England. Surveying the tendencies of his day in matters of faith, the poet sees men driven by various winds of doctrine towards the Scylla of formalism on the one hand, and the Charybdis of scepticism on the other. The first speaker of

[39] *The Ring and the Book—The Pope*, ll. 1858–1862 and 1867–1868.

[40] *The Ring and the Book—The Book and the Ring*, ll. 775–778. Innocent XII became Pope in 1691; Voltaire was born in 1694.

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the *Epilogue*, represented as David, dwells upon the manifestation of God's presence in a sensuous and material form within the precincts of the temple at Jerusalem. That Browning, under the symbolic guise of the Old Testament dispensation, is here alluding to the sacerdotalism and legalism of the Oxford Movement and the Church of Rome, has been convincingly shown by Professor Kirkconnell in his article on the *Epilogue* to *Dramatis Personæ*.[41]

In a more general way, the poet criticises the dogmatic materialism which would regard as final a revelation of God localized in place and time, or confuse a symbolic and sensuous representation, adapted to man's childhood, with a spiritual perception of the absolute qualities of the divine nature.

Renan, the second speaker, typifies the negative, rationalistic temper of continental Biblical Criticism in the eighteen-sixties. This division of the *Epilogue* centres about the thought that Higher Criticism, as exemplified by Renan, leads to a denial of a historical revelation of God's being in the person of Christ. The rays of that star which once shone out upon the world, so that men discerned God through the semblance of a human face, now contract and vanish. In addition, the loss of faith in this illusion is accompanied by a sceptical attitude towards all revelation. As a consequence, God is "lost in the night at last." He becomes a vague unknowable, whose abstract and infinite being is beyond human ken.

In the opening lines of the third part of the *Epilogue*, Browning, abandoning dramatic disguise, criticises the traditional and sceptical points of view set forth in the preceding sections of the poem.

> Witless alike of will and way divine,
> How heaven's high with earth's low should intertwine!
> Friends, I have seen thro' your eyes: now use mine!
> (vv. 65–67).

The lines that follow present a spiritual conception of the relation between God and man which is akin to St. John's exposition of Christianity in *A Death in the Desert*. The revelation of God is not limited to temple courts, nor to a chosen people. Neither is it dependent upon a single historical event. Rather, God is eternally manifesting himself throughout the whole scheme of

[41] *Mod. L. Notes*, XLI (1926), 213–219.

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the visible creation and the heart of man. In particular, his divine providence is revealed in the way in which the multitudinous play of outward circumstances is all directed to the supreme end of fashioning character and the development of individual personality. Thus, as the third speaker reflects on the manner of God's self-manifestation, temporal symbols expand and give place to eternal verities:

> Why, where's the need of Temple, when the walls
> O' the world are that? (vv. 95-96).

In *A Death in the Desert*, St John had pointed out that the contemplation of divine love "reduced to plain historic fact" in the story of Christ's life and death, should lead men on to the realization of the universal revelation of God's love in human experience:

> Then stand before that fact, that Life and Death,
> Stay there at gaze, till it dispart, dispread,
> As tho' a star should open out, all sides,
> Grow the world on you, as it is my world (vv. 240-3).

So, as the third speaker in the *Epilogue* to *Dramatis Personæ* gazes on the face of Christ, instead of beholding it withdraw from man's ken and disappear in the dark, it becomes an object of infinite personal significance:

> That one Face, far from vanish, rather grows,
> Or decomposes but to recompose,
> Become my universe that feels and knows (vv. 98-100).

How intimately these lines record Browning's own religious belief concerning the person of Christ, is shown by his comment to Mrs. Orr after reading them to her: "That Face, is the face of Christ. That is how I feel him."[42]

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[42] Cited from Mrs. Orr's article, "The Religious Opinions of Robert Browning," *The Contemporary Review*, Dec. 1891, p. 880.

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XXV

A RECENT THEORY OF BALLAD-MAKING

PROFESSOR GORDON HALL GEROULD'S article entitled "The Making of Ballads"[1] is an attractive essay, written in the fluent and polished manner that we are accustomed to expect from this scholar. It has charm of style, and its positions, taken as a whole, may be termed accepted positions. Because of its literary quality, because it brings together in one paper what has hitherto been stressed in scattered places, and because of its appreciation of the poetical quality of those English and Scottish ballads sought out by the notable collectors of the earlier nineteenth century and made available in the volumes of Professor Child, the paper has real value for the student. That "The Making of Ballads" is a research article, the product of painstaking investigation, Professor Gerould would not, I think, himself maintain. He is a literary theorist in the realm of traditional song, rather than an experienced field worker or a practical folk-lorist. He brings forward little that has novelty for the special scholar. This circumstance would call for no particular comment except for the fact that the paper has been announced as new and subversive—as something independent of old theories. It has been referred to by several scholars as "The Gerould Theory of Ballad Origins." The author himself leads us to expect something revolutionary when he asks us to—

> dismiss from our minds, for the time being, our preconceived and well-buttressed theories as to the narrative lyrics we call ballads; forget, if we can, our arguments; and . . . . look at certain . . . . indisputable phenomena of the ballad. Oddly enough, though they are perfectly well known, they have been much neglected. Very rarely has their existence been noticed in writings on the ballads, while never, I believe, has their true significance been fully recognized.

In view of the claims made for it, it seems in place to examine the article carefully, to ask what is its content and what are its conclusions. In the first place, what are those overlooked characteristics on which Professor Gerould's argument is to be based?

The author remarks in his opening pages that ballads have a profusion of widely different versions, and that they still cir-

[1] *Mod. Phil.* XXI, 15 ff.

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culate in unlettered communities. He believes that the fact of their variation is familiar to all but that the nature of their variation has been passed over in silence. Yet this is the phenomenon, he finds, that throws the clearest light on ballad making. Ballads do degenerate. Oral tradition fails to represent the original without change. There are many versions.

> What may legitimately surprise us, however, ... is the large number of ballads of which more than one excellent version have been brought to light. I beg you who are ballad lovers to consider this phenomenon carefully. . . . . The point is that there is the widest discrepancy among what we may call "good" versions of popular ballads; a fact that has never been emphasized, even though you and I have always known it.

Professor Gerould quotes for illustration two stanzas from "The Wife of Usher's Well," the first from Scott, whose texts are always poetical, and the second from Kinloch, also a collector who specialized in good or pleasing texts. He thinks it surprising that the second stanza is independently good, not a distorted reflection of the first. His next step is to ask us to take the several versions of such a ballad as "The Wife of Usher's Well" and try to reconstruct from them a composite original. It will be found that the variants cannot be satisfactorily fitted together. All the pieces cannot be used. A composite cannot be made that will embody everything good without wrecking the narrative structure.

Does this generalization seem novel to Professor Gerould? Probably not. Folk-lorists have long known that it is true in all times and places for any song or bit of folk-lore that had good elements in it in the first place or was handed on by those from whose background of lore it could gain improving incrustations. Anything in folk-tradition takes multiple forms, songs, ballads, carols, dance songs, tales, proverbs—lore of all kinds. Whether they add good or debasing elements depends upon who preserves them and where and at what time they are preserved. That orally transmitted songs assume the color of their surroundings, domesticate themselves in their new environment and accommodate themselves to the background, regional and individual, of their singers has been demonstrated many times for many people and many places.[2]

[2] See works like *Jamaican Song and Story*, edited by Walter Jekyl, 1907, Old World songs preserved among the Southwestern cowboys, white songs among the Negroes, etc. An example of an originally "good" piece bequeathing good elements to its progeny is "O Bury Me not in the Deep Deep Sea," from which come the many attractive texts of "O Bury Me not on the Lone Prairie."

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We come next to a pivotal paragraph.

> Why should these things be? If, on the one hand, a ballad text is nothing but an orally preserved copy of a narrative poem made by some anonymous bard of uncertain date, how can there be in existence several more or less mutually exclusive versions, all of them with merits of their own? Something must be wrong with the theory, for by misquotation merely, fine poetry, it may safely be said, has never been achieved. No: variant texts of differing lengths, in which the same story is told with irreconcilable divergences of incident and phrase, yet finely told, can scarcely be the flotsam of a poetic wreck. Some better explanation must be found.

Professor Child may have had the truth in mind, thinks Professor Gerould, but neither Professor Gummere nor Professor Kittredge nor Professor Frank Sidgwick has given the proper solution. None of these scholars considered sufficiently, he thinks, the phenomena of textual differences. There may be mutually inclusive versions, all having merit as lyrical narratives, but they cannot be put together without scrapping the virtues of the several variants. An "original" cannot be reconstructed from them. Surely this is a safe generalization. There are few or no scholars that would hold of a song in popular tradition, the history of which has been lost, that an authentic original could be reconstructed from its multiple texts. For my own part I am inclined to question how far any of the various scholars mentioned would find the premises or the conclusions of "The Making of Ballads" unfamiliar.

> The point is that . . . . they [the variations] are inexplicable by anything that requires us to believe in the ballad as a fixed entity and to view the variants as mere corruptions. All versions that have been collected from folk-singers have equal authority, though one may be very noble and one very base. The ballad does not exist . . . . except in its variants.

This is well said but not for the first time. The underlying thought may seem new to the author of the article but it does not to others. It has been assumed by most practical collectors of folk-song for many years. Surely Professor Child did not believe that his texts could be pieced together into one authentic original text, of which the variants he gathered were mere corruptions. He may have printed the best or the oldest texts first, but he prints many texts when he has them, and on an equal footing. But whatever Professor Child did or did not believe, Professor

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Gerould would have less confidence in the novelty of his positions had he read John Meier's work, printed as far back as 1906.[3] The core of his doctrine is:

Als Volkspoesie werden wir daher diejenige Poesie bezeichnen dürfen, die im Munde des Volkes—Volk im weitesten Sinn genommen—lebt, bei der aber das Volk nichts von individuellen Anrechten weiss oder empfindet, und der gegenüber es, jeder einzelne im einzelnen Falle, eine unbedingt autoritäre und herrschende Stellung einnimmt.

He might well have read also the articles of Phillips Barry[4] in *Modern Language Notes* and in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*. In one article Mr. Barry defines a ballad as a "theme" treated in many ways in many texts. Elsewhere he defines a ballad as of "individual creation" plus "communal re-creation." Certainly he does not think of it as a fixed entity. He gives no one text priority over another unless he is comparing chronologically later texts with an original still in existence. For my own part I have never held at any time that orally transmitted texts could be pieced together into an authentic original, nor have I thought of a folk-ballad as a fixed entity. In my *American Ballads and Songs* (1922) I wrote: "Traditional pieces, handed on orally from mouth to mouth, are in a state of flux. They have no standard form but are continually changing. . . . . Criteria of *origin* for genuine folk-song have no dependability." Professor Gerould has gone a long way around to arrive at something that most scholars who are not arm-chair theorists but practical collectors would have conceded without discussion.

This explains what, I think, cannot be accounted for in any other way; the amazing variety in ballad texts.

This variety is not amazing to folk-lorists, but is taken for granted. Nothing else is to be expected when there is preservation in popular tradition. The expression "communal re-creation" as over against the old doctrine of "communal creation" has been employed to account for and to describe it, as by Phillips Barry. I have used it in the past to describe the multiplication of texts in

[3] *Kunstlied und Volkslied in Deutschland*, Halle, 1906, pp. 12-26, especially p. 14. This work is a reprint, according to its preface, of articles that appeared in 1898.

[4] "An American Homiletic Ballad," *Modern Language Notes*, 1913; "The Origin of Folk Melodies," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1910; "The Transmission of Folk-Song," ibid., 1914; "William Carter," *ibid.*, 1912, etc.

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folk-transmission. Later I discarded it,[5] for the reason that the epithet "communal" has no real validity. The oral re-creation of texts is by a succession of individual hands, not by a community. One singer in a community makes one set of changes, another makes another set. The same singer does not always sing a song in the same way or with the same words. There is no community text but many shifting texts in the mouths of many singers. And such refashioning resulting in a variety of texts is not distinctive of ballads, as Professor Gerould seems to imply. It is to be expected of anything that enters into oral tradition. Folk-lorists everywhere have recognized the variety and the "equal authenticity" of such variants.

Let us take the next step, which follows from this quite logically, and let us take it quite without regard to our theories as to ballad origins. If the ballad be considered not as a single text, which has suffered various alterations good and bad, but as a group of versions, collected and uncollected, which have circulated in oral tradition, it becomes clear that any ultimate or original text is not only undiscoverable but comparatively unimportant. In whatever way the ballad originated, that is, it would be submitted to the same processes of remaking, once it came into popular favor. Provided it were in the suitable rhythm, a poem of sophisticated origin might well, it seems to me, have a long history as a ballad, alongside another poem that had sprung crude and simple from the excitement of a rural festival. Both narratives would pass under the same set of influences, would be dominated by the same musical and poetic traditions.

"Grant this"—there is nothing new in conceding it—"and the old quarrel between communalists and individualists seems absurd. Why dispute about the origin of ballads if it is what happens to them in their diffusion that really matters?"[6] Have we not to do with an instance of *non sequitur* here? Surely it is of value to inquire how songs taken up in popular tradition originated, so long as false ideas of their composition are upheld and repeated, and so long as the ideal of scholarship remains the quest for truth. It is not very long ago that Professor Gerould, terming himself

[5] "The Term: 'Communal,'" *PMLA*, XXXIX (1924), 440-454.

[6] Compare my "To most lovers of traditional verse, the source of a song seems a negligible matter. The problem of its origin is of little interest except to the specialist. The fact of popular transmission and the circumstance that generations of singers have contributed to its modification, curtailment, or expansion, lend it attraction." *American Ballads and Songs*, 1922, p. xxiii.

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a communalist and a critic of the individualist position, felt that the question of origins *did* matter and pronounced those "fatuous" who did not hold as he did. Both questions have importance for the scholar: first, how folk-songs originate (they originate not in the one "communal" way once assumed for "pure folk-song" but in many ways); and, second, what happens to them after they have started on their course in popular tradition. In a following paragraph Professor Gerould sums up his conclusions.

> I fail to see how it is possible to escape the conclusion that in certain regions, long before the beginning of popular education, there developed a tradition of poetic utterance that enhanced the powers common to most illiterate folk and made an extraordinary number of persons capable of putting into noble form such tales as they chose to sing. . . . . For a few happy centuries, it appears, the men and women of the countryside lived under such conditions that they could not only preserve in good form but actually improve the stories they sang to traditional melodies. . . . . This is no mystical doctrine. There was a tradition of good music and good poetry by which the unlettered peasant was so affected that he did not mar but rather make the ballads that he knew.

A few statements here probably need qualification or modification. For one thing "in certain centuries" and "long before the beginning of popular education" are too vague. The author probably means the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, from which most of the Child texts were recovered. Next, the "powers common to most illiterate folk" are probably mythical. Even primitive peoples have their professional bards. Alexander Keith[7] states matters more accurately when he writes that folk-songs are usually recovered from a few people with especially good memories. All collectors know that the illiterate have not especial powers. The collector must go to selected people for his best texts. Sometimes it is an unlettered person that has the excellent memory, and sometimes it is a lettered person. In general, during the period when the English and Scottish ballads had the greatest vitality, some singers may have improved the texts that they knew, while others may have marred them, much as folk-singers do at present. James Rankin's garrulous versions of Buchan's ballads may, for all we know, actually have better represented the general popular tendencies in transmitting ballads

[7] Introduction of Gavin Greig's *Last Leaves of Traditional Ballads and Ballad Airs*. (Publications of the University of Aberdeen, 1925).

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than did the versions of special persons on whom the great collectors of the early nineteenth century relied. Professor Gerould would do well to work through the volumes of the Child collection in order to examine what proportion of them can be proved to have come from illiterates. The Child ballads are mainly from manuscripts, from cultivated persons like Mrs. Brown of Falkland, a professor's wife, from Sir Walter Scott, who retouched what he transmitted into poetry, and from the great collectors, who also specialized in the most lyrical texts that they could lay their hands on. Texts from manuscripts are obviously not directly from the illiterate, and the earlier Child texts come necessarily from manuscripts. The later texts are mostly selected texts, the best available, coming often from exceptional persons. The nineteenth century collected and preserved what had special appeal for it, first establishing definite criteria of selection. The twentieth century collects and preserves with a minimum of selection the bad as well as the good, and structureless songs and fragments as well as narrative songs or ballads.

The last pages of "The Making of Ballads" are devoted to a contrast between Appalachian versions of the English and Scottish ballads and the Child versions of earlier date. The degeneration of the American versions is clear. It might be added that there is degeneration also, though in less degree, in Greig's Aberdeenshire versions, from the twentieth century, of the texts of ballads preserved by the great collectors of the nineteenth century. Professor Gerould's final positions are: first, that the ballad as a poem has submitted to processes of moulding under the influence of a definite tradition of music and verse-making, and no sharp division need be drawn among ballads thus formed; and, second, that the day of the best balladry has past. The new ballads cannot equal the old because the tradition of song making has decayed.

In the view of the present writer both positions are valid but not new. The first should be enlarged (though we limit our consideration to English ballads) in order to recognize that there were a number of different traditions moulding ballads of different types, not only within the Child ballads but for ballads that Child's criteria did not let him take into account at all. That no sharp divisions as to origins need be made among ballads is a conception familiar since John Meier. The second generalization, that the day of the best balladry has passed, would be contested by none. It is what Professor Kittredge meant when he said that

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"ballad-making is a closed account." It *is* a closed account for ballads of the Child type. Just as our present stage songs are inferior in poetical quality to the Elizabethan stage songs and our play-party songs of modern origin inferior to those handed down in tradition, so our present popular ballads lack, most of them, the old fine lyrical qualities. Fifteenth and sixteenth century popular song on the text side, not only ballads but pure lyrics, had a special manner that gives it high place. It is trite to point out that Scotch song from the fifteenth century onward had distinct superiority over song of the corresponding types in Southern England. The special attractiveness of Elizabethan song and of Scotch folk-poetry has been emphasized in too many histories of English literature and by too many class-room teachers to need reiteration. In view, then, of the high quality of fifteenth and sixteenth century lyrics when compared to nineteenth and twentieth century popular song, why should any one be surprised at the large number of excellent texts coming out of Scotland and finding preservation in nineteenth-century ballad collections? Would the student of folk-song expect anything else, when looking over the Child volumes, or expect later traditions in popular song to have the same appeal?

I did not feel that I was remarking anything especially new when I wrote in 1914[8]:

> To the present writer it seems a mistake to make style standard-giving in a collection of folk-song. There are many who seem to hold as standard-giving the style prevailing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: all songs conforming to these in tone and diction are "genuine"; all others spurious. . . . . When we contrast the older and the newer in folk-song it becomes obvious that the superiority for persistence in the popular mouth belongs to the former; nor is this to be wondered at. The older singer composed for the ear; otherwise his work was vain. The newer writes for the eye, both words and music; instead of professional musicians we now have printing. Skill in creating memorable songs is more likely to characterize the first type than the second. Much in modern song is unsingable and unrememberable; no one can expect it to make a deep impression on the popular mind. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries poets, whatever their class, were likely to be singers too. If we approach popular song from the side of musical history, it is clear enough that contributions to folk-song should be especially rich at a time when the

[8] *Folk-Song of Nebraska and the Central West: a Syllabus.* Publications of the Nebraska Academy of Sciences. 1915.

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connection between composition and delivery was very close. In the sixteenth century, song was as nearly universalized as it is likely to be for a long time to come. Some musical proficiency was demanded of nearly everybody, whether belonging to the upper classes or the lower.

Acknowledgment that the period of the English renaissance had the more memorable style in folk-song is not the same thing however as acknowledgment that only such folk-songs as conform to this style are "genuine." The making of popular ballads is not a "closed account," though the making of ballads or songs in the older and more memorable style may be.

Once more, Professor Gerould's paper on "The Making of Ballads" is an excellent essay and it deserves to be read attentively by ballad students. It presents matters that it was well to bring together. But I think it regrettable that he did not take into account the fact that most of the ideas he advances were held by his predecessors. Few, I think, among the leading ballad scholars of the present day would have failed to concede his leading positions before his article was written.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

6. *THE DRINKING ACADEMY* AND ITS ATTRIBUTION TO THOMAS RANDOLPH

Mr. Cyrus L. Day,[1] in seeking to establish the authorship of the anonymous play entitled *The Drinking Academy or The Cheaters' Holiday*,[2] produces a crowd of close verbal correspondences between *The Drinking Academy* and the plays of Randolph, especially *The Jealous Lovers*, and suggests that the play was written by Randolph in 1626 or soon after, for performance at Trinity College, Cambridge, and is perhaps identical with the lost play *The Prodigall Scholar*, attributed to Randolph in 1660. He disputes Professor Rollins' contentions that the manuscript is in the handwriting of the author and that it is necessarily of the time of James I (*ob.* 1625).

Both Mr. Day's and Professor Rollins' contributions are of very great interest, at least to myself, and a few comments on them, though inconclusive, may not be out of place.

I. Professor Rollins' view that the manuscript is in the author's hand seems to rest entirely on the fact that the manuscript has numerous deletions with a better reading written above the line. Mr. Day has shown that these corrections might well have been made by a scribe, going over his work with a better copy than he had originally, or assisted by the author. There are also, I think, errors in the text which would hardly have been made by the author. Thus in the play Pluto (l. 71) and Plutus (ll. 679, 680, etc.) are correctly discriminated. But in the list of 'Persons' we have 'Pluto the God of riches.' This could hardly have been written by the author. At l. 133, if Professor Rollins has read the MS. correctly, we have 'brode over your mouldy bags and hark more money' where 'hark' should clearly be 'hach' (='hatch'). (Cp. l. 470 'fech.' At l. 194 Professor Rollins says that 'for he,' which is required by the sense, might be read as 'forke'). At l. 45, 'out ore both the Indies,' should be 'out vie' (a favorite word of Randolph's, by the way). The speech beginning l. 664 should be assigned to Bidstand, not Shrike.

These, and many more errors and misspellings seem not to come from the author. It is hard to imagine a man of classical attainments writing 'Cupit.'

I add a few notes on other points in the text.

l. 235. Simple says that 'privy' is a stinking word to apply to a lady, and that 'a Cosen Jones' is 'chantiar' (? 'chaster' or 'daintier') by half. 'Cousin Joan's' was probably a current euphemism for a privy.

[1] *PMLA*, XLIII, 800–809.

[2] First printed by Professor Hyder Rollins (*PMLA*, XXXIX (1924) 837–871) from a MS then belonging to Mr. W. A. White. Professor Rollins held that the manuscript was in the handwriting of the author and that the play was intended for performance, perhaps at Reading (cf. line 263), by amateurs, possibly schoolboys.

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l. 263 'had I my nets in reading.' I think the author wrote 'in readiness.

l. 370 'if' for it'.'

l. 380 'to to' = 'too to.'

l. 504 'woolicke' ('perhaps *worlicke*'). No doubt for 'warlike.'

l. 546 'I have scrach'd out vre a diuice I would say.' The N. E. D. has no word 'vre' except in the phase 'in vre.' Read, 'a lr̄e' (letter).

l. 622 '3 cropt,' probably '3 [times] cropt.'

It is not necessary to discuss Professor Rollins' reasons for considering the play to have been composed in the reign of James I. He has clearly now changed his position, having discovered, as Mr. Day informs us, that *The Drinking Academy* owes something to Jonson's *Staple of News* which was produced about February 1626, though not printed till 1631.

II. If, then, we are free to believe that the play might have been written after 1625, that it has no connection with Reading, and that our MS. is not in the hand of the author, we are ready to give a sympathetic hearing to Mr. Cyrus L. Day. We can at once congratulate him on a brilliant paper which carries us far forward towards solving the problems of the play. Thanks to his intimacy with Randolph's work and his good memory, he has been able to point out a surprising number of lines in *The Drinking Academy* which are identical with, or very similar to, lines of Randolph's,[3] especially in *The Jealous Lovers*. How are these coincidences to be explained? Did Randolph first write *The Drinking Academy* and later borrow his own phrases? Did he write the play after the *Jealous Lovers* and use again phrases he had used there? Did some other playwright in writing *The Drinking Academy* crib from Randolph? In adopting the first of these theories as against the others, I think Mr. Day has made the right choice. It is hard to imagine a plagiarist borrowing phrases of Randolph's from a number of different sources. The lines to Shirley, apart from their appearance in a Shirley quarto, appeared first in 1640, *The Muses Looking Glass* in 1638. If *The Drinking Academy* is the work of anyone but Randolph, its date must be much later than the date which other evidence suggests. And the plagiarist must have had Randolph's intimacy with the works of

[3] One coincidence of expression is very puzzling. We have in *The Drinking Academy* ll. 627–629, 'tho the rosmary were dip'd [Cp. Herrick, '*Come set we under yonder tree*' l. 25: 'we'll draw lots who shall buy and gild the bays and rosemary'—for a wedding]. The wedding dinner prepared nay tho your hands were ioyn'd and you had say'd I Ihon take ffrancis.' Similarly in the lines *Upon a Hermaphrodite* included in the 1640 edition of Randolph's poems, we have 'The Nuptial sound, I John take Frances' (Hazhtt p. 642). But unfortunately, this poem was claimed by Cleveland and is considered to be his. The Prayerbook has (I N. take thee M.' It is hard to see how Cleveland can have got the formula from the play, unless the play was indeed acted at Trinity and he saw it there. He came up to Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1627. Perhaps the names John and Frances had become popularly associated with the marriage formula.

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Jonson. But if *The Drinking Academy* and *The Jealous Lovers* are both Randolph's, there can be no doubt which play borrowed from the other. *The Jealous Lovers* was published in the latter part of 1632: it is inconceivable that Randolph should have afterwards produced a play which borrows from it as freely as *The Drinking Academy* does.

On the other hand, if *The Drinking Academy* was lying on the poet's hands in manuscript, it was a natural thing to pillage it for happy phrases when the poet found himself called upon at short notice to produce a play for representation before the King and Queen. I have already suggested (*Thomas Randolph*, 1927, pp. 24, 25) that the same emergency led to Randolph's borrowing from another of his plays which was later completed after his death by Richard Brathwait and published as *Cornelianum Dolium*. Accordingly, in spite of some difficulties, I accept Mr. Day's view that *The Drinking Academy* was written by Randolph some years before *The Jealous Lovers*.

When, however, Mr. Day assumes that in that case the play was written for the amusement of the poet's fellow-students at Trinity, some doubt arises. The play has its setting in London and there are none of those allusions to Cambridge and Cambridge life which are so abundant in others of Randolph's plays.

I cannot help wondering if any clue to the genesis of the play is to be found in the cryptic prologue, on which Mr. Day does not touch. The dramatist writes that 'articles of treason have bin brought to Apollo against him. The least of which his accusers count capital. The chiefest crime and for w^{ch} Apollo hath for euer banish'd him the company of the thrice three learned sisters (so that he can never hope againe to mount Pegasus and make him curuet Caprials of nonsence) is that since the honoure done him to be listed in the sacred tribe of Apollo he hath bin more a coniurer than a poet and conversed more with the furies than the muses.' What is the 'honoure done him?' If Randolph is speaking, surely it must be his admission to the tribe of Ben about 1628. And does what follows imply that, as it was thought, the result had been to turn him from a poet into a haunter of the Devil Tavern?

Further. One is a little surprised at the unexplained introduction of 'the temple' in l. 145. At the Devil Tavern Randolph would meet many Templers. Did he write this play at the request of some of them for performance in one of the halls of the Inns of Court?

Mr. Day's suggestion that the lost play *The Prodigall Scholar* may well have been *The Drinking Academy* seems to me highly plausible.

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7. "T. GOODAL" IN *SIR THOMAS MORE*

After reading Dr. Tannenbaum's recent article, "More about the Booke of *Sir Thomas Moore*" (*PMLA*, Sept. 1928), I re-examined the

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marginal note 'Mess T Goodal' on fol. 14ᵃ (not 13ᵃ as Dr. Tannenbaum says) in company with an official of the British Museum. We had no difficulty in satisfying ourselves that forgery is out of the question.

The ink used in these words is identical with that in which the rest of the addition is written. It is inconceivable that a modern forger should have imitated the old ink so perfectly, especially ink of this yellowish brown colour.

The paper hereabouts has in the course of time, become a good deal discoloured with dust, and if part of the writing were under the stain and part over, the difference would be immediately apparent.

The awkwardness and uncertainty in the formation of the words are easily accounted for by the conditions of writing. I suppose that the scribe first wrote the additional passage, and then, while this was still wet, attempted to prefix the note indicating the actor. This would necessitate his writing without support for the hand, whence the erratic forms of the letters. We must not forget that Elizabethan scribes had not the modern convenience of blotting paper, and that even sand appears to have been little used.

I certainly suspect that Collier tried his hand on this manuscript and attempted to write in the name of an actor on fol. 3ᵇ. But, if so, it makes it all the more impossible to suppose that the note on fol. 14ᵃ is his. For the name 'Lanehā'—if that is indeed the correct reading—at once attracts attention by the modern appearance of the ink and the suspicious nature of the writing. To suppose that the forger who perpetrated this clumsy failure was also responsible for the 'Mess T Goodal' is fantastic.

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8. THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE ARTS

Since the appearance of my article "Artist-Authors" in the *Germanic Review* of October, 1928,[1] I have come upon the following passage in Carr's *Papers on Art*. Voicing, as it does, my own point of view, it may serve as a supplementary note to my previous discussion. The passage which I have in mind is the following:

"All the strength of our [English] Renaissance found expression in our literature, and we are left to guess who, among the earlier poets of our school, might, under different conditions of national life, have become great imaginative painters. I know not if it is only a fancy, but I have sometimes thought that in the author of the "Fairy Queen" there dwelt the soul of a painter; and in the precise and ordered pattern of his verse, so richly and so lovingly adorned with the description of all that might give delight to the eye, we have enshrined a series of visions that might,under other conditions, have found their way on to fresco or canvas" (p. 106).

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[1] See also *Erratum* in the January (1929) issue of the *Germanic Review*, p. 103; for several other errors in the original article I was likewise in no way responsible.

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XXVI

ON THE AUTHOR OF THE *ANCREN RIWLE*

I. *HIS IDENTITY*

IN A previous paper, "The Origin of the *Ancren Riwle*,"[1] I showed that a remarkable series of coincidences would seem to prove that the *Ancren Riwle*[2] was written for the three "puellae" (Emma, Christina, and Gunhilda), to whom the hermitage of Kilburn, together with land and three corrodies, was granted by the abbot and convent of Westminster *c.* 1134.[3] Their house was described in the foundation charter as "heremitorium de Cuneburna, quod aedificavit Godwynus," and it was given to the three young women "concessu tamen, atque precatu illius Godwyni heremitae, quatinus eundem locum qui ad illum pertinet in elemosina pro redemptione animarum totius praedicti conventus fratrum possideant." The gift was made, not only to the three maidens in question, but "omnibus illis quae inibi eadem sanctitatis vitae norma fruendi causa futurae sunt." Godwin, who had evidently instigated the establishment, was to oversee it: "Sit ille praescriptus heremita Godwynus, magister loci, illarumque puellarum quamdiu vixerit custos. Et post ejus obitum eligat conventus puellarum seniorem ydoneum, qui earum ecclesiae praesit, abbatis tamen concilio." Some further information as to the nucleus of Kilburn Priory is given us by Prior Flete of Westminster in the fifteenth century.[4] He writes of Abbot Herebert: "Iste fundavit cellam canonissarum de Kilborn, ubi prius quidam nomine Godwinus heremiticam multo tempore ducebat vitam. . . . statuit tres virgines Deo sacratas, domicellas videlicet camerae Matildis bonae reginae, consortis regis Henrici primi."

[1] *PMLA*, XXXIII, 474–546 (constantly referred to here as "my article").

[2] Ed. Morton, Camden Soc., 1853.

[3] See Dugdale, *Monasticon*, London, 1821, III, 422 sq., where the charters here quoted are printed.

[4] *Notes and Documents relating to Westminster Abbey*, No. 2, Cambridge, 1909, p. 87-8.

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I pointed out in my former article (pp. 486–7), without entering into the subject fully, that the author of the *Riwle* is almost certainly the master of the anchorage, though no explicit statement is given to that effect. The author says in regard to what he calls the most important matter of external discipline: "Nullich þat no mon iseo ou bute he habbe leaue speciale of ower meistre" (p. 56); perhaps his silence elsewhere as to the master comes from the extreme modesty which he shows throughout, and is itself a sign that the master for the time is writing. I pointed out in my former article (p. 487) that the following (used by the author to introduce his discussion of the more minute matters of discipline) may give a hint of his authoritative relation to the sisters: "Ne non ne write ich ham, buten ou one. Ich sigge þis forði þet oðre ancren ne sigge nout þet ich, þuruh mine meistrie, makie ham neowe riwlen" (p. 410). He has said at the beginning: "ȝe, mine leoue sustren, habbeð moni dai iremd on me efter riwle" (p. 2), and since we are given the positive assurance that the three anchoresses live under a master, to whom but to him would they continually apply for a rule?

Another passage may supply a hint that the author and the anchoresses live as brother and sisters together in one religious community (after a fashion not uncommon in the twelfth century, when double orders were being founded on every side). We read in the printed edition (p. 8): "Þe þinges þet ich write her of ðe vttre riwle ȝe ham holdeð alse mine leoue sustren (*as* my dear sisters), vre Louerd beo iðoncked, and schulen þurh his grace, se lengre se betere." Macaulay's collation[5] shows that the other thirteenth-century manuscripts here read "alle" for "alse." Since the confusion between the two words is an easy one palaeographically, and "alle" makes far better sense than "alse" to anyone not conscious of the special personal circumstances conveyed by "alse," we cannot be sure that the original here was not "alse." Naturally, however, in view of the confusion of texts, nothing can be argued from the present point. The following similar clear passage should however be brought into comparison: "And þeo þet ofdrauð ear þus luue of oðer . . . . heo schal beon mi deorewurðe and mi deore suster" (p. 258).

Usually for permissions the author refers the sisters indefinitely to "leaue" or "schriftes leaue" (*cf.* pp. 418–22), and for their confessions the following should be noted: "To sum gostliche

[5] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IX, *passim*.

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monne þat ȝe beoð strusti uppen . . . . god is þat ȝe asken red . . . . and ine schrifte scheaweð him gif he wule iheren ower greste and ower lodlukeste sunnen" (p. 66). "Ich ne der nout þet heo deopluker schriue hire to ȝunge preostes her abuten. Auh to hire owune schrift feder, oðer to summe oðre lif-holie monne, ȝif heo mei hine habben, kulle al ut þet is iðe krocke" (p. 346). "Of alle þe þinges in þisse riwle[6] þet beoð misȝemed—of alle swuche þinges schriue hire enes a wike ette leste" (p. 344).

Thus it seems to be implied that the anchoresses will confess to more than one person; since they are to confess in regard to breaches of the *Riwle* once a week at least, perhaps, since they are living in an isolated anchorage, it is likely that they confess thus continually to their own master, but, since he lives in their establishment, it would probably be arranged that they should also occasionally confess to a confessor from without. It may be noted that in the new material added in the Corpus MS (about 1230) it is arranged what is to be done by an anchoress if a bishop comes to see her (see Macaulay, pp. 463, 466); this fits curiously well the arrangement made for Kilburn in 1231, by which the Bishop of London was allowed the right of visitation and even of hearing secret confession (see my article, p. 495). The new material added in the Corpus MS explicitly provides (p. 467) also for prudent confessions to visiting friars (who are not mentioned in the original *Riwle* at all, and are evidently a new feature of religious life at the time of the recension). Probably in the early days of the house before there were relations with the bishop at Kilburn, and before there were friars, supplementary confessions were arranged by the abbot of Westminster, who was given the ultimate power over the house. Hence when in the *Riwle* the author refers his anchoresses to "leaue" or "schriftes leaue" sometimes this would doubtless be himself and sometimes not. He himself, however, is likely to have confessed other persons as well as the sisters, for his tale of the austerities of a religious man and woman (p. 382) suggests that

[6] So also at the end the author refers to himself as he "þet maked þeos riwle" (p. 430). For the same "riwle" at the beginning, see p. 2, quoted *supra*, p. 636. These instances should be remembered in connection with the title of the work. Macaulay (p. 145) calls the "*Ancren Wisse*" given by the Corpus MS the only title with "original authority." Morton calls "Ancren Riwle" "the original and proper title" (p.v, n.), but he is translating "Regulae Inclusarum" found in a seventeenth century hand on the Nero MS. Passages like the above may suggest that such a title was original with the author, and perhaps in early days found in English on one of the older copies.

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the author is the confessor (or, if the analogy of the anchoresses holds, *a* confessor) to these persons.

The following quotations will illustrate the knowledge shown by the author of the *Ancren Riwle* of the character and lives of the three women for whom he is writing his rule:

"Ich am wel ipaied euerichon sigge [*sc.* in private prayers] þet hire best bereð on heorte" (*Riwle*, ed. Morton, p. 44).

"Ich wolde þet heo [*sc.* the rules] weren of alle, alse heo beoð of ou, þurh Godes grace iholden" (p. 48). "Ich write muchel uor oðre, þat noðing ne etrineð ou, mine leoue sustren; vor nabbe ȝe nout þene nome, ne ne schulen habben þurh þe grace of Gode, of totinde ancres, ne of tollinde lokunges, ne lates" (p. 50). "Wiðute witnesse . . . . ne speke ȝe mid none monne . . . . þis nis nout uor ou, leoue sustren, iseid ne uor oðer swuche" (p. 68). "Auh ase quite ase ȝe beoð of swuch, leoue sustren, weren alle þe oðre, ure Louerd hit vðe" (p. 90). "Ich halse ou ancren, nout ou, auh do oðre, uor hit nis no neod, mine leoue sustren, holdeð our honden wiðinnen ouwer þurles" (p. 114). "God hit wot ase me were muchele dole leouere þet ich iseie ou alle þreo, mine leoue sustren, wummen me leouest (the French text here gives "les femmes qe ieo plus eym") hongen on a gibet uorte wiðbuwen sunne" (p. 116). "Me schal, leoue sustren, tellen ou þeos storie" (p. 154). "Þe suwe of. . . . . Glutunie haueð pigges þus inemned. . . . . Ich speke scheortliche of ham, uor ich nam nout ofdred, mine leoue sustren, þet ȝe ham ueden" (p. 204). "Nu ȝe habbeð iherd one dole, mine leoue sustren, of þeo þet me cleopeð ȝe seoue moder sunnen. . . . . ȝe beoð ful ueor urom ham, ure Louerd beo iðoncked" (p. 216). "Þeo ancre þet wernde an oðer a cwaer uorto lenen—ful ueor heo hefde heoneward hire eien of bileaue" (p. 248). [The hint of a real incident that is given here is reinforced by the appearance of a strong exhortation, on p. 282, to lend to the sister anchoresses anything—"knif oðer cloð, mete oðer drunch, scrowe oðer quaer."] "God hit wute—and he hit wot—me were leouere þet ȝe weren alle oðe spitel vuel þen ȝe weren outfule, oðer fol and ful iheorted. Vor Jesu Crist is al luue. . . . . Nimeð nu gode ȝeme, bi monie uorbisnen, hu god is onrednesse of luue, and onnesse of heorte. Vor nis þing under sunne þet me is leouere, ne so leof, þet ȝe habben" (p. 250). "Al so, ase þis is iseid, mine leoue sustren, lokeð þet ower leoue nebbes beon euer iwend somed, mid swete luue, ueir semblaunt, and mid swete chere" (p. 254). "[Þe ueond] sent mon oðer wummon þet telleð to þe, and bi þe, oðer sum suwinde sawe, þet te suster ne ouhte nout siggen bi þe suster. Ich forbeode ou þet non of ou ne ileue þes deofles sondesmon" (p. 256). "Ich wolde þet oðre schuneden, ase ȝe doð, gederunge" (p. 286). "Mine leoue sustren, þeos fifte dole, þet is of schrifte, limpeð to alle men iliche. Vorði ne awundri ȝe nout þet ich touward ou nomeliche nabbe nout ispeken i þisse dole" (p. 342). "Al þet ich habbe iseid of flesshes pinunge nis nout uor ou, mine leoue sustren, þet oðerhwules

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þolieð more þen ich wolde" (p. 378). "Beoð bliðe on heorte ȝif ȝe þolieð daunger of Sluri, þe kokes knaue, þet wassheð þe disshes iðe kuchene" (p. 380). "Leoue sustren, ower mete and ower drunch haueð iþuht me lesse þen ich wolde" (p. 412). "Ne ȝirne ich þet me telle ou hendi ancren" (p. 416). "Euer me is leouere so ȝe don gretture werkes" (p. 420). "Ase ofte i-leten blod . . . . and hwoso mei beon þer wiðuten, ich hit mei wel i-ðolien" (p. 422).[7]

The author's familiar knowledge of the three young women appears also in the extended description of their circumstances (p. 192)[8] found in its entirety only in the manuscript printed by Morton.

Thus, the author of the *Riwle* betrays an intimate and complete knowledge of both the domestic and the spiritual incidents of the lives of the three anchoresses: he not only knows their characters thoroughly; he can arrange that Bible histories will be taught them (p. 154); he knows that they have been "ȝare iteiht" certain verses (p. 240); and is "ever the more pleased" when they do coarse works of sewing (p. 420); he can hint that one has refused to lend a book to another (p. 248). The tone which he takes throughout the treatise is that he and they are in daily contact: they are "the women whom I love best," and he speaks of their "dear faces." We may conjecture that they are perhaps his relatives by blood. Altogether, it may appear extraordinary that the treatise should for so many years have been ascribed to persons so busy and necessarily aloof as bishops (such as Simon of Ghent and Richard Poor)[9]; the *Ancren Riwle* is certainly the work of some one to whom the welfare of the three women to whom it is addressed is a major responsibility; to whom, therefore, the great labour of composition to which he refers at the end (certainly with truth)[10] comes in the path of his daily life. In other words, if the work was written for Kilburn, the author was Godwin, hermit of Kilburn. If it was not written for Kilburn, it was written by the master of the anchoresses, whoever he may have been.

Unfortunately, nothing so far can be found as to Godwin of

[7] These quotations will also illustrate a point to be made *infra*, pp. 673 ff.

[8] See *infra*, p. 674 for a discussion giving new evidence for the authenticity of this passage.

[9] Cf. *infra*, p. 662.

[10] Many of the sources used by the author are certainly unacknowledged. For example, I pointed out in my former article (p. 488) that a large section comes from the Carthusian Customs of Prior Guigo (of about 1127), and more lately I have discovered a considerable use of the *Morals* of St. Gregory (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXIV, 14, n. 2). Probably similar new sources will be constantly turning up. See also my note, *Mod.Lang. Rev.*, XIX, 95.

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Kilburn outside the Kilburn documents. At the time of writing the former article (*v.* p. 488, n. 20) I thought that he might have been identical with the "Godwin precentor of Salisbury" whose meditations to a recluse Rainilda exist in Bodl. Digby MS 96, a beautiful volume written only about thirty years later than the foundation of Kilburn (*v. infra*, pp. 666–669). In that age of special enthusiasm for the life of solitude one might have imagined that that Godwin who was in early life precentor of Salisbury[11] became later the humble hermit under the protection of Westminster; this hypothesis (curiously suited to the characters of both persons) is, however, ruled out by the fact, kindly pointed out to me by the Rev. C. Wordsworth, that the tomb of "Godwin the precentor" is one of those excavated at Old Sarum. He therefore in all probability died as a cathedral dignitary at Sarum. Curiously enough, he appears in the early bibliographies (Leland, Bale, Pits) in terms that imply a literary and spiritual career that might well have been that of the author of the *Ancren*

[11] See Leland, *Commentarii*, Oxford, 1709, p. 265 for a copy of Godwin's meditations to "Ramilda" at Abingdon (*Collectanea*, Oxford, 1715, iii. 57). In the *Fasti Ecclesiae Sarisberiensis* (Salisbury, 1879) the Rev. W. H. Jones cites Godwin the precentor (p. 326) on the strength of the Digby MS and of Leland's mention, and also (p. 335) a "chancellor Godwin" as signing a charter dated at *c.* 1108 on p. 335 and at "probably not later than *c.* 1120" on p. 188; another witness is Dean Serlo, who lived till 1147 (p. 308). Mr. H. E. Salter kindly pointed out to me that the Godwin of this charter may be the percentor, since a confusion in the signatures "cant." and "canc." is easy. Canon Wordsworth very kindly examined the "Osmund register" in which the entry occurs and wrote me (Sept. 8, 1925) that it is "quite clear" as " 'cañt' (*not* 'cancellario' as printed). So I have to remove 'Godwin' from p. 335 of Jones' *Fasti Eccl. Sar.*". Canon Wordsworth at the same time kindly copied for me the inscription on the tomb of the precentor Godwin excavated at Old Sarum, as printed (p. 16) by Sir W. H. St. John Hope in the *Report on the Excavations at Old Sarum in 1913* (pp. 24, 8vo) for the Old Sarum Excavation Fund. This inscription, though partly illegible, seems to be clear at the name "Godwinus," and the lines

> "Presbiter Anselmo sacratus Canturiensi
> Cantor in ecclesia micuit Seresberiensi" (south slope).

Godwin's date, therefore, must be early enough to allow of his having been consecrated priest by St. Anselm (1093–1109), "presumedly," as Canon Wordsworth writes, "after reaching the canonical age, i.e., his 25th birthday"; he conjectures Godwin's birth therefore "cir. 1068–84". This date would have fitted his being precentor of Salisbury *c.* 1120, and having written the *Ancren Riwle c.* 1140—if the fact of his being buried in his cathedral would not seem to make impossible the intervening life as hermit of Kilburn which is the necessary basis for such an hypothesis.

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Riwle. Pits even might be said to hint that Godwin in later life became a contemplative.[12]

Though nothing is forthcoming as to Godwin of Kilburn outside the Kilburn documents, some details as to his *status* would seem to be implied there. In *c.* 1134 he must have been of advanced years, though not decrepit (in the words of the *Riwle*, p. 336, "sot olde"); this follows from the fact that he was given charge of three "puellae," and the charter of foundation stipulates that his successor is to be "senior." Flete says that Godwin had lived first alone at Kilburn "multo tempore," and, altogether, he is likely to have been born perhaps somewhere about ten years after the Conquest (an exact contemporary with his namesake at Salisbury).

The wording of the charter and of Prior Flete's account would seem to make clear that Godwin was not a monk. The contrast is striking between the references to "quidam nomine Godwinus" and those to one Roger, who in the same years was living in a hermitage that bore the same relation to St. Alban's that Godwin's hermitage bore to Westminster. The chronicler of St. Alban's says of Roger: "Qui noster quidem fuit monachus, sed vivebat in heremio, obedientiam servans Abbati suo."[13] The absence of such a reference in Godwin's case leads us to suppose that he was a secular person, who had been allowed to build a hermitage on ground belonging to the abbey in consideration of his prayers on behalf of the convent. The fact that he was entrusted with the permanent responsibility for the three women and their establishment (which was to be perpetuated) would seem to give final evi-

[12] "Postquam multo tempore et assiduo labore, tum sacra, tum profana volumina perlustrasset, et in utrisque magnam scientiam fuisset consecutus: posthabitis iis quae inflant, edoctus a Spiritu sancto, sectatus est ea quae aedificant et aemulatus charismata meliora, cum Maria optimam partem elegit, quae numquam ablata est ab eo. In tantum enim coelestium rerum contemplationi se dedidit, ut prae excessu consolationis spiritualis, mente coelum conscendere et quasi contagiis mortalitatis exutus, Angelicis choris interesse nonnumquam videretur" (*Catalogus*, Paris, 1619, p. 353). A hint for the last sentence here is given by Leland (*Commentarii, loc. cit.*). Bale and Pits take as Godwin's the well-known piece "De Tribus Habitaculis" (Migne XL, cc. 991 ff.). Perhaps the account here of heaven and hell is the origin of Godwin's reputation for mysticism, but both declare that he wrote other works than those of the Digby MS. Can we have here a conflation of facts from two Godwins?

[13] *Gesta Abbatum*, Rolls Series, 1867, I, 97. On "obedientiae" in general in the twelfth century, see my article, *PMLA*, XXXIII, 491 n. Roger's career and that of his anchoress companion will be discussed below, pp. 647 ff.

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dence that he was not a monk, who could not have been thus permanently detached from his convent. Roger, it is true, the hermit monk of St. Alban's already mentioned, lived with five other hermits and an anchoress, but we have no evidence that any of these persons had in his life-time been made recipients of land or of other grants *in perpetuum*.

Both probability and such evidence as we have would make it probable that Godwin was a priest. The charter describes his successor as "qui . . . . ecclesiae praesit"; in 1231 the successor of Godwin is described (in the arrangements made for the house by a Papal Commission) as "Custos vero saecularis sacerdos canonice praedictae domui ab abbate et successoribus praeficiendus" (see my article, p. 495). If the *Ancren Riwle* is accepted as written for Kilburn Priory, new evidence is supplied for believing that Godwin was not a monk. The anchoresses are described as living a life of more than monastic severity, but they do not celebrate monastic festivals of twelve lessons (see my article, p. 492), but of nine. Considering all the facts, this may be taken as probably the influence of the order of life of the secular priest whom they had joined, who would celebrate festivals in nine lessons, as would canons and lay folk (and at a later period, friars). Canons, as I have pointed out in my former article (p. 489 f.), could continue all sorts of customs under the generalized Augustinian Rule, which was accordingly adopted by many old houses at this very period; the Benedictine was a "real rule," and it could not have been adopted by Kilburn without altering the nine lessons and many other usages set up in the *Ancren Riwle*. The only available official documents call Kilburn "Augustinian," an astonishing, and (so far as I know), a unique circumstance for the cell of a Benedictine house. I have already suggested (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XVI, 316–22) that the abbot and convent of Westminster probably allowed the local Kilburn use to determine its choice of an order, because the first master (a secular priest?) had formulated that usage in a treatise which the abbey was proud thus to honor. Thus, just as the connection with Kilburn explains the outstanding enigmas of the *Ancren Riwle*—that is, the unusual material ease and general circumstances of the three sisters, and the recension of about 1230—so the connection with the *Ancren Riwle* would explain the great enigma in the history of Kilburn, which was the question of its order (a cause of great astonishment to Park, its historian, see my article, p. 489). Kilburn was first an unclassified

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house of *inclusae*, under a hermit who was probably a secular priest, then (though the cell of a Benedictine house) it was Augustinian for the sake of preserving so far as possible its connection with its great rule.

It has already been pointed out in my former article (pp. 492 ff.) that the Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS of the *Riwle* of about 1230 (the earliest and most correct copy), which is so carefully described by Mr. Macaulay, must have been written for the reconstruction which took place at Kilburn in 1231. In this version the text is adapted for the use of twenty recluses (though traces persist sufficient to show that it was originally written for three); references to "your master" are frequent. I have pointed out (p. 487) that in one of the additions of this copy we read: "Vre meistre haueð iwriten us as in heast to halden þe we tellen him al þat euch of oþer hereð" (Macaulay, p. 470). Here we doubtless have a hint that nearly a hundred years after its foundation Kilburn Priory knew that its rule had been written by its first master. Insertions were here made, mostly adapted to conditions needing reformation and wholly out of character with those described in the original rule. Nevertheless, the adapter attempts to patch his additions on to the old text, which he terms "your rule." He himself is probably not the master: the following insertion, which I had not noticed when writing my earlier article, seems to prove that he belonged to a religious community, though not to that for which he is evidently adapting an ancient and original rule: "In a mel dei we seggeð ba placebo and dirige efter þe mete graces. I twi mel dei efter non and ȝe alswa mote don" (Macaulay, p. 154). The significance of this passage will be discussed in an article treating specially the additions of the Corpus MS.

II. *HIS ECHOES OF TWELFTH-CENTURY CONDITIONS*

The preceding discussion will have made clear that the author of the *Ancren Riwle* (whenever and wherever written) must have been the master in charge of three anchoresses; that he was almost certainly therefore Godwin, hermit of Kilburn, who was probably a secular priest in late middle life. That he must have been a person of a distinguished past of some sort no reader of the treatise can doubt, or that his experience had lain among people as well as among books: he seems to present at once the finest academic

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and worldly culture, something so advanced and often even permanent that he must have been in touch with the very vanguard of the civilization of his day. Such a connection is explained in the present hypothesis by his connection with Westminster Abbey, the great religious house situated at the center of the government and court of England at the time—even, as we shall see (*infra*, p. 670) near distinguished university schools.

It will be the purpose of the present section to attempt to place the *Ancren Riwle* and its author against the background (*c.* 1120–50) which by the hypothesis of the connection with Kilburn we believe to have been the period of his prime. An exhaustive investigation from manuscripts has not been made on the subject, but material as to the author's alignment in the groups of the time has come to light sufficiently definite to be worth putting forward, at least in the hope that it may stimulate further research in the same field.

In the *Modern Language Review* for October, 1926, one of the last contributions to scholarship of the lamented Miss Jessie Weston brings interesting material to the present study. She quotes Mr. G. G. Coulton in his *Five Centuries of Religion* on "the disrepute into which the monasteries had fallen" just before the time of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and mentions that as a result "prior to the Cistercian Reformation many, desirous of saving their souls, lived lives of poverty, and solitary penance rather than become monks " (p. 385). These facts Miss Weston brings into relation with the dating of *Perlesvaus'* and the 'Galahad' romances; she shows that in the former the "confines of the fantastic kingdoms described . . . . are full of solitary Hermitages; nowhere in the story does the hero visit a monastery. When we turn to the Galahad *Queste* we find ourselves in an entirely different atmosphere. Hermits are few and far between, and wear the garb of a monastic order. Monasteries, mainly Cistercian, abound" (p. 386). After a consideration of the dates of these works on these lines (urging that the 'Perceval' romances belong to the twelfth century) Miss Weston ends with a plea for "a larger view of the Arthurian problem; that we no longer confine ourselves to a comparison of the existing texts, but enquire into the social and religious conditions of the period at which these texts were presumedly composed" (p. 389).

In my former article on the *Ancren Riwle*, the enquiry into the "social and religious conditions" indicated by the *Ancren Riwle*

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in a striking way corroborated the twelfth-century date there suggested. Many English religious houses and orders which afterwards became monastic (as witness Kilburn itself) began at that time as informal anchorages or hermitages (see my article pp. 478–9, 516n., especially); this period seems clearly indicated in the *Ancren Riwle*.

I believe that the only mention of a nun is in the formula for a woman's confession: "Sire, Ich am a wummon. . . . . Ich am on ancre, a nunne, a wif iwedded, a meiden" (pp. 316–8).[14] The formula for men is noteworthy for its omission of friars. The only reference to a nunnery[15] is the general one in the opening explanation as to the outer or "handmaiden" rule: "ðer also moni beoð igedered togederes, þereuore mid onrednesse me schal makien strencðe of onnesse of cloþes and of oðer hwat of vttre þinges . . . . þus hit is i kuuent, auh hwarse wummon liueð oðer mon bi him one, eremite oðer ancre, of þincges wiðuten hwarof scandle ne kume, nis nout muche strencðe" (p. 12). This is a key passage for the understanding of the *Riwle*, which will be quoted in full later (p. 668); it is useful here to show how sharp is the distinction which the author makes between his sisters and nuns in a convent, even though the former number three, and evidently keep a considerable establishment. But their whole life is based on their enclosure, and solitary living each in her own apartments. Of women living in this way the author seems to have had a large and varied experience.

The revival of religious austerity which came with the new orders in the early twelfth century was late in creating monastic establishments for women; the earliest of these were double orders, as those of Fontevraud, Prémontré (only admitting women in its first years), Sempringham. St. Bernard refused to take over St. Gilbert's incipient order because it contained women, and the Cistercian nunneries are late, and of uncertain origin.[16] We know from the letters of Peter the Venerable that English women crossed to join the famous enclosed Cluniac nunnery at Marcigny (see my article, p. 528 n.); Fontevraud had close relations with the English royal family, and the same was doubtless true of this

[14] The corresponding alternative classification for men follows—"munuch, preost, oðer clerk, and of þet hode, iwedded mon."

[15] Morton sometimes translates "ancrehus" as "nunnery," and this has of course passed into the popular edition by Cardinal Gasquet.

[16] See A. M. Cooke, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, VIII, 667.

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famous double house. But if there had been many carefully guarded nunneries in England at the time of composition of the *Riwle*, it seems strange that the author, with his wide ranging sympathy, interest and experience, did not some time bring them into his treatise, as St. Aelred several times mentions the Gilbertines,[17] and Peter of Cluny the nuns of Marcigny (see my article, *PMLA*, p. 528). On the subject of the various experiences and temptations of an anchoress, however, the author of the *Riwle* is exhaustive. He seems to take it for granted (in spite of some "false anchoresses") that an anchorage offers the only really spiritual opportunity for a woman wishing to pursue the religious life; this would doubtless be true in the England of the twelfth century up to about 1140, when we believe the *Ancren Riwle* to have been written; up to that date even the Gilbertines of Sempringham, then existing in their nucleus only,would be classed as a house of anchoresses, rather than a convent of nuns (see my article, p. 480 n.).

It is against a background of worldly prominence that the author of the *Ancren Riwle*, writing to three nobly born recluses, sketches the temptations of the enclosed life, and this we can understand when we realize that in real life as in romances in the twelfth century kings and nobles visited holy anchorites and anchoresses. Both Henry I and King Stephen went in a humble spirit to the anchorite Wulfric of Haselbury, as Miss Clay tells us,[18] and after describing the terrific mortifications by which other famous recluses touched the imagination of the time she goes on: "Roger [the hermit monk of St. Alban's already mentioned]... Christina [his anchoress disciple], and Wulfric [of Haselbury], Godfric [of Finchale] and Bartholomew [of Farne], all lived in the twelfth century. When the *Ancren Riwle* was compiled (early in the thirteenth century, as is supposed),[19] there were still persons performing similar penances."[20] She goes on to quote the description of the heavy armour, etc., worn by friends of the author, an incident in the *Riwle* in general out of tone with the author's counsels, but perhaps to be explained because, as the author tells us, "Hit ne greueð him nout" (p. 382); in other words the devotion

[17] See my "Mystical Lyrics of the *Manuel des Pechiez*," *Rom. Rev.*, IX, 189.

[18] R. M. Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, London, 1914, p. 152.

[19] This was of course written before the publication of my article suggesting the connection with Kilburn and a twelfth century date.

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 120. The austerities described in the *Riwle* in question are discussed in my article, pp. 544–6.

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has overcome even the perception of the suffering, so that a miracle might almost seem to have been performed.[21] Such a case would doubtless win approval when austerities that broke the body would not. Miss Clay, in quoting from the *Ancren Riwle* as to the austere man and woman in question, comments as follows: "Although the compiler of the Rule could not but admire their courage, he did not commend their practice as a pattern for other recluses. Those who have not physical strength to fast, keep vigil, endure cold, and such other hardships, as many can bear and many cannot, may very well be excused, and please God with less. He forbids the misguided self-torture practised by the great ascetics: 'Wear no iron, nor haircloth, nor hedge-hog skins';" etc. (*A.R.*, p. 420, Clay, p. 120).

Here we have a hint that the author of the *Ancren Riwle*, living in a world where the recluse life was common, did not always follow the common opinion in his directions as to what he wished to be practiced by the three young women recluses under his charge. For a contrast may be cited the hermit Roger and the anchoress Christina, already mentioned, who lived at Markyate under the protection of the great Benedictine abbey of St. Alban's. Their life must have been well known at Kilburn, which lies on the direct road from London to St. Alban's; at a later date the Kilburn nuns complained to the king of their destitute circumstances because they had to entertain so many guests passing along this great road (see my article p. 490, n.).

Miss Clay (p. 119) quotes William of Malmesbury as saying of Roger that "he led an austere life, 'seldom heard of in our times.'" (The reference also evidently alludes to Christina; see Rolls Series, 52, p. 314, n.) Of him the chronicler writes in the *Gesta Abbatum S. Albani*: "In carnem suam nullus unquam crudelior extitit; sed et illud insistebat toto conatu perficere, quo se novit Deo melius complacere" (Rolls Series, 28, I, 97). When the maiden Christina came to live as an anchoress under his protection, for four years she sat on a stone in a narrow cell connected with his in such a way that her presence could be concealed even from the five hermits who lived with Roger. Like her master, who instructed her constantly in spiritual things, she soon began to see visions of the most exalted character, and in the end, to quote the words of Miss Clay: "No less than two archbishops, three bishops, two mitred

[21] Miss Clay points out of the hermit in general that "the rigour of his life seems actually to have preserved his health and promoted longevity" (p. 126).

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abbots, and a pope are concerned in the life story of this young recluse. . . . . Lastly, Henry II makes a grant for her support, fifty shillings a year being paid out of the exchequer (1155) 'in corn which the king gives to Lady Christina of the Wood' " (*op. cit.*, pp. 22–3). Since her religious career begins before 1122, she must have been established at least ten years before the maidens of Kilburn, though she did not come into the open as an anchoress till she succeeded Roger in his cell; this was however evidently some years before the foundation of Kilburn. Her sensational career is briefly touched on in the *Gesta Abbatum* (loc. cit.).

This section relating to Roger and Christina is found, not in Matthew Paris's narrative which is in general the source of the *Gesta*, but only in the late fourteenth century version of Walsingham, and therefore the value of the strange story might appear doubtful. At several points, however (pp. 104–5), the reader is referred for fuller account of events in question to the life of St. Christina kept at Markyate Priory (which she founded). We are told (p. XIV) that Matthew Paris probably used a contemporary source for the early part of his narrative; and I discover that an early source is also in question here for the life of St. Christina.

The account of St. Christina in the *Gesta* is to be found in a much enlarged form (sometimes the same word for word) in the life of St. Christina which ended the great St. Alban's sanctilogium of John of Tynemouth in Cotton MS Tiber. E. I. (two vols.). This life, therefore, was evidently that which was kept at Markyate. Unfortunately this manuscript suffered severely in the great fire of the Cotton library, and the final *Vita* is hardly legible. Horstmann, in printing the whole work,[22] gives in Appendix I (vol. II) a summary of the life of St. Christina made by Roscarrok before the fire, which much amplifies the account in the *Gesta*. The work has been very detailed, and must have thrown much curious and interesting light on the manners and ideals of the time; that it was contemporary seems to be proved by the fact that the author (according to Roscarrok) cites at one point what he had heard from the mother of St. Christina. If we had the work complete it would doubtless be a most interesting work to place beside the *Ancren Riwle*, as a monument of the sort of contemporary anchoress which, it would seem, the author had often in his mind when admonishing his sisters. Some quotations from the account of

[22] *Nova Legenda Anglie*, Oxford, 1901.

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St. Christina in the *Gesta*, side by side with quotations from the *Riwle*, will illustrate this point.

St. Christina's biographer does not spare us the repellent details of her life, and we seem to have such a condition of the body as would endanger the soul, according to the apprehension of the author of the *Ancren Riwle* in such cases (*v. infra*, p. 658). Even after Roger's death Christina suffered many temptations, human and diabolical, after which she believed that the Christ Child came to her, "et extunc omnis tentatio ab illa sic evanuit, ut nunquam ullam tentationem aliquatenus formidaret" (*Gesta*, p. 101). The *Ancren Riwle* (on the contrary), tells us: "Ne wene non of heie liue þet heo ne beo itempted. . . . . ȝif eni ancre is þet ne veleð none uondunges, swuð drede hire iðet point, þet heo beo ouer muchel and ouer swuðe ivonded" (p. 178, continued at length). "Inouh is iseid þerupe hu þe gode nis neuer siker of alle uondunges" (p. 374).

Prophesy and miracles follow Christina, "in tantum, ut fama virtutum ejus totam patriam pervolaret" (according to Roscarrok, following the complete *Vita*, "not onelye at home, but abroad, being noted for cures," Horstmann, II, 536). At this time Geoffrey, the Abbot of St. Albans (1119–46), had an evil plan, which was revealed to Christina in a vision; though she had never seen him, she sent a messenger to dissuade him, and a later vision on his part proved that she was right:

> Abbas, igitur, per seipsum jam cognoscens sanctitatem Cristinae, illam videre festinat:[23] cui promittit se loci sui futurum efficacissimum promotorem; et abhinc in dubiis responsum Cristinae pro divino suscipiebat oraculo. Christina, igitur, tanto studio Abbatis invigilabat saluti, ut, quod dictu mirum est, vix vel propius Abbas degens vel remotius si facto vel verbo Deum offendisset, illa per spiritum in momento cognosceret. Nec dissimulabat, cum terrore, praesentem arguere, quotiens sentiebat Abbatem deliquisse (pp. 102–3).

This was the abbot who had been schoolmaster at Dunstaple, and had borrowed for the Miracle Play of St. Katherine copes from the abbey, which were burnt—an incident famous in English literary history.[24] Christina twice by her prayers and intervention saved him the exertion of going to Rome when he had

[23] We are explicitly told that the hermit Roger never saw the face of Christina (*Gesta*, p. 98), but no such statement is made about Abbot Geoffrey.

[24] *Gesta Abbat.* I, 73.

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been called; in the fourth year of King Stephen (1139), when called to the court, he consulted with Christina "ut semper solebat" (p. 104).

Talibus occasionibus Abbas Christinam frequentabat. Christina venerabatur Abbatem; tantaque fuit inter eos mutuae caritatis affectio, ut nisi notissima fuisset toti vulgo sanctitas utriusque, fortassis orta fuisset de tanta dilectione mala suspicio (p. 105).

Here we are reminded of the early books of the *Ancren Riwle*, where the three sisters are urged to "love your windows as little as possible." The most earnest advice is given about avoiding the visits of men (p. 50): "Nu cumeð forð a feble mon, and halt him þauh heihliche, ȝif he haueð enne widne hod, and one ilokene cope, and wule iseon ȝunge ancren . . . . and seið þat heo mei iseon baldeliche holi men; ȝe nomeliche swuche ase he is, uor his wide sleuen" (p. 56). As I pointed out in my former article (p. 524), here we may have the older Benedictine costume, such as would be worn by the monks of Westminster (and of St. Alban's). When the anchoress receives a call from a priest:

Hercneð his wordes, and sitteð al stille, þat hwon he parted urom ou, þat he ne cunne ower god, ne ower vuel nouðer, ne he ne cunne ou nouðer blamen ne preisen. Sum is so wel ilered, oðer se wis iworded, þat heo wolde þat he wuste hit; þe sit and speketh touward him, and ȝelt him word aȝein word, and bicumeð meister, þe schulde beon ancre, and learеð him þat is icumen to leren hire; wolde, bi hire tale, sone beon mit te wise icud and icnowen. Icnowen heo is wel, vor þurh þat ilke, þat heo weneð to beon wis iholden, he understont þat heo is sot. Vor heo hunteð efter pris, and kecche ð lastunge. . . . . Worldliche men ileueð lut, religuise ȝet lesse (pp. 64–6). ȝe ne schulen . . . . ne preche to none mon, ne no mon ne aski ou read, ne counsail, ne ne telle ou. Readeð wummen one. Seinte Powel uorbead wummen to prechen. . . . . Hit is hore meister, þat beoð ouer oðre iset, and habbeð ham to witene. Ancren naueð to witene buten hire and hire meidenes. Holde euerich his owene mester, and nout ne reame oðres. . . . . Þurh swuch chastiement haueð sum ancre arered bitweonen hire and hire preost, oðer a valsinde luue, oðer a much weorre (pp. 70–2).

In 1154, Christina (as we are told in the part of the *Gesta* by Matthew Paris) sent by Abbot Robert (nephew of Abbot Geoffrey) a gift to the new Pope, Adrian IV, who (as the son of an old monk of St. Alban's) had a special interest in the house. This was three mitres and a pair of sandals, "operis mirifici," which she had made herself (*Gesta*, pp. 125–127). Such was perhaps a custom

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common to anchoresses[25] for in the *Riwle* the sisters are told: "Euer me is leouere so ȝe don gretture werkes. Ne makie none purses, uorte ureonden ou mide, ne blodbendes of seolke, auh schepieð, and seouweð, and amendeð chirche cloðes, and poure monne cloðes" (p. 420). Again the three sisters are warned against practices on record for Christina (at a later time at least).

The *Ancren Riwle* tells us: "Sum ancre makeð hire bord mid hire gistes wiðuten. Þet is to muche ureondschipe, uor, of alle ordres þeonne is hit unkuindelukest and mest aȝean ancre ordre, þet is al dead to þe worlde" (pp. 412–4). "Nenne mon biuoren ou, bute ȝif he habbe neode," the sisters are told (p. 416) as to men's eating. For friends: "ȝif eni haueð deore gist, do hire meiden ase in hire stude te gladien hire uere, and heo schal habben leaue to openen hire þurl enes oðer twies, and makien signes touward hire of one glede chere" (pp. 68–70). Christina, however, probably followed at times, at least, the custom condemned in the *Ancren Riwle*. In spite of the very bad condition of the manuscript I am able to read with the help of Professor Florence Gragg and Professor Bertha Putnam the following, from a section in the *Vita* which has not been carried over into the *Gesta*:

[A]lio tempore sedentibus nobis ad mensam cum ancilla Christi apposuit prefata puella* pulmentum ut manducaremus. Manducantibus itaque nobis inde, noluit Christina illud contingere. Rogantibus ut uo (word illegible) ima de pulmento comederet, minime consensuit. Vocata est Godit (f. 167^{b}). The column ends, and the top of the next is hopelessly illegible.

Here the state of the manuscript makes it impossible to judge the circumstances of the incident; Christina refuses to "touch" food with her friends (one being the author of the *Vita*, presumedly a man), but she has "made her board" with them, and they have evidently—whether from her custom at other times or not—expected that she would eat. Either they are within her enclosure or she has come out—both circumstances forbidden by the *Riwle*.

Again, the complete *Vita* seems to describe in detail the cures

[25] Dr. Joseph Hall cites similar admonitions from the Gilbertine Rule and the rule of St. Aelred (*Selections from Early Middle English*, Oxford, 1920, Pt. II, p. 396). Both, I believe, are nearly contemporary with the *Riwle*.

* *I.e.* a handmaid of Christina, who is the subject of the preceding sentences, as I am kindly informed by Miss Jessie Tatlock of Mt. Holyoke College.

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which Roscarrok mentions,[26] and it would seem likely that some of these would involve the "laying on of hands." Miss Clay says (p. 135) that "some considered it wrong for the enclosed person even to extend a hand out of the window for the purposes of healing." So, she goes on, a Welsh recluse of this period was advised by the Cistercians, until otherwise persuaded by Giraldus Cambrensis. It is noteworthy that the author of the *Ancren Riwle* at length and with the greatest earnestness urges his sisters: "Holdeð our honden wiðinnen ouwer þurles" (p. 116).[27] But whether or not Christina's healing involved her in the "laying on of hands" it is obvious that it will have drawn the people to her window, and thus brought about the publicity so foreign to the true character of the anchoress, according to the *Ancren Riwle.*

The author of that work was a discreet man, and a lover of peace, and he explicitly warns the sisters in the passage at the opening of his last book already quoted (p. 636) that any "new rules" which he makes for the anchoresses's life are made only for them; at the same time, with St. Christina and others doubtless like her near at hand, it is obvious that many of the regulations of the *Riwle* may have been written with personal applications latent for the sisters' understanding.

In my preceding article one of the strongest lines of evidence leading to the connection with Kilburn was that which showed echoes, in the work, of the defense for the older Benedictines made by the great Abbot Peter of Cluny in a letter to St. Bernard of Clairvaux. The author of the *Ancren Riwle* refers to "black and white orders," the "Lady Rule," "Charity", and its "handmaiden rule"; of the latter the details correspond with the *minutiae* of monastic life which, according to Abbot Peter, were merely "quidam famulorum" of "Caritas, materfamilias," but according to Abbot Bernard were cardinal points in the Rule of St. Benedict, which a monk should observe at all costs. We have in the eloquent exhortations of the author of the *Ancren Riwle* to his charges just such arguments as the monks of Westminster would welcome against their Cistercian brethren, at just the time (*c.* 1140) when we suppose the work to have been written.

At this time, as I have already pointed out, the kings of England paid visits to anchorites, and in my former article (p. 545) I noted

[26] This subject is certainly taken up ff. 157ᵛ–158, but the only legible incident of the kind concerns a woman who was cured by drinking holy water.

[27] Cf., p. 148. In this he is followed by the *Dublin Rule* for anchorites, to be discussed below, pp. 664 ff.

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that a chaplain of "good Queen Maud" (with whom the ladies of Kilburn are said to have been "domicellae camerae") joined a hermit of noble birth in a hermitage that was the nucleus of Llanthony Priory; the queen was in familiar relations evidently with both hermits. When the Cistercians began their rapid development, they also had an accession from the court circle (probably in the year of the foundation of Kilburn) in the person of St. Aelred, who had been brought up at the court of King David of Scotland in intimate connection with the royal family. He was in a position, therefore, to be interested in the young recluses of Kilburn, and all the more since his own sister was a recluse.

The question of an apparent quotation (p. 368) from St. Aelred's rule for recluses (written for his own recluse sister) has been one of the main obstacles to the acceptance of the early date for the composition of the *Ancren Riwle* implied by the Kilburn connection, and St. Aelred's work has usually been accepted as one of the sources for the *Riwle*, for the two pieces run parallel at several points. I discussed this question briefly in my former article (p. 529 n.), and pointed out that "any citation may be added by the scribe" since in any case our earliest manuscripts are so far from the original and, moreover, no critical text of them is in existence. Professor R. W. Chambers, in his generous discussion of my article, speaks justly of my explanation as "possible" though "not the obvious one."[28] But the quotation in the *Riwle* to

[28] "Recent Research upon the *Ancren Riwle*" (*Rev. of Eng. Studies*, I, 17) At the same time he mentions that in the quotation the title "saint" is "found in the original version in all three MSS," and that "Aelred was not canonized till 1191" (n.). But Mr. G. G. Coulton shows that "canonization of saints was not formally reserved to the Holy See until 1170 A.D." (*Mediæval Garner*, London, 1910, p. 31, n.). Even later popular canonization went on (*ibid.*, pp. 52 ff., 305, 320, 534). A notable example in the 14th century is Richard Rolle, who is frequently referred to as "saint," though never canonized (see my *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, Monog. Ser. *MLAA*, III, pp. 54, 133, 205, 214, 216, 218, etc.). Professor Chambers in the same article shows that the "Sentences of St. Bernard" cited in the *Riwle* are really "a book compiled from the sayings of St. Bernard by his secretary and biographer, Geoffrey of Auxerre," which is to be dated "between the years 1153 and 1179" (*R.E.S.*,I, pp. 19–20). This interesting discovery Professor Chambers believes to make a serious obstacle to the date for the *Riwle* suggested by me. But how can he be sure that the "sayings of St. Bernard" found both in the *Riwle* and the work of Geoffrey did not reach the former by the agency of some other reporter of St. Bernard's preaching? The work of Geoffrey in question is admittedly not an original work, and the material included may easily have reached such a center as Westminster by other first hand sources. Moreover, Geoffrey himself may have reported it *viva voce* (for all we know) to Gilbert the Universal, bishop of London, who was master of the schools at Auxerre *c.*1120 before coming to London

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which the citation is appended "as Saint Aelred wrote to his sister" is commonplace and "only the general sense of a section of the latter" (*c.* 1460); the mention of Aelred's name is therefore all the more likely to be merely the "vague remembrance of a scribe," added to a passage in the original which he thought that he recognized. As a matter of fact there is a relation between the *Riwle* and St. Aelred through a considerable passage after the citation, but I think it more likely that St. Aelred was the borrower. A comparison of the parallel works seems to me to show the author of the *Riwle* taking up a point of view out of sympathy with a primitive Cistercian, and St. Aelred thereupon seeking to counteract his influence.

Before quoting from St. Aelred's epistle, something should be said of the text of that work. As Professor Powicke has pointed out,[29] the Middle English translation printed by Horstmann[30] was made from a "fuller text" than the corrupt Latin text reprinted by Migne[31] from the editions of the Benedictines of St. Maur. In the omitted passage (a long one) occur important autobiographical references to St. Aelred's early life; one section, describing how in their youth his sister wept over his yielding to temptations of the flesh such as she resisted, is noted by Professor Powicke (p. 61, n. 5) as important evidence in the discussion as to St. Aelred's early life which grew out of the extravagant claims of virtue seemingly made for him by his biographer, Walter Daniel.

(see my article, p. 474, n.). He was therefore possibly known to Geoffrey (born at Auxerre between 1115 and 1120: *v. Cath. Encyl.*). Gilbert showed a wonderful magnanimity in relinquishing power over Kilburn at its foundation, and perhaps he was personally known to the inmates. St. Bernard writes to him with praise (Ep. 24).

[29] *Ailred of Rievaulx and His Biographer Walter Daniel*, Manchester (reprinted from *The Bulletin of the Johns Rylands Library*, VI, Nos. 3 and 4, July, 1921—January, 1922), p. 99, n.

[30] *Eng. Stud.*, VII, 305–44.

[31] *PL*, XXXII, 1451 ff. This is very bad, and often corrected by Horstmann by the aid of the English. The passages missing in the Latin (the "meditation on the present") are distinctly included in the reference which St. Aelred has given in the epilogue to the "three-fold meditation." It is therefore almost certain to be genuine. The "meditation on the past" also included is the meditation sometimes ascribed to St. Anselm, though Dom Wilmart (*Meditations et Prières de St. Anselme*, Collection Pax, Paris and Maredsous, 1923, p. xv) assigns it to St. Aelred. When the whole work is seen complete, as in the Cott. MS, it is obvious that it was inserted in its place (if not composed) by St. Aelred.

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I have been fortunate in having had resource to a copy of the original Latin text of the epistle which contains all the parts omitted in the printed Latin edition but present in the Middle English. This is the Cotton MS Nero A iii, probably of the early thirteenth century, though it has been dated a little earlier. It is thus at least contemporary with the earliest copies of the *Ancren Riwle*; St. Aelred's piece opens the volume,[32] and the missing passage is here at ff. 36–9 (chapter 38 in the Middle English text, 66 (as a short fragment only) in Migne). The text is in general greatly superior to that of Migne, and will be quoted here.

The quotation from St. Aelred and the corresponding passage in the *Riwle* are as follows:

Nemo se palpet, nemo blandiatur sibi, nemo se fallat. Nunquam ab [ad][33] olescentibus sine magna cordis contricione et carnis afflictione castitas conquiritur uel seruatur, quae plerumque in egris uel senibus periclitatur (Nero A iii, f. 16[b]).

Ne gropie hire non to softeliche, hire suluen to bicherren. Ne schal heo, uor hire liue, witen hire clene, ne holden hire ariht ine chastete wiðuten two þinges, ase Seint Aldret wrot to his suster. Þet on is pinunge ine vlessche, mid festen, mid wechchen, mid disciplines, mid herd weriunge, herd leouwe, mid vuel, mid muchele swinkes. Þet oþer þing is heorte þeauwes, deuociun, reoufulnesse, merci, pité of heorte, luue, edmodnesse, and oðre swuche uertuz (p. 368).

Thus the *dictum* of the *Riwle* to which St. Aelred's name is attached only in part corresponds to what we find in his epistle to his sister, here cited as the source; both works mention "two things" as preserving chastity, but in the definition of the two St. Aelred gives only the skeleton of what we find in the *Riwle*. There is, however, a reminiscence of each in the other at the preceding sentence, and after the divergence of the last sentences they again run parallel, as follows, in the passages immediately following those just quoted:

"Me Sire," þu onswerest me, "sulleð God his grace? Nis grace wil-ȝeoue?" Mine leoue sustren, þauh clennesse ne beo nout buine ed God, auh beoð ȝeouen of grace, vngraciuse stondeð þer to-ȝeines, and makieð ham unwurðe to holden so heih þing

Nam licet continencia donum Dei sit, et nemo possit esse continens, nisi Deus det, nec ullis nostris meritis donum hoc, sed eius gratuite sit gracie ascribendum; illos tamen tanto dono indignos iudicat, qui aliquid laboris pro eo

[32] The heading is: "Incipit liber uenerabilis aelredi abbatis rieuallis de institutis inclusarum."

[33] Added by a later hand.

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þet nulleð swink þereuore bliðeliche þolien. Bitweonen delices, and eise, and flessches este, hwo was euer chaste? Hwo ber euer fur wið innen hire þet heo ne bernde? Pot þet walleð swuðe, nule he beon ouerladen, oðer kold water iworpen þerinne and brondes wiðdrawene? þe wombe pot þet walleð euer of metes, and more of drunches, he is so neih neihebur to þet fulitowene lim þet heo deleð mid him þe brune of hire hete (p. 368).

subire detrectant, volentes inter delicia casti esse, inter epulas continentes . . . . in commessacionibus et ebrietatibus fedis distendi humoribus, et non inquinari; ligare in sinu suo flammas, et non exuri. Difficile hoc; utrum autem[34] impossibile, tu uideris.

The passage that follows immediately in the *Ancren Riwle* runs parallel to the epistle of St. Aelred some distance on in the work, as follows:

Auh, monie ancren, more herm is, beoð so vlesshwise, and so ouerswuðe of-dred leste hore heaued aeke, and leste hore licome feblie to swuðe, and witeð so hore heale þet þe gost unstrencðeð and secneð ine sunne. . . . . "Procul odoramus bellum," ase Job seið. So we dredeð flesches vuel ofte er þen hit kume. þet soule vuel kumeð up, and we þolien þe soule vuel, uorte etsterten vlesches vuel, ase þauh hit were betere to þolien golnesse brune þen heaued eche, oðer gruchunge of one mis-itowene wombe. And hweðer is betere, ine secnesse uorte beon Godes freo child, þen i flesches heale uorte beon þrel under sunne? (pp. 368–70).

Sed quidam a salutaribus exercitiis quodam retrahuntur timore, ne uidelicet propter nimiam abstinenciam uel uigilias immoderatas incidant in languorem, et ita efficiantur aliis oneri, sibi autem dolori; hec excusacio nostra in peccatis nostris. Quam pauci, quam pauci sunt hodie quos talis feruor igniuit! Omnes sapientes sumus, omnes prouidi, omnes discreti. Procul oderamus (*sic*) bellum, et sic morbum corporis antequam senciatur formidamus; ut languorem anime quem presentem sentimus territi negligamus, quasi tolerabilius sit flammam libidinis, quam uentris tolerare rugitum; aut non multo melius sit continuo languore carnis uitare lasciuiam, quam sanum et incolumem in eius redigi seruitutem. Quid enim interest utrum abstinencia an languore caro superibiens comprimatur, castitas conseruetur? Sed remissio, inquit, (Vernon text, ed. Horstmann, *þu seist*), cauenda est, ne forte occasione

[34] MS adds "aū."

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infirmitatis incurramus illecebras uoluptatis. Certe si languet, si egrotat, si torquentur uiscera, si arescit stomacus, quelibet delicie oneri magis erunt quam delectacioni (f. 18b).

What follows in St. Aelred is entirely taken up with a characteristic account of a young man who became so serious that he never smiled again, and he had visions of the Saviour. The *Riwle* is then taken up again where it was left:

And þis ne sigge ich nout so þet wisdom and mesure ne beon ouer al iloked, þe moder is a[nd] nurrice of alle gode þeauwes. Auh we cleopieð ofte wisdom þet nis non. Uor soð wisdom is don euere soule hele biuoren flesches hele, and hwon me ne mei nout boðe holden somed, cheosen er licomes hurt þen, þuruh to stronge uondunges, soule þrowunge (p. 372).

Nec hoc dico ut discrecioni, que omnium uirtutum et mater et nutrix est, derogem, sed uiciorum materias, gulam, sompnum .... (infra metas necessarias) cohibeamus, qui sepe falso nomine discrecionis palliamus negocium uoluptatis. Vera enim discreccio est animam carni proponere, et ubi periclitatur utraque nec sine huius (*edit.* huiusmodi) incommodo illius potest salus consistere, pro illius utilitate istam negligere (f. 19b).

Here there is an obvious relation between the two works, but it is my personal impression that the *Ancren Riwle*, in which the material appears in a lively and familiar form, is likely to represent the original.

The *Ancren Riwle* goes on immediately:

Nicodemus brouhte uorte smurien mid ure Louerd an hundred weien of mirre, and of aloes, hit seið, þet beoð bittre spices and bitocneð bittre swinkes, and flesches pinunge. Hundred is ful tel, and noteð perfectiun, þet is, ful dede, uorte scheawen þet me schal fuldon flesches pine ase uorð ase euere efne mei þolien. Bi þe weie is bitocned mesure and wisdom, þet euerich mon weie hwat he muwe don, and ne beo nout no ouer swuðe agest þet ȝe uorȝemen þet bodi, ne eft, so tendre of þe bodie þet hit iwurðe untowen, and makie þene gost þeowe (p. 372).

Here the author reverts to the caution in regard to austerities, which is his usual mood. The following come from somewhat extended discussions of the same subject:

"Þauh þet fleshs beo ure fo, hit is us ihoten þet we holden hit up. We moten þauh don him wo ase hit is ofte wel wurðe, auh nout fordon mid

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alle, vor hu woc so hit euer beo, þeonne is hit so ikupled, and so ueste iueied to ure deorewurðe goste, Godes owune furme, þet we muhten sone slean þat on mit tet oðer" (p. 138).

"[The devil] eggeð hire touward so muchel abstinence, þet he is þe unstrengre ine Godes seruise, and let so heard lif, and pineð so hire licome þet te soule steorueð" (p. 222).

We have heard St. Aelred expressing his unconcern if the body does become broken by its austerities[35], since then it cannot enjoy fleshly joys. The contrast in temperament between the author of the *Ancren Riwle* and such a typical primitive Cistercian as he may be illustrated further in other parallel passages as follows:

Vor so seið Seint Ierome: "Semper in manu tua sacra sit lectio; tepenti tibi librum sompnus subripiat et cadentem faciem pagina sancta suscipiat." Holi redunge beo euer i þine honden: slep go uppe þe ase þu lokest þeron, and þe holie pagine ikepe þi uallinde neb; and so þu schalt reden and ȝeornelich and longe. Euerich þing me mei, þauh, ouerdon. Best is euer imete (p. 286).

Cogitanti de scripturis sompnus obrepat, euigilanti primum aliquid de scripturis occurrat, dormientis sompnia herens memorie aliquid de scripturis sentencia condiat (f. 18[b]).

The *Riwle* here should be compared with an earlier passage:

Inne bedde uorþ ase ȝe muwen, ne do ȝe no þing ne þencheð; bute slepeð (p. 46).

Here we have the essential contrast between the author of the *Ancren Riwle* and St. Aelred, and it is a contrast which probably determined their group in their own time; St. Aelred, court-bred as he was, finding his place in the austere Cistercian order with its emphasis (in St. Aelred's words below, n. 36) on "antiquity" rather than on the human needs of the day[36]; the author of the *Ancren*

[35] In the parallel passage of the *Riwle* (*supra*, p. 656) the "sickness" referred to which will keep from sin is not explicitly attached to over abstinence, as in St. Aelred's work. What the author of the *Riwle* in general thinks of sickness self-induced may be gathered from the following: "Sicnesse is a brune, vorte þolien hot. Sicnesse þet God send, auh nout þet sum kecche ð þuruh hire owune dusischipe. Vor moni makeð hire sec þuruh hire fol herdischipe, auh þis miscwemeð God" (p. 182).

[36] It should be noted, however, that St. Aelred is perfectly liberal in his directions as to the dress of the anchoress which he concludes: "Hæc, soror karissima,

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Riwle, perhaps connected with the very same group, attaching himself to an old monastery that resisted this new more fanatical Benedictinism. The master of the three anchoresses seems to speak most in character when he says: "Me mei beon al to rihtwis. Betere is liste þen luðer strencðe" (p. 268).[37] "Þo middel weie of mesure is euer guldene" (p. 336). Thus his character is revealed through most of the definite regulations for the sisters' life in the discussion of the "handmaiden rule." More often than not he advises them that they are already practising too much physical austerity.

St. Aelred tells us at the opening of his epistle that, having no experience himself of the life of the recluse, he has followed the writings of "doctors." Fortunately we know exactly when he wrote his epistle to his sister; in my former article (p. 530 n.) I pointed out that it must have been late in his life since his sister was then old, and this hypothesis has been substantiated by Professor Powicke, who prints his biography by Walter Daniel, one of his own monks. We read here (p. 99) that St. Aelred wrote the epistle to his recluse sister immediately before he wrote the life of St. Edward the Confessor. This was adapted from that by Prior Osbert de Clare of Westminster (who had been concerned in the foundation of Kilburn) and it was prepared for the canonization in October, 1163. The epistle, then, should be dated *c.* 1160,

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de exterioris hominis conuerscione non pro antiquitatis feruore sed pro huius nostri temporis spatio (*edit.*; *MS* tepore) te compellente conscripsi, infirmis temperatum quendam modum uiuendi proponens, forcioribus ad perfectiora progrediendi libertatem relinquens" (f. 13[b]). The Cistercians made a great point of refusing furs, which are allowed to her. Miss Clay seems certainly to have mistranslated the passage just quoted. She writes: "After giving some details as to dress, he adds: 'These things, dear sister, I have written at thy request concerning the manner of outward conduct, not on account of zeal for antiquity, but for the shortness of our time here on earth; setting forth a certain form of life adapted for weaker sisters, leaving to the stronger ones to go forward unto fuller perfection'" (p. 97). She does not realize how St. Aelred's directions at this point fall short of the Cistercian ideal, which was actuated by "antiquitatis fervore," nor does she appreciate the personal reference to the sister, like St. Aelred then far advanced in age (cf. edit. *cc.* 1454, 1456). In her translation the antithesis is lost: "shortness of our life here" would have no special effect in moderating extremes of asceticism—whereas "our age" would have. The phrase "te compellente" seems to be specially attached to the reference to modification of ancient ordinances for the sake of the sister's age (so to paraphrase the meaning of the passage).

[37] The second sentence is of course a proverb; also quoted by Giraldus Cambrensis, *Descript. Kamb. Opera*, Rolls Series 21, VI, 188,

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about twenty years after the date which is conjectured for the *Ancren Riwle*. It must have been written, that is, at the time when St. Aelred was closely in touch with the Westminster monks, the patrons of the Kilburn sisters, and Abbot Lawrence of Westminster (earlier a monk of St. Alban's) at whose request he wrote the life of St. Edward, is said by Walter Daniel (p. 99) to have been his "cognatus" ("relative," according to Professor Powicke, p. 40). If the great treatise was in use *c.* 1160 by the anchoresses of Kilburn, and he did (as he certainly would) consult it, we should expect his use of it to be exactly what we find in his epistle, as compared to the *Riwle*; he would expand the author's passing warning as to the over caution of "monie ancren" into a diatribe on the general (from the Cistercian point of view) over-discretion of the age.

For, as I have shown in my earlier paper, the author of the *Ancren Riwle*, though remarkable in any age for his liberality and spirituality, was not unique in his own; in Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny he might recognize spiritual kinship, which is to be traced in the influence on his treatise of Peter's great letter to St. Bernard on the black and white monks already cited. Some of the abbot's admonitions to persons more nearly in the position of the sisters of Kilburn should also be noted, as follows:

In a letter to his nieces, nuns (as had been his mother) at the strict enclosed house of Marcigny (founded by an abbot of Cluny)[38], Peter writes in an anxious tone lest they should be too solicitous over his health, but at the same time with respect for medical science:

> Legi litteras a vobis scriptas mihi, in quibus incommodo meo compatimini, et non spirituali suffragio tantum, sed et arte physica mihi mederi conamini. Ago gratias sollicitudini piae, et affectum filialem ea, qua decet, benigna dulcique mente complector. Sed miror unde Jesu Christi scholasticae Hippocratis scholas redolent. . . . . Non contemno quidem adjumenta medicinalia, corruptae plerumque naturae medentia, maxime cum legam medicinam ab Altissimo creatam (Eccl. xxxviii) Christumque dicentem audiam: *Non egent qui sani sunt medico, sed qui male habent* (*Luc.* v). Accuso tamen hostes naturae, interfectrices carnis propriae, crucifixas cum crucifixo, rursum de vita, rursum de remediis vitae, rursum de statu corporum cogitare. An mente excidit verbum solemne Agathae virginis: *Medicinam carnalem corpori*

[38] On Peter's interest in Marcigny see my article, p. 528 n.

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meo nunquam exhibui? An illa tantum ancilla Christi? An illa tantum sponsa Christi? Nonne et vos ancillae? Nonne et vos sponsae?[39]

This may remind us strongly of the *Ancren Riwle*, in the passage already quoted from (*supra*, p. 656), where (in the part omitted in my earlier quotation) the author gives the tale of St. Agatha as follows:

Þeo þet schulden one lecnen hore soule mid heorte bireousunge and flesshes pinunge, uorwurðeð fisiciens and bicomes leche. Dude Seint Agace so? Þet . . . . seide . . . . 'Medicinam carnalem' etc. . . . . Hwon sec mon haueð et hond þing þet him wule don god, he mei hit wel notien, auh forto beon so angresful þerefter nis nout God icweme and ancreful nomliche uor swuch religiun nis nout God icweme. God and his deciples speken of soule lechekreft, and Ypocras and Galien of licomes hele (p. 370).

Here we have almost the words, and exactly the point of view, of Abbot Peter, and we may contrast what is said of St. Aelred by his biographer in the four last terrible invalid years of his life:

Parum namque comedens et minus bibens, ciborum appetitum incredibili abstinentia exstinxit; medicorum consilia sprevit, et pro Deo corporis remedia contemnens, animae sanitati consulere satagebat.[40]

The *Ancren Riwle* and Abbot Peter always recommend a middle course, St. Aelred never fears extremes, provided that they are on the right side.

In Abbot Peter's letter to the recluse Gilbert we have a third manual for recluses written in the middle of the twelfth century, which is, of course, probably the first in point of time. Here again he shows the same cautious point of view as to physical observances which is so characteristic of his controversy with St. Bernard. The greater part of the work is taken up with spiritual temptations of a somewhat subtle kind such as the recluse will be subject to—temptations such as St. Aelred and the author of the *Ancren Riwle* are also aware of.[41] The matter of physical discipline is thus shortly disposed of:

[39] Migne, *PL.*, CLXXXIX, 451.

[40] Migne, *PL.*, CXCV, 202.

[41] Abbot Peter sketches at length the revenge taken on the indiscreet recluse by the tedium of his life: "Sic furentibus intra mentis arcana variarum rerum affectionibus, cum nihil de cogitatis praeter vacuam cellulam anima teneat . . . . ipsius miserabilis taedii non in Deo, sed in mundo, non in se sed extra se quaerit remedium, pro quo majus incidit detrimentum. Nam quia semel assumptum propositum eremitam deserere pudet, quaeritur occasio frequentis alieni colloquii,

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De jejuniis et vigiliis, sive quibuslibet carnis exasperationibus, nulla a quolibet tibi est, ut mihi videtur, lex praefigenda, quoniam et propria complexio, et usus praeteritus, et praecipue talium rerum gratia tibi a Deo data vel danda nescitur. Tu tibi, qui omnia intima et extima tua nosti, in talibus praeceptor existe; tu tibi eos terminos, quod transgredi non sit necesse, adhibe, hac ratione sollicite conservata, ut in his et in omnibus actionibus tuis discretionem virtutum omnium matrem sequaris, quae idcirco omnium mater dicitur, quia nisi eas ipsa ut filias mater nutrierit, statim cuncta virtutum soboles interibit.[42]

The abbot of Cluny was doubtless as busy as a bishop, and would have no time to fix the details of the life of Gilbert; if the author of the *Riwle* had been as busy, we can imagine his dismissing similar details in a similar way. But when in a lengthy epistle on the life of a recluse, the subject of the mortification of the body is thus dismissed, we can understand how it has been said of Abbot Peter by a modern writer "Volontiers il prendrait pour devise ce mot du poète: *Mens sana in corpore sano*" (see my article, p. 524 n.). There is temperament as well as circumstance in the passage.

Abbot Peter, though the head of a great and rich monastery, also had close relations with many poor solitaries and recluses; he had a great friendship and close association with the Carthusians, whom he preferred to all other orders, and he visited them every year. He also visited the group of hermits in subjection to Cluny, of whom Gilbert was apparently one. Marcigny, in which his interest was intense, was a house of enclosed nuns, among whom were anchoresses (see my article, pp. 479 n; 532 n.). Peter is sure, therefore, to have had a great influence on the life of recluses, and when St. Aelred compiled for his sister his work on that subject from the works of doctors it would be almost certain that he should take into account the expressions on the subject of this great contemporary; thus if the *Ancren Riwle* is not

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ut qui multa de se tacens tormenta patitur, aliorum saltem confabulationibus reveletur. Aperitur arcta reclusionis fenestra, et velut ad divinum oraculum confluunt examina populorum. Dat responsa divinus propheta omnibus. . . . . Exundat ab ore copia verborum, et longi stillicidio silentii de cisterna dissipata prorumpit," etc. (*op. cit.*, c. 93). We are reminded of the "olde cwene to ueden hire earen," enjoyed by many anchoresses according to the *Riwle* (p. 88), and the "anus garrula vel nugigerula mulier" against whom St. Aelred warns his sister (*c.* 1451). How common was the phenomenon is shown by the use of a proverb on the subject in the *Riwle*. The three works at this point certainly seem to echo contemporary conditions. We may recall, in connection with Peter's warning, that the St. Alban's chronicler boasts that the abbot took St. Christine as an oracle (*supra*, p. 649).

[42] Migne, *PL*, CLXXXIX, 99.

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accepted as written before this time, at any rate Abbot Peter may have been one of those over-cautious modern writers on abstinences whom St. Aelred has in mind when he laments "Omnes sapientes sunt, omnes providi, omnes discreti"; Peter's letters to St. Bernard will have given plenty of detail to fill in the picture of the ideal physical regimen for spirituality sketched in the epistle to Gilbert. It seems to me likely that another spiritual kinsman of the author of the *Ancren Riwle* (though, so far as we know, unconnected with the solitary life) was another Benedictine, first mentioned by William of Malmesbury after his account of the founders of Fontevraud and Tyron: "And that England may not be supposed destitute of virtue, who can pass by Serlo, abbat of Gloucester, who advanced that place, almost from meanness and insignificance, to a glorious pitch? All England is acquainted with the considerate rule professed at Gloucester, which the weak may embrace, and the strong cannot despise. Their leader Serlo's axiom was, 'Moderation in all things.' Although mild to the good, he was fierce and terrific to the haughty."[43] Evidently there was a strong party in the middle of the twelfth century who praised moderation and the practice of spiritual rather than physical exercises. As to the influence of this party on the life of the recluse St. Aelred seems to have been nervous; I have already shown in the former article (p. 530) that he enters the Cluniac-Cistercian controversy with a rejoinder on the subject of the monastic vow[44] in his *Speculum Charitatis*, which can be dated *c.* 1140–3; it is quite in his character therefore again to write something definitely attacking other opponents of his favorite principles. And it may be at this very time that the *Ancren Riwle* was an acknowledged influence on the life of recluses in the very way of which St. Aelred would disapprove.

In my article, "Further Borrowings from *Ancren Riwle*" (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Jan., 1929), I have pointed out that Father Livarius

[43] *William of Malmesbury, Kings of England*, transl. J. A. Giles, Bohn edit., London, 1911, p. 471 f.

[44] The author of the *Riwle* shows his moderation even in the interpretation of the simple three-fold vow which he urges. The third part of it is qualified (p. 6): "studestaþeluestnesse" may be abandoned "vor neod one, als strengðe and deaðes dred," etc. But an anchoress at Mantes when William the Conqueror burnt the city "did not think it justifiable to quit her cell even under such an emergency" (William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, p. 310). See also the case of Marcigny, threatened by fire, in the *De Miraculis* of Peter the Venerable (Migne, *PL*, CLXXXIX, 889). See the interesting work by Dom Gougaud, *Ermites et Reclus*, Éditions de la Revue Mabillon, 5 Ligugé (Vienne, France) 1928, p. 109.

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Oliger O.F.M. of Rome has printed from photographs lent to him by me a rule for anchorites found in a Dublin MS, and accordingly called by him the *Dublin Rule*. Fragments of this rule I later found in a badly burned condition following the Cotton copy of the Latin version of the *Ancren Riwle*. Father Oliger shows that the *Dublin Rule* was a good deal influenced by the *Ancren Riwle*. The latter contains a sort of covering letter at the end (written as part of the same work) in which the priest Robert writes to the "venerable recluse Hugo" that at his request he has sent him a rule for anchorites which he has taken in part from English books ("diversas sententias de anglicis libris in latinam linguam transferre studui"). A part of the preceding rule which relies on the *Ancren Riwle* is then repeated, after which nothing more of recluses follows. This appendix—or whatever we may call it—Father Oliger is able to date between 1140 and 1215. Its relation to the preceding rule may not be said to be certain, but in view of all the circumstances it seems an almost certain deduction that Robert is the author of the preceding rule, which he is now sending to Hugo; the English books used would thus be the *Ancren Riwle*, and the date of this work influenced by the treatise would be somewhere between 1140 and 1215.

Not only specific regulations for the recluse life are borrowed by the *Dublin Rule* from the *Ancren Riwle*, but the general spirit has at points shown the same influence, as is especially evident when we contrast the former with St. Aelred's epistle on the recluse life, which Father Oliger believes also to have been used in the *Dublin Rule*, though less than the *Riwle*. The following quotations will illustrate the relation:

Karissimi, non poteritis pariter sequi voluntatem anime et corporis. Si enim nutris corpus nimium, exibes impium inimicum anime tue. Iterum si nimis [*for* minus] nutris corpus quam decet, occidas ancillam Domini, ut ait Gregorius.[45]

Non debes nimium manducare, neque nimium ieiunare, neque nimium dormire, neque nimium vigilare, neque nimium nuditatem pati, neque nimium vestiri. Sed omnia modeste corrige, doce cor tuum recta cogitare (p. 175).

[45] Regulae tres reclusorum et eremitarum Angliae saec. xiii–xiv, *Antonianum*, Rome (Collegio di S. Antonio), iii (1928), 174. The dates given in the title follow the usual assumption as to the date of the *Riwle*. Father Oliger later wrote me: "If we certainly knew that the *Ancren Riwle* was of the twelfth century, it [*the Dublin Rule*] could even be ascribed to the twelfth century" (see my article, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Jan. 1929, p. 7).

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Panis boni anachorite numquam debet ponderari neque potus eius mensurari.[46] Sed in omni tempore spiritualiter debet vivere. Igitur si veram mensuram in cordibus nostris meditari volumus, nullam meliorem vel placidiorem Deo quam que in cordibus sit voluntarie nostris afferre poterimus. Ista regula non secundum fortes scribenda est, sed secundum humiles, ut intelligere et implere possint. Ista regula omnibus anachoritis sit: ne ullus[47] ausus sit ultra nonam ieiunare. Nullus tres dies vel duos suo proprio consilio ieiunet, nisi alicuius consilio sapientis (p. 182).

Nullus fratrum ieiunantem diiudicet (p. 183).

In the address to the anchorite Hugo by the priest Robert, which, as we have seen, follows as part of the whole in the Dublin MS (though absent in the Cotton) we find in the same spirit as the passages already quoted (seemingly as a kind of summary):

Cavendum est tibi multum, karissime, ne quorumdam anachoritarum incipientium mala exempla imiteris, qui putant in abstinentia ciborum vel in duris vestimentis salvationem esse, absque ceteris bonis. Hec enim bona sunt, si pro Christi amore sunt facta, sin autem, viciosa sunt potius quam virtuosa (p. 184).

Immediately preceding this, however, is a paragraph where the author hints that he fears criticism of his work:

Sunt quidam autem qui quecunque audiunt vel vident, semper dentibus invidie mordent. Quorum correctio longe sit a nostro opusculo. . . . . Adhuc sunt quidam sapientes *Deo placentes*. Sunt discreti apud homines. . . . Malo apud istos corrigi quam apud inscios laudari (p. 184).

Now when in the directions given in the *Dublin Rule* the anchorite is advised not to weigh or measure food and drink, Father Oliger notes: "Hoc videtur scriptum contra *Reg. S. Benedicti, c.* 39: 'De mensura cibi'; *c.* 40: 'De mensura potus,' vel potius contra *Reg. Aelredi, c.* 19 . .: 'Beatus Benedictus libram panis et heminam potus concedit monacho, quod nos inclusis delicatioribus non negamus'" (p. 182, n.). Here we find St. Aelred in Cistercian fashion following the literal interpretation of the Benedictine Rule, and the *Dublin Rule* following the spirit of the *Ancren Riwle* in allowing free choice according to circumstances because the essential is "true measure in our hearts." The liberal spirit of the other regulations quoted from the *Dublin Rule* is summarized by a heading in the Cotton MS (f. 49): "De Moderacione multorum"

[46] The Cott. MS here adds something, of which in the present state of the volume all that can be read is "monachorum tamen" (f. 52b).

[47] The Cott. MS adds "in die dominica."

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(c. 3), and another half legible heading is "De moderacione . . . . " (f. 50). Thus in general the life of the anchorite seems established in the *Dublin Rule* along lines which St. Aelred would have viewed with disfavor, and if this work had been written before *c.* 1163 it must certainly have been one which was in his mind when he complained of the discretion of the day as to physical abstinences. As we have seen, it may have been written any time after 1140, and it almost certainly derives the general tenour of its directions from the *Ancren Riwle.* In the recension of the *Riwle* of about 1231 (found in the Corpus Christi Cambridge MS) the author in new passages refers to the house which he addresses as "being like a Mother House," and I have pointed out that this probably indicates the general[48] use made of the treatise; of this we have one instance in the *Dublin Rule.*

In conclusion, another spiritual brother of the author of the *Ancren Riwle* in the middle of the twelfth century should be brought forward. It so happens that the work of Godwin, precentor of Salisbury, which was first studied with a view to identifying that person with Godwin of Kilburn, gives signs of the same "Time-Spirit" as we find in the *Riwle*, and since the work is never likely to be printed, it may be worth while to quote and describe it briefly.

The first words of the *Meditations* give hints of the alliteration, rhyme, and antithesis, which appear from time to time throughout the piece: "Hec sunt prima documenta noue legis tue, Christiane, que nouus legislator Iesus Christus proprio ore auribus discipulorum, sub magna serenitate sedens in monte, non imperando, sed pie exhortando, promulgauit." The "new law," as set forth in the Beatitudes, is the theme of the *Meditations.* On f. 29^{v} the heading appears: "*Sermo cujus supra,*" but without change of style or subject. Neither section makes mention of Rainilda, for whom the rubric says that the work is written, though once (f. 10^{v}) "Christiane" is addressed; in the second section, addresses to "fratres" are frequent (see ff. 43, 46, 48^{v}, 51^{v}, 56^{v}).

[48] Especially the author would seem to indicate, in "London, Oxford, Shrewsbury or Chester." In Shrewsbury we know that there was a community of anchoresses. In my article, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, Jan. 1929, p. 10, I point out that "Chester" may be Chester-le-Street (co. Durham) where an anchorite's house, large enough apparently for two persons, still exists. Of course the hermit Godric of Finchale was under the jurisdiction of the prior of Durham, and St. Aelred's father (of a Durham family) spent his last days as a monk in the priory.

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This work shows the broad non-sectarian sympathy which is so striking in the *Ancren Riwle*, and which, in my article on the origin of that treatise (pp. 515–33) I have shown to have been typical of the liberal party in the church at the time of the foundation of Kilburn. The following quotation will show that the Precentor Godwin is to be counted amongst those in the twelfth century who sought to minimize sectarian differences:

Adhuc olim non monasteria[49] sed cellulas monachorum ire, et cum huiusmodi habitare seculum erat profecto relinquere, crucem erat post dominum portare. Quid ergo? Nunquid sic heremiticam vel anachoriticam vitam intendimus extollere, ut uelimus monachice sancte conversationi a sanctis patribus post apostolos institute derogare? Non inuidemus monasteriorum felicitati sed congaudemus Deo ibi seruientium oportunitati. Optimum enim in monasteriis refugium inuenire possunt, qui heremi inediam et nuditatem et laborem manuum ferre nequeunt, quique tribulationes et sollicitudines mundi et occasiones habendi effugere cupiunt. Habent etenim sancti fratres, simul in monasteriis degentes, nimirum formam sui ordinis ex auctoritate apostolice institutionis, quam placuit Christo post ascensionem suam demonstrari Ierosolimis ad exemplum omnium ecclesiarum, iuxta exemplar supernorum ciuium Ierusalem celestis. Ita enim Lucas refert inter cetera actuum apostolorum: ***Multitudinis credentium erat cor unum***, id est, unus affectus pro inuicem ex toto corde compatiendi *et anima una*. . . . . Verum hec omnibus imitanda uiuendi regula in primitiua ecclesia Ierosolimis inchoata-quibus potissimum conueniat, clericis, scilicet, in urbibus ab apostolis primo ordinatis et locatis, an monachis quos postmodum in desertis locis habitasse et labore manuum uixisse legimus, nihil mea interest (ff. 18^{v}, 20).

Nonquid tamen ceteri canonici et clerici qui proprietates ad necessitatem possident irregulares dicendi sunt, et penitus alieni ab illa sancta proposita forma multitudinis credentium; illi, videlicet, qui ea que de ecclesia possident non in commessationem et ebrietatem, non in pretiosarum uestium uanitatem, non in turpis lucri multiplicationem, sed in necessitates potius fidelium, domesticorum, et in usus pauperum, et opus rerum ecclesiasticarum fideliter administrant; qui ***unitatem spiritus, in uinculo pacis***, iuxta predictam sanctam formam solliciti seruant et predicant; qui in ecclesie ministerio tamquam apostolico gradui succedentes sancte et pie ministrant et re uera. Quid interest siue hec propria siue illa communia dicantur, si tamen hec que dicuntur propria clericorum communia pro ratione temporum inueniantur et pauperum, et illa que dicuntur communia monachorum[50] ipso usu cotidie inueniantur propria singulorum? An non enim propria singulorum illa uidentur, que a singulis in suis necessariis usibus distributa consumuntur? (f. 21).

[49] *Dico* is written above.

[50] *Id est, pauperum Christi* written above.

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The variation of custom in monastic life is then briefly touched on; the canons eat flesh and wear linen, monks do not. The author, however, does not linger over such differences, and he makes haste to insist on the essential unity existing underneath:

Differunt itaque clerici a monachis, monachi a kanonicis, in quibusdam quidem ritibus, non autem debent differre in sanctis moribus et unitate fidei et amoris (f. 22). Qualis autem esse debeat habitus canonicorum et monachorum et clericorum, multis est sanctorum patrum scriptis ostensum, ubi ante omnia sciendum quia in habitu quidem non est virtus sanctitatis, sed signum potius religionis (f. 22ᵛ). Multis modis adhuc ex sanctorum patrum scriptis potui ostendere quomodo inter se ordines ecclesie uideantur differre, sed multo utilius iudico breuiter demonstrare quomodo omnia membra Christi ad perfectam formam euangelice institutionis mecum et sancte multitudinis credentium quibus erant omnia communia possint pro suo modulo aspirare (f. 23).

The attitude of the author of the *Riwle* on the same subjects is clearly indicated in the work; as when he tells the three young anchoresses what to say "gif eni unweote acseð ou of hwat ordre ȝe beon alse sum deð, alse ȝe telleð me, þe isihð þene gnet and swoluweð þe vliȝe" (p. 8):

Vrom þe worlde witen him clene and unwemmed: her inne is religiun and nout iþe wide hod, ne iðe blake, ne iðe hwite, ne iðe greȝe kuuele; þer also moni beoð igedered togederes, þereuore mid onrednesse me schal makien strencðe of onnesse of cloþes and of oðer hwat of vttre þinges, þet te onnesse wiðuten bitocnie þe onnesse of o luue and of o wil, þet heo alle habbeð imene wiðinnen hore abit, þet is on, þet euch haueð swuch ase oðer; and also of oðer hwat aȝeines þet heo habbeð alle togederes o lune [luue?] and o wil, euch alswuch alse oþer: loke þet heo ne liȝen: þus hit is i kuuent; auh hwarse wummon liueð oðer mon bi him one, eremite oðer ancre, of þincges wiðuten hwarof scandle ne kume, nis nout muche strencðe (p. 12).

I have shown that striking echoes of the contemporary Cluniac-Cistercian quarrel occur here in the details cited as to clothing.

This will be seen to present the same point of view as we find in the work of the precentor of Salisbury (also written after the Cistercian secession had begun). I have shown in my former article (p. 531) that we find the same in John of Salisbury[51] and his pupil

[51] Dr. Poole (*Mediæval Thought and Learning*, 2nd edit., London, 1920) dates the birth of John of Salisbury "between 1115 and 1120" (p. 176). John left Salisbury in 1136, by his own statement (being then "adolescens admodum"). Dr. Poole's account of his character may be quoted for its likeness to what might be written

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Peter of Blois. Perhaps the precentor of Salisbury, of probably about 1120, left spiritual progeny behind him in his cathedral town who kept alive his liberalism even through the years when the meticulous Cistercians on the whole seemed to offer the "surest road to Heaven." In any case in his generous adjustment of the claims to holiness of monks, canons and secular priests, he, a secular priest himself, doubtless voices very much the opinion of the abbot of Westminster, when the latter endowed to perpetuity a hermit, who was not a monk, and three women who might be called canonesses,[52] with some of the goods of his own monks.[53] Thus a certain degree of nonsectarian feeling at Westminster is on record, whether we accept the *Ancren Riwle*, a monument of such sentiment, as written under the patronage of that great abbey or not.

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of the author of the *Ancren Riwle*: "It is in this freedom of outlook that John's individual distinction . . lies. There are some things in respect to which nothing would induce him to relax his positiveness. These are the affairs, the interests, of religion. . . . . Yet even this restriction leaves a considerable space for free and irresponsible questioning" (p. 189). At another time, Dr. Poole comments on John: "The spirit of humanism, in fact, which was the distinctive essence of the school of Chartres, he brought into alliance with a totally different spirit derived unmistakably from the mysticism of Hugh of Saint Victor. The union was no doubt exceptional, for the ethical theology of the Victorines was rather calculated to recommend the life of a recluse than to countenance the wide interests and the wide reading of a man like John of Salisbury; yet, as his writings show, it is this ethical principle, far more than any metaphysical or dogmatic system, that ruled his thoughts. . . . . There is no evidence that Hugh, whom John only refers to twice in all his works, was ever actually his teacher; the current may have been communicated as effectively by private association with Hugh or with fellow members of the abbey" (p. 185). From like "private association" influences may have been carried to the author of the *Ancren Riwle* from St. Bernard, Peter the Venerable, and so on.

[52] So the women of Kilburn might have been called before they assumed the title "Augustinian," for I have shown in my former article (p. 490, n. 24) that "canonesses" were sometimes merely women "who could not otherwise be described."

[53] It was a cause of quarrel with his monks that Abbot Geoffrey of St. Alban's spent so much money on St. Christina's establishment (later Markyate priory), which, though Benedictine, never became a cell of St. Alban's, and he evidently altogether had no narrow sense of monastic ownership, for he also established holy hermit women at Sopwell, and once in time of famine gave to the poor the proceeds of what was intended to finish the shrine of St. Alban's (*Gesta Abbatum*, pp. 76, 82, 95). Sopwell Priory was always a cell of St. Alban's and it has been supposed (*V.C.H.*, Herts. iv. 422 ff.) that it was founded to house the women who had been turned out of the abbey (which had been a double establishment).

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Professor Haskins has recently remarked[54] that "the literary output of the English Benedictines of the twelfth century is disappointing, save in the field of history. . . If we take as a fair specimen England's most famous abbey, Westminster, it has only a modest share in the intellectual life of our century."[55] It would be therefore all the more interesting if we could connect with Westminster's sphere of influence a work such as the *Ancren Riwle*, which we could so easily connect with the cultivated world centered about the abbey and palace at Westminster. Professor Haskins points out (p. 385) that "we do not know . . . . that the schools of Oxford in the twelfth century differed from those of many other places, as, for example, the London schools of whose disputes FitzStephen has left so vivid a description toward the close of the century." And Abbot Crispin of Westminster (whose corrody was granted to the sisters of Kilburn) has left us a record, in the London of King Henry Beauclerk, of what seems to be a "philosophers' club with its inner and outer circles";[56] to this he, timid about venturing into the busy streets because of weak health, was conducted by a friend. As he sat by the gate of the house (not being a "club-member," as it were), beside a porter whom he knew: "Altera inter duos alios juxta me habebatur quaestio, videlicet utrum grammatica sit logica. . . . . " We are reminded of the Latin sentences opening the English *Ancren Riwle*: "'Recti diligunt te'. In Canticis, Sponsa ad Sponsam. Est Rectum Grammaticum, et Rectum Geometricum, et Rectum Teologicum, et sunt differencie totidem Regularum. De Recto Theologico nobis sermo est," etc. (p. 2). Here we are in the same atmosphere of the schools, and it is evident that the connection with Westminster would have given the training of that world to the hermit of Kilburn, if he had been so minded, as much as the training of courtly experience of society, or of monastic experience of theology, whether from books or from persons, English or Continental.

[54] *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, 1927, pp. 39–40.

[55] The review by "F.M.P." in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.* (April 1928, p. 288) says that "the slighting reference to the intellectual poverty of the English Benedictine houses in the eleventh and twelfth centuries would have shocked the late Edmund Bishop."

[56] *Notes and Documents relating to Westminster Abbey*, No. 3, Cambridge, 1911, pp. 73–4. The editor, Dr. Robinson, discusses inconclusively whether a fiction is in question, but he notes "realistic touches" and concludes: "If the picture is a fancy one, it is at any rate an evidence of learning and literary skill."

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III. *HIS OTHER WORKS*

In conclusion some works may be pointed out which suggest that they may have been written by the author of the *Ancren Riwle*. They are sermons, addressed to laymen, and therefore such as might in early life and perhaps later have been preached by Godwin (a secular priest?) who became a hermit at Kilburn. So talented a writer as the author of the *Ancren Riwle* must, it would appear, have somehow exercised his talents for expression elsewhere than in that work.

Among the most interesting monuments of early Middle English are the so-called Lambeth Homilies, edited by Dr. Morris in the volume *Old English Homilies*.[57] The Lambeth MS 487 from which they are printed is dated (p.v, n.2) by Dr. Morris as "before 1200 A.D.," distinctly earlier, that is, than any manuscript of the *Ancren Riwle*. The librarian of Lambeth in July 1922 very kindly sent the volume to the British Museum to be dated by Mr. Gilson, who was good enough to give the following statement:

> On purely palæographical grounds I should be disposed to date Lambeth MS 487 somewhere in the forty years 1185–1225 (ff. 65^{b}–67 later). The materials, however, for dating vernacular writing are so slight that any opinion must be tentative. I base the above mainly on the Latin scraps, the extent of which is small.

In July 1928 Mr. Gilson was kind enough to give me a statement as to the date of the *Ancren Riwle* MSS, which I add for purposes of comparison:

> I have no firm conviction about the relative date of the *Ancren Riwle* MSS, but both Tit. D. XVIII and Cleop. C. VI seem to be of the first half of the XIII cent. For Nero A XIV I would prefer to be even less precise and say *temp.* Hen. III (1216–1272).

Mr. Gilson reminded me that Mr. Macaulay consulted with him before assigning dates to the volumes in question. Mr. Macaulay assigned all three manuscripts in question to the first half of the thirteenth century, as also the Corpus Christi Coll. Camb. MS. The Cleopatra MS he called "probably a little later than" the others.[58] Thus in any case the Lambeth MS is probably earlier than any copy of the *Ancren Riwle*.

[57] *EETS, Orig. Ser.*, 29, pp. 1–189.
[58] *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IX, 146.

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The dialect of the Lambeth Homilies is a matter of interest in the present connection, for Professor Wyld, after an elaborate dialectical analysis, writes:

> Until some good evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, we may without undue rashness assume that both the Trin. and Lamb. MSS were written within a radius of fifteen miles or so of London. We might suggest, tentatively, that the Lamb. MS was written in the neighborhood of Brentford. There are various objections which will occur to the reader against attributing the text even to N.E. Surrey, otherwise we might almost be inclined to claim Lambeth itself as its place of origin.[59]

This conclusion is confirmed by comparison with Middlesex Place-Names by Miss B. A. Mackenzie,[60] and is supported by the elaborate researches of P. H. Reaney,[61] who writes:

> A similar comparison of the chief features of the Lambeth and Trinity Homilies with those of our documents for about the same period confirms Wyld's suggestion that these texts are written in the London dialect. . . . . The agreement between the texts and the documents is as close as could be expected in dealing with a mixed dialect.

Like Wyld, Reaney dates the homilies "*c.* 1200." The dialect of all prose works is naturally affected by the date of the copy, whatever the date of original composition; the homilies, however, are likely to have been less often copied than the popular *Ancren Riwle*, and therefore to be nearer in dialect to the original. No copy of the *Riwle* is less than about ninety years later than the date conjectured for the composition (the earliest copy, in fact, belonging to the second revision of the text). It is therefore not strange that no copy exists which apparently comes so near to the dialect of the Kilburn-Westminster district as does the manuscript containing the Lambeth Homilies. Since the latter works give internal evidence suggesting authorship by the author of the *Ancren Riwle*, it is of interest that their dialect suggests that which we imagine must have been his.

There is no external evidence as to the authorship of the Lambeth Homilies. Dr. Morris, however, in the preface to his first volume, remarks:

[59] "Dialects in Middle English," in *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, VI, 138. See my Additional Note, *infra*, p. 680.

[60] *The Early London Dialect*, Oxford, 1928, p. 23.

[61] "The Dialect of London in the Thirteenth Century," *Eng. Stud.*, LXI (1926), 22.

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What strikes one very clearly is that the first six Homilies (pp. 1–71) are by one and the same author. This, I think, is evident from the use of the curious word *witicrist* (or *witecrist*), 'By Christ!' or 'So help me Christ!', and the frequent employment of the phrases 'dear men,' 'good men,' 'dear brethren and sisters,' which do not occur in the later discourses. . . . .

[The author's] familiar mode of address and homely illustrations, as well as his frequent appeal to his flock as 'dear men,' 'good men,' etc., must have done much to secure him attentive listeners to the end of the sermon (p. xii).

In these observations of Dr. Morris he combines interesting and accurate statements with curious inaccuracy; the sixth of the pieces he mentions (pp. 54–71) is a riming poem on the Pater Noster, which exhibits none of the characteristics of the others which he enumerates. Moreover, the word "witecrist" which he speaks of as common to all six pieces, is only to be found in No. III (pp. 24–41—half of this is translation), where it occurs five times. The address "dear men" etc. is a striking feature of all five sermons, as are familiar illustrations.

In the three stylistic peculiarities pointed out by Dr. Morris in the five sermons, we have idiosyncrasies which can be duplicated or paralleled from the *Ancren Riwle*, as the following discussion will show.

A. Any attentive reader of the *Riwle* must have noted the author's fondness for the phrase "God hit wot" and similar forms, which has appeared in quotations already given. For example on p. 116 "God hit wot" occurs twice; on p. 360 we have "Wat Crist" and "God hit wot," and the latter appears in two thirteenth century manuscripts as "Deuleset"; on p. 382 we have twice "Got hit wot," once "Crist hit wot," and once "Deu le set"; we have on p. 90 "Wot Crist" and on pp. 312, 330, and 418 again the "Wat Crist" found on p. 360; on p. 430 we have "God hit wot," transformed in two of the thirteenth century manuscripts into "Deu le set" (n.); we have "Deuleset" on p. 268 (one of the thirteenth century manuscripts here has "Crist hit wat"); on pp. 276, 286, 362 we have the curious "Deale," which the editor believes to be a corruption of "Deuleset." In general, single occurrences of "God hit wot" or similar forms need not be cited, since the author's predilection for such expression has already been abundantly proved; it should, however, be noted that "God hit wot" occurs in the important passage in the manuscript printed by

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Morton which describes the personal circumstances of the three sisters addressed.[62]

The facts just enumerated will show that the author of the *Ancren Riwle*, who uses the phrase "God hit wot," or an equivalent, sometimes as often as four times on one page, shows a similar striking idiosyncrasy of style to that of the author of the homily, who uses "witecrist" five times in seven pages. But we cannot press the analogy too far, for, as Miss Roberta Cornelius has pointed out to me, Mr. C. T. Onions[63] has shown that the idioms "Wite God", "Wite Crist" and "God it wite" are quite distinct from the "well-known *God wot*, 'God knows,' or *wot Crist* (cf. *Ancren Riwle* . . . . pp. 90, 312)." He gives many interesting examples both from Middle English and Anglo-Norman, among which is one of the five instances found in the Lambeth Homilies. The repetition there, not mentioned by Mr. Onions, seems to me to be notable alongside the repetition in the *Ancren Riwle* not only of *God wot*, but of similar forms in French and English (among which Mr. Onions finds one case of *God hit wite*). In other words the author of each work shows a pronounced mannerism for the use of similar phrases, and it is possible that if the sermons were more extended (or more closely reported) we should find the variety of form found in the *Riwle*. In any case the fact that all our manuscripts are very far from the originals would forbid our arguing too closely in cases of this kind (*v. supra*, p. 672). The wide variation found in the *Ancren Riwle* is not always constant in all the manuscripts; for example a note given by Morton (p. 268) indicates that whereas two thirteenth century manuscripts give "Deuleset" or "Dew-

[62] The author says at this point that each sister has "of one ureond al þet hire is neod, ne þerf þet meiden sechen nouðer bread, ne suuel, fur þene et his halle" (p. 192). This I believe to refer to the three corrodies granted by the abbot of Westminster to the three *inclusae* of Kilburn. The text then goes on: "God hit wot, moni oðer wot lutel of þisse eise" . . . . and his turn of phrase here recalls the usual style of the author. As I show in my article (p. 482), this whole description is in its entirety found only in the manuscript printed by Morton. A motive for its omission in some copies is found in the fact that the revision of 1230, adapted for twenty anchoresses, had a large influence; in any case, the facts given by the long passage in Morton are corroborated by hints and partial repetition in other copies, and the general accuracy of the passage in question is thereby supported. I pointed out, however, in my former article, that the sentences just quoted, with the reference to the corrodies which they seem to contain, are not echoed in any manuscript. The stylistic connection which they show with the rest of the work, just pointed out, may now furnish evidence confirming their authenticity.

[63] *Rev. Eng. Stud.*, July, 1928, pp. 334–7.

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leset," a third does not render this literally as "God hit wot," but substitutes "Crist hit wat." The fact that the original language of the *Ancren Riwle* cannot be said to be settled introduces another element of uncertainty.

As we have seen, the other four sermons under discussion do not, in spite of Dr. Morris's remarks, offer any instances of the "witecrist." We cannot say that this obliges us to omit them from the discussion; though the *Ancren Riwle* sometimes uses a similar phrase every few sentences, it may go for many pages without so doing, and it may be that the sermons in question are the equivalent of such pages, and that if we had more of the sermons of this writer the trick of expression would reappear (and *v. infra*, p. 679). We shall see that in other peculiarities three, at least, of the other four sermons are identical.

B. The second peculiarity of the style of the sermons in question which seems to Dr. Morris to indicate common authorship is the frequent use of direct address, "dear men and women," "dear men," etc. Such an address is used eight times in the first sermon (four pages), nine times in the second (seven pages), nine times in the third (eight pages), three times in the fourth (three pages), and four times in the fifth (four pages).

The habit of direct address is one of the most striking peculiarities of the *Ancren Riwle*, which has been amply illustrated by the long series of quotations made above (pp. 638 ff.). Many sentences, moreover, without addressing the anchoresses by name, at the same time use a very personal form of address; the personal "ȝe," "ou" appear constantly, and such an instance as pp. 50–52 may be noted, where the direct address occurs five times in two pages.

C. The familiar illustrations used by the author of the sermons in question are also highly characteristic of the author of the *Ancren Riwle*, and they may be found wherever the book is opened, except in the first book and the last, where material regulations are treated. This subject is so easily verified that it need not be illustrated here. The apt and familiar imagery of the author of the *Ancren Riwle* would make him conspicuous for imagination and flexibility of style in any age, and in the theological literature of the Middle Ages he is novelty itself.

Some touches of the same humour and imagination as appear in the *Riwle* appear in each of the five sermons here in question. In the first we have:

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Leoue broðre and sustre ȝe hi hered hu muchel edmodnesce ure drihten dude for us. he mihte ridan ȝif he walde on riche stede and palefrai and mule and arabisz nalde he no. na forþon uppon þa muchele assa aȝc uppon þa lutthle fole þat ȝet hit wes sukinde (p. 5). A hu scolde oðermonnes goddede comen him to gode þe nefre on þisse liue nanes godes ne rohte? A. hwa is þet mei þet hors wectrien þe him self nule drinken? (p. 9).

In the second we have:

Muchel is þines eorðliches louerdes eie and hunfold mare is cristes eie. forðon þe eorðliche lauerd ne mei don na mare bote pinen þe wrecche licome to deaðe. Ah godalmihtin þe mei fordon eiðer ȝe þine wrecche licome and þine saule. . . . . Ne þe preost þe ne mei scrife bute þu wulle heo alforleten. Hu mei þe leche þe lechnien þa hwile þet iren sticat in þine wunde. Nefre (pp. 21, 23). [Similes from medicine are frequent in the *Riwle;* cf pp. 112, 178, 194, etc.] "A lutel ater bitteret muchel swete" (p. 23) (cf. *Riwle*, p. 78: "Hope is a swete spice wiðinne þe heorte, þet sweteð[64] vt al þe bitter þat tet bodi drinkeð."). "Þah an castel beo wel bemoned mid monne and mid wepne. and þer beo analpi holh þat an mon mei crepan in. Nis hit al unnet. hwet itacnet þe castel þe mon seolf" (p. 23) (cf. *Riwle*, p. 246: "kastel þet haueð deope dich abuten, and water beo iðe dich—þe kastel is wel kareleas aȝean his unwines. Kastel: þet is eueriche god mon þet te ueond weorreð").

In the third homily (which uses "witecrist") we have:

þer beoð summe þe mare herm is þe gað [*sc.* to Lenten confession] al swa ic nuþe eow tellen wulle. He . . . . doð swa þe swica þe biswikeð hine seolfe on-ende and bið al swa is an eppel iheoweð. he bið wið-uten feire and frakel wið-innen. Awah þet he efre wulle þristelechen oðer bi-þenchen mid his fule heorte þe heo wulle underfon swa heȝ þing and swa hali swa is cristes licome in his sunfulle buke. and weneð þet hit wulle him helpen. Neisoðliche nawiht ah þenne þe preost hit deð in his muþe. þenne cumeð drihtenes engel and binimeð þa halinesse mid him toward heouene riche. . . . . Leofemen ȝif þu ert swiðe for-gult wið þine eorðliche lauerd he þe wule forbeode of his eȝane on siht. . . . . Hu der þe wrecche mon underfon drihtenes fleis and his blod in his licome. (pp. 25, 27). Hu maht þu iseon þine sceadewe in worie watere? . . . . hu mahtest þu gan to þine aȝene liche ȝif þin hefet were offe? Nefre. (cf. *Riwle*, p. 182: "Nolde me tellen him alre monne dusigest, þet forsoke . . . . ane nelde prikunge, uor ane bihefdunge?") . . . . on enelpi luttele hwile mon mei underfon ane wunde on his licome, þet ne mei beon longe hwile hal. (cf. *Riwle*, p. 112: "A lutel ihurt i þen eie derueð more þen deð a muchel iðe hele"). . . . . þa lutle

[64] The reading of Morton's text, "spetteð," is here rejected for that of the other 13th-century manuscripts.

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hw[i]lle þu ha dest ha þe þuncheð fulgod and ful swete. and eft wite crist heo is ful biter to betene. . . . . hwet weneð þas ruperes and þas reueres þet nemeð oðres monnes eahte mid wohe. þet crist heom wulle milcien? . . . . nei. hwet þencheð heo þus . . . (p. 29).

A dialogue is then given between the priest and a spoiler. The fourth sermon describes the visit to hell of St. Paul and St. Michael, and familiar types of the time are encountered there and conversed with in direct discourse (which often is used in the *Riwle*).[65] The fifth sermon describes the prophet Jeremiah standing in the pit—which signifies sin—and in this pit are four kinds of reptiles:

þer wunieð in-ne faȝe neddren. and beoreð atter under heore tunge. Blake tadden and habbeð atter uppon heore heorte. ȝeluwe froggen. and crabben (p. 51).

The nature of the crab is then exemplified by a humorous dialogue between the young crab and the old.

þas faȝe neddre bitacneð þis faȝe folc þe wuneð in þisse weorlde. þe speket alse feire bi-foren heore euencristene alse heo heom walde in to heore bosme puten and swa sone se hi beoð iturnd awey from heom, heom to-twiccheð and to-draȝeð mid ufele weordes (p. 53).

At this point a few words coincide with the *Ancren Riwle* already cited. The backbiter there "is neddre kundel and þeo þet speked vuel bihinden berð atter in hire tunge" (p. 82).—Cf. the *Homilies* on backbiters: "þer wunieð in-ne faȝe neddren, and beoreð atter under heore tunge" (p. 51). The *Ancren Riwle* goes on to describe at length how the backbiter is like a raven-leaving the simile of the serpent with the few words just given. The homilies, on the other hand, go on to describe at length the black toads, and the yellow frogs; the latter are women, who are like the devil's mouse-trap and decoy men through "blanchet þet is þes deofles sape, and claþeð heom mid ȝeoluwe claþe þet is þes deofles helfter, and seodðan heo lokieð in þe scawere, þet is þes deofles hindene" (p. 53). Cf. *Ancren Riwle*, p. 82: "Bacbitunge and fikelunge, and eggunge to don eni vuel, heo . . . . beoð þes deofles bles, and his

[65] This sermon seems more colourless than the rest, and Dr. Hall (*Selections from Early Middle English*, 1130–1250, ii. 413) calls the dialect older than that of the following sermon. He thinks (*ibid.*, p. 422) that the latter is "in the same style if not by the same author" as homily 33 in the Second Series of homilies edited by Dr. Morris (*EETS. Orig. Ser.* 53, pp. 208–16). This work is full of imagery; it describes the "lairs of the devil," *i.e.*, drink, market, etc., in a manner like that of the group described here, to which it may very well belong.

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owene stefne"; "þe ilke þeonne þet stureð hire tunge ine leasunge, heo makeð of hire tunge cradel to þes deofles bearn and rockeð hit ȝeorneliche ase nurice." Many similar images occur in the *Riwle*, as, especially, in the account of the devil's retinue (pp. 210–6), where are vivaciously described his trumpeters, his jesters, his knife-throwers, his "darling," his ashgatherer, his purveyor, etc.

The habit of direct address noted by Dr. Morris in the homilies is linked with another also characteristic of the *Riwle*, that is, the habit of careful pauses at transition points and of careful cross reference, as in the following:

"Nu leofe men habbe ȝe iherd hwet ic habbe iseaid. . . . ." *Homilies*, p. 39); "Leofemen nu ȝe habbeð iherð of þis putte þe bitacninge þe ic habbe embe ispeken. . . . . Ihereð nuðe whulche þinges wunieð in þisse putte" (p. 51); "Al swa ic er seide . . . . " (pp. 17, 21, 23 (twice), 27, 37).

Such links are constant in the *Riwle*:

"ase ich er seide" (p. 86, cf. pp. 170, 188, 196, 220, 226, 254, 256, *et passim*), "þes eppel, leoue sustren, bitocneð alle þe þing þat lust falleð to, and delit of sunne" (p. 52); "Nu ȝe habbeð iherd one dole, mine leoue sustren" (p. 216); "Nu, mine leoue sustren, monie tentaciuns ich habbe inemned ou" (p. 226); "Ich seide ueor biuoren iðe frumðe of þis tale, mine leoue sustren . . . . ase ich seide er . . . . " (p. 104); "ȝe habbeð of þeos blissen i-writen on oðer stude, mine leoue sustren. þeos luue is þe riwle þet rihteð þe heorte" (p. 410); "Schirnesse of heorte . . . . is, ase we seiden er, þet god and þe strencðe of alle religiuns. . . . . Luue make hire schir . . . . Luue haueð one meistrie biuoren alle oðre þinges" (p. 406).

With the last of these passages (which are a few chosen from many possible ones) may be compared the following from the third homily:

"Heo [cherite], fulled alle þa oðre þing and endeð. witicrist þe mon þe ne luueð cherite ne cumeð he nefre in godes riche. Nu ȝe maȝen iheren hwet is riht cherite . . . . " (p. 39).

It will be noted in the quotations given that other colloquial ejaculations than "witecrist" appear; we have "nefre!", "Hwet!" "Awah!" The interrogative is used often, and it is also one of the mannerisms found in the *Ancren Riwle*. Dialogue (not common in mediæval theological treatises) is used in both *Riwle* and homilies. The whole style of the homilies is personal, as is that of the treatise, though it is obvious that the latter work, being addressed to three persons intimately known to the writer, is more

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personal than the sermons, which are delivered evidently to a congregation of lay-folk.

The difference in audience, moreover, is not the only difference that must be brought into the comparison between the sermons and the treatise. If the sermons are the work of the same author as the *Riwle*, they may have been written when he was much younger than when he wrote the latter. The text of the Homilies, moreover, as we have seen, is probably nearer to the archetype than that of the treatise; it is not certain whether the latter was not first written in French. Moreover, whatever the altered state of the text of the *Ancren Riwle* now, once there was a perfect text of that work, and in the case of sermons we cannot be sure that a complete text was ever written down. This subject has been interestingly developed for France by l'abbé Bourgain in his volume *La chaire française au xii^e siècle d'après les manuscrits* (Paris, 1879), by A. Lecoy de la Marche in his volume *La chaire française au moyen âge* (2nd ed., Paris, 1888), and by M. Ch. V. Langlois in the *Revue des deux mondes* (Jan. 1, 1893) in a brilliant review of these two volumes. On the questions of sermons surviving only by notes see Bourgain, pp. 169 ff., Lecoy de la Marche, p. 324, Langlois, p. 173. Unfortunately there is no work on English sermons at this early date, but as Dr. Owst remarks in his volume on mediæval preaching: "What sermons, it will be asked, if any, could fairly claim to have been set down precisely as they were delivered in the first case?"[66] He mentions sermons "reduced to skeleton outline" which are preserved from the period 1350–1450, and for the twelfth century the accurately or fully reported sermons must surely have been far fewer than for the later epoch of which he treats. Here we may have an explanation for the differences of style to be noted even in the five sermons in question, some of which seem much more individual than others as if some were fully reported, others only by notes. Here may be a reason for the uneven distribution of "witecrist."

In general it may be said that the elements which the homilies and the treatise have in common are permanent and essential, such as survive the accidents of transmission as testimony to the individuality of an author; where commonplace usages are in question, their repetition introduces a mannerism. The hypothesis of common authorship of the homilies and the *Ancren Riwle* may

[66] G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Mediæval England*, Cambridge, 1926, p. 232.

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therefore be called worthy of further consideration. A thoroughgoing investigation of twelfth-century sermons in England might throw further light on the subject.[67]

HOPE EMILY ALLEN

ADDITIONAL NOTE. This paper had already been put into type when the article by Professor Tolkien, "*Ancrene Wisse* and *Hali Meidenhad*" made its appearance in the *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, XIV (1929). Professor Tolkien analyses the language of the Corpus Christi Camb. MS. of the *A.R.* (called by him "A"), along with that of the "Katherine Group" in Bodley 34 (called by him "B," and said to resemble "A" almost exactly). He speaks of "such 'O. E. Homilies' as the Sermon for the First Sunday in Lent (*O. E. Hom.* i, pp. 28 ff. [an error for 24 ff.]), a text which has, as a main ingredient, language related in some remarkable ways to AB(*kimeð*, *bluðeliche*, *eskien* are examples)" (p. 119).

The sermon in question is that using "witecriste," which has already been noted here as evidently the most closely reported of the series, and it is of interest for the hypothesis just described that he finds its language so close to that of the best copy (linguistically speaking) of the *A. R.*, as well as to that of a copy of the other works which I have conjectured to have emanated from the same environment (see my first article, p. 536). Professor Tolkien considers that " 'By whom' and 'for whom' [the *A. R.* was written] are sentimental questions, and knowledge, at any rate of the latter, is not likely to have any importance to scholarship" (p. 116). It does not inspire confidence, however, in his criterion of language as the only safe guide to the study of texts to discover that he is inclined to localise "AB" in Herefordshire, whereas the homily which he calls similar is placed by his colleague Professor Wyld, by Miss Mackenzie and by Mr. Reaney in the London district.

[67] The present article, like my first suggesting the connection of the *Ancren Riwle* with Kilburn, has brought forward parallels with Peter the Venerable, who, I believe (though probably never known personally to the author) must have belonged to the same contemporary school of thought, as it were. An agreement with Abbot Peter on a small detail of the religious life may also be cited. The anchoress is told in the *Riwle* (p. 136): "Vorði seið euerich ancre to eueriche preoste, confiteor, on alre erest" (cf. also p. 64, and Macaulay's collation, p. 155). Peter says of a great prelate (earlier monk of Cluny) that he greeted all monks, bishops and clerics with "confiteor Deo" "quod in monachatu pro more didicerat" (ed. Migne, *c.* 931). In an addition to the *A. R.* in the Corpus Christi Camb. MS (Macaulay, p. 467) visits of friars are described and the anchoress is told: "ȝef he is preost seggeð ear þen he parti mea culpa. Ich schriue me to godd almihti and to þe." A more detailed confession is then to follow (cf. Herbert Thurston, *Notes on Familiar Prayers*, VI, "The *Confiteor*," *the Month*, July, 1914).

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XXVII

THE TEXT OF THE *GERUSALEMME LIBERATA* IN THE VERSIONS OF CAREW AND FAIRFAX

WHEN Christopher Hunt took it upon himself, in 1593, to publish the first five "songs" of *Godfrey of Bulloigne or the Recoverie of Hierusalem . . . . translated into English by R.C.Esquire* (that is, of course, Richard Carew), he reprinted on facing pages the first five cantos of the Italian original. "Thereby," says Hunt in his prefatory address,"the learned reader shall see to how strict a course the translator hath tyed himselfe in the whole worke, usurping as little liberty as any whatsoever, that ever wrote with any commendation."

The device was an open challenge to connoisseurs. It was also shrewd advertisement of what has always been recognized as Carew's main virtue. It made obvious at a glance that this version of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* was a very different affair from Sir John Harington's *Orlando Furioso*, published only three years earlier, in which whole stanzas were omitted and passages condensed, according to the translator's fancy. Harington might be more readable, but none who subjected him to the same test could fail to observe that he was less conscientious—and this not only in the mass, but in detail; for whoever, accepting Hunt's challenge, undertook to check a few pages of the Tasso, line by line, with the original would notice, beyond everything else,their steady faithfulness. Carew evidently did his work with his eye always on the text before him.

And yet, at intervals, "the learned reader" might stumble on renderings that would fairly puzzle him with the question how they came to be so loose.

I, 28(5) Men divien opportun, più che si resti.
And yet fits our exploit, but lie you still.

How could a man, he might ask, with any pretence to knowledge of Italian, so completely miss the plain sense?

I, 37(7, 8) Capitano egregio,
A cui, se nulla manca, è il sangue regio.
who Captaine great in fame,
That nought might want, possest a royall name.

"A cui se nulla manca" does not mean "that nought might want";

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any Elizabethan connoisseur might have enough Italian to recognize that. On the other hand, it does not puzzle—being too obviously a mere blunder. What does seem strange is the last word. Why "name"? To rhyme with "great in fame"? Rhyme is a notorious compeller of compromises; but compromises may incline toward as well as away from the truth, and "sangue" being far more vital to the sense of the passage than "egregio," one would expect a careful workman to fix on "blood" and then make the most of a corresponding "good."

I, 51(1) The leader of the Greek contingent in the crusading army is given in the Italian as "Tatin," in Carew as "Latine." A mere misprint? If so, in which text, Italian or English? At this point, "the learned reader" might bethink him to consult his own copy of the *Gerusalemme*, or a friend's, and if this happened to be, say, one of the early Bonnà editions or that printed by Salicato in 1585, he would discover that the name, as given there, was "Latin." If, thereupon, it occurred to him to look up the other two passages cited, he would discover that the line which in Christopher Hunt's Italian text reads

Men divien opportun, più che si resti

reads in the Bonnà texts and in the Salicato

Ma divien opportun, più che si resti,

which is obviously what must have been before Carew when he wrote, making the best of a corrupt passage,

And yet fits our exploit, but lie you still.

Similarly, the passage that in Hunt's Italian reads

Capitano egregio,
A cui, se nulla manca, è il sangue regio,

has, in these other texts, for "sangue," "nome"—the one word needed to explain Carew.

"The learned reader" of 1593 might thus be drawn into discoveries which escaped his learned successor of three centuries later, Emil Koeppel, who made his thorough and able study of Elizabethan translations from Tasso[1] without the slightest note of variant readings. Koeppel, it may be observed, did his work before Ferrari and Solerti had revived the question of texts, and in any

[1] *Anglia*, XI, XII (1890).

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case neither he nor an Elizabethan could easily have pursued variant readings very far, for it was not till the appearance of Solerti's *edizione critica* in 1895–96 that the multitude of editions of the poem was made readily accessible. Before then a critic's attitude might excusably be that of Christopher Hunt. This Devonshire worthy seems to have supposed that all which needed to be done, to furnish the reader with Carew's original, was to choose a good Italian edition and reprint it exactly. He, or his advisers, may have been aware that some editions claimed a special authenticity; he may have been attracted by the sounding phrase, "ridotta alla sua vera lettione secondo il proprio originale dello stesso autore," which illuminates the title page of the Osanna edition of 1584, a more aggressive phrase than the simple "tratta dal vero originale" of Bonnà; whatever his reason, the text reprinted in the Carew volume is that of Osanna, 1584. The reprint is minutely faithful, language, spelling, punctuation, and all—if allowance be made for inevitable minor slips, of which there are unusually few. But the text on which Carew worked was, as we have seen reason to suppose, not this one.

What text, then, was it? To decide this might seem to involve an examination of all variant readings of the first five cantos, not only in the editions analyzed by Solerti, but in the many that he thinks not worth analysis—a labor that would not be justified by the slender result. Examination by no means exhaustive, but reasonably wide, will carry us as far, perhaps, as we shall have interest in going.

A word as to the character of the evidence.

Variants in the Italian, of course, are not always reflected in the English; the translation at any point may happen to be so general in its language as to fit either of two readings. Or else the difference in reading may be so slight that one hesitates to take it seriously. For example, in V, 17 (2) most editions read "l' or o il domino"; three only, "l'or e il domino"; Carew has "gold and rule." Now Carew is unquestionably conscientious; conscientious fidelity to his original is admittedly his main virtue; but he is, after all, one suspects, enough of an Elizabethan to care little for insignificant differences like that. In combination with other and more emphatic differences they might perhaps be allowed to turn the scale, but they cannot be allowed to count separately. In the example cited, the difference between "o and "e" is mainly rhetorical, and rhetorical convenience will frequently override

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fidelity; it may lead a translator to ignore the literal sense of his original, it may even draw him into resemblances that are accidental, not deliberate. To be fairly sure that an agreement between the English text and a particular variant reading of the Italian is deliberate, one needs to be sure that it cannot fairly be accounted for on any other terms.

The passages worth note seem to be the following. I give first the text that Carew was advertised as using, but did not use (the text printed opposite to his English in Hunt's volume, the text of Osanna, 1584), then that which he did use, with note of the editions in which it appears and with his rendering of it. For references to edition I have adopted the symbols of Solerti, with others for the various editions of which he takes no critical account.[2]

I, 28 (5) Men divien opportun, più che si resti
Ma divien . . . . . .
B_{1-2}, S_2
And yet fits our exploit, but lie you still

I, 30(5) Reco ad un alta originaria fonte
Reco ad un altra . . . . . .
B_{1-2-3}, M_{2-3}, V, C, S_{2-5}, P, F
I gesse that from another head there came

I, 36(3) Vagliami tua virtù sì, ch'io ridica
Vagliami tua ragion . . . . . .
B_{1-2-3}, V, M_3, $S_{1-2-3-4-5}$, P, F
Afford thy reasons helpe, that I may showe

I, 37(8) A cui, se nulla manca, è il sangue regio.
. . . . . nome regio.
B_{1-2-3}, V, M_3, G, $S_{2-3-4-5}$, P, F
That nought might want, possest a royall name.

[2] From Solerti: M_{2-3}=Malespina, 1581, 1582; I_{1-2}=Ingegneri, both 1581; B_{1-2-3}=Bonnà, 1581, 1581, 1585; V=Viotto, 1581; C=Cappelli, 1582; R=Romei, 1582; O=Osanna, 1584; G=Genova, 1590. For texts not analyzed by Solerti:—$S_{1-2-3-4-5}$=Salicato, 1584, 1585, 1588, 1589, 1590; L=Lione, 1581; P=Palermo, 1582; F=Ferrara, 1582. I omit Solerti's M_1, the Malespina first edition, because it is incomplete. I omit Salicato, 1593, because it is obviously too late; I have, however, checked its readings enough to make sure that it was not the text used by Carew. We have here, then, twenty editions, all published in time to be available to Carew's undertaking. There are no others (at least, none have survived in the bibliographies), except the three listed by Solerti (I, 153, 154, 157) as identical with B_1, R, and M_3.

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I, 51(1) Tatin regge la schiera . . . .
Latin . . . . . .
B_{1-2}, M_{2-3}, V, $S_{1-2-3-4-5}$, P, F
Latine that Cornet led . . . .

I, 78(6) La qual può far che tutto il campo abbonde
De' necessari arnesi, e che le biade
Ogni isola de' Greci a lui sol mieta
La qual può far che tutto il campo abbonde
De' necessari arnesi e de le biade.
Ogni isola de' Greci . . . . . .
B_{1-2}, S_{2-4}, P
Which course unto his armie plenty gave
Of vittaile, and what else was needful most:
For him ech isle of Greece their harvest rept

III, 32(2) Se volge il corno a i cani ond' è seguito
. . . . . fuggito
B_1, V, C, M_3, S_2
If hornes to dogges he turne, from whence he fled

III, 70(7) Tu di vittoria annuntio
Indi . . . . . .
B_{1-2-3}, C, G, $S_{1-2-3-4-5}$, L, P, F
Thence conquest I denounce

IV, 1(1) Mentre fan questi i bellici strumenti
Mentre son questi alle bell' opre intenti
I_{1-2}, B_{1-2-3}, M_{2-3}, V, C, R, $S_{1-2-3-4-5}$, L, P, F
Whilst on so faire exploytes they bend their mind

V, 14(7,8) E caro esser mi dee che sia dimostro
Sì bel segno da voi del valor nostro.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .voler vostro.
V, C, R, S_{2-4-5}, P
[I] deere repute, that you so plaine a signe
Expresse, how your good wills to me encline.

V, 33(1) Arnaldo . . . .
Arnalto . . . .
I_{1-2}, B_{1-2-3}, M_{2-3}, V, C, R, $S_{1-2-3-4}$, L
Arnalt

V, 91(1) Dunque il Signor, che n'indirizza e move
. . . . . .v'indirizza. . . . .
B_{1-2-3}, V, M, C, R, $S_{1-2-3-4-5}$, P, F
Can then the Lord, who you doth stirre and guide

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For each of these passages the record given above is complete, with two exceptions. In III, 32 (2) I lack the readings of S_{1-3-5} *L, P, F;* in V, 33 (1) those of S_5, *P, F.* The gaps are not, I think, serious; to fill them would not add materially to our knowledge or affect our conclusions. As can be seen by cursory examination of the references, most of the twenty editions (the only editions available to Carew) appear in the list intermittently, that is, are sometimes with him sometimes against him. Only four support him with any show of constancy, B_1, B_2, S_2, and *P. P* is excluded by a consideration that we shall have to take more note of later, the number of stanzas; after V, 86, it inserts a stanza not found in Carew. We are left, therefore, with B_1, B_2, and S_2. If Carew is to be thought of as working on one set text, he must have worked on one of these three. And yet against each there are objections. Against B_1 and B_2 there is first the title, *Gerusalemme Liberata.* To get his compound *Godfrey of Bulloigne or the Recoverie of Hierusalem* Carew must have used, at least for the moment, some edition which, like S_2, prints *Il Goffredo overo Gerusalemme Liberata.* Again, (to reach outside the list for a point on which my data are incomplete) in IV, 20 (2), where Carew and S_2 print "Hidraote," B_1 and B_2 print "Idraote"—a trivial point, no doubt, but not altogether without weight. Finally, there is the reading "valor nostro," in V, 18 (8); one cannot conceive that, had Carew been working in the text of B_1 or B_2, he would have used English that so manifestly reflects the "voler vostro" of S_2. Against S_2, on the other hand, there is the insuperable objection of V, 82 (7)—a passage that does not appear in the list above, because, at this point, Carew follows *O.*

> Ne potrai de la vergine regale
> Fra i campioni legittimi meschiarti.
> Illegittimo servo è chi (riprende
> Cruccioso il giovinetto) a me il contende.
>
> Ne potrai de la vergine regale
> Fra i campioni legittimi meschiarti,
> Illegittimo servo. E chi (riprende
> Cruccioso il giovinetto) a me il contende?
>
> Nor mongst her lawful champions mayst thou bee
> Allowd to trace this royall virgins path,
> Servant of lawlesse rate, and who (replies
> The youth now waxed hoat) it me denies?

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There can be no doubt as to which Italian text Carew had before him here; he had the second. But the text of S_2 is the first. As, therefore, V, 18 (8) makes either of the Bonnà editions impossible, so V, 82 (7) excludes Salicato, 1585—that is, of course, as sole original. We are forced, then, to the conclusion that Carew worked on at least two independent texts. What corollaries we may infer had better be put off till we have examined Carew's greater contemporary, Fairfax.

Fairfax's version of the whole poem, published six years after Carew's fragment, and therefore still near to the sources, offers us, naturally, a wider base for investigation of originals. One is not limited, for instance, to mere variant readings; one can take account of narrative substance. In three editions of the poem (I_{1-2} and M_2) Soliman, instead of remaining in the city during the midnight sortie of Clorinda and Argante, goes out with them to the burning of the tower, as third of the party. This is the version adopted by Jean du Vignau, in his French translation of 1595. Needless to say, it is not Fairfax's; he follows the more widely accepted version of the other texts. There is also the test of stanzas. The number of these varies extraordinarily in certain cantos, from edition to edition, according as the text printed represents earlier or later recensions of the poet or his advisers. Now, Fairfax translates loosely, at least by comparison with Carew; but he always respects the integrity of the stanza; that is one main difference between him and Harington. In sifting out editions, therefore, with an eye to determining his original, one must never lose sight of this test. It was barely applicable to Carew, for in the first five cantos of the poem there is but one case in point: after V, 86 M_2, I_{1-2}, R, C, and P insert an extra stanza; and before one reaches that, all these editions, except P, have dropped out of the running, With VI, however, comes a flood of variation, and from then on most cantos have one or more insets or omissions or substitutions. In the case of Fairfax, the best way of sifting out editions for fuller examination is by checking up of stanzas.

The process need not be so exhaustive as it might at first appear—if one begins at the hither end. Check Fairfax with a modern edition of the *Gerusalemme*, and he will agree throughout in stanzas, except perhaps at two points. If the edition is one of those which were current in 1890, such an edition as Koeppel seems to have used, the agreement will be complete; if it is more recent, one of his stanzas in Canto VII, the 100th, will probably have no counterpart

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in the Italian, and one of the stanzas in Canto XVI of the Italian, the 41st, will probably have no counterpart in his English. The phenomenon is due, of course, to the revolution effected by Ferrari and Solerti. Down to 1890 modern editors followed the tradition of Osanna, 1584 (*O*); since then they have mostly followed that of Bonnà (B_{1-2-3}). If now, turning from modern texts to their sources one examines sixteenth-century editions,[3] one will find that the only text which agrees with Fairfax on both these stanzas, that accepted and that rejected, is Osanna. VII, 100, which Fairfax accepts, is printed by but two editions, Osanna and Viotto; all the others treat it as a relic of the earlier stages of the text, rejected by the poet in the course of successive alterations. XVI, 41, which Fairfax rejects, is printed by some dozen editions, including Viotto, but is specifically placed by Osanna among the *stanze rifiutate*. The one original text which agrees with Fairfax, in stanzas, all down the line from beginning to end of the poem, is Osanna.

One might stop there, for the proof is apparently conclusive; but, with Carew in mind, it may be well to push on. One can never tell what variant readings may show.

In Fairfax, of course, these have to be scrutinized more narrowly than in Carew, on account of his indifference to exactness and his habit of rhetorical elaboration. A single example may suffice. In XVIII, 30(8) most editions, including *O*, give

Le sembianze d'Armida e'l dolce viso.

I_{1-2} and M_2 give

La sembianza d'Armida e'l dolce riso.

Fairfax gives

Her gestures, smiles, and glances of her eyes.

At first sight it may seem that "smiles" must derive from "riso"; but a second glance shows that Fairfax does not really translate,

[3] In addition to the twenty already cited one must take account of Salicato, 1593, and of the various Ciotti editions that precede 1600, namely, 1594, 1595 (bis), 1597, 1598, and 1599. For Ciotti I have data on the issues of 1597, 1598, and 1599; but the other three I cannot trace beyond the pages of Guidi.[1] A copy of one of the 1595 issues, which Guidi reports to be in the Biblioteca dell' Archiginnasio at Bologna, has apparently disappeared, for the Curator, Signor Sorbelli, informs me that it is no longer there. If these issues of 1594 and 1595 are no nearer to the Fairfax canon than those of 1597–98–99, they are not worth pursuing. There seems to be no fair reason to suppose that any of them prints the crucial stanza (VII, 100) revived from the primitive MSS by *O* and *V* and ignored by all others.

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he takes the general sense and works it out in details of his own invention. The correspondence between "smiles" and "riso" is fortuitous. One needs to be constantly on guard against such false appearances.

There are plenty of readings, however, which are unmistakable, and these in the main corroborate the evidence of the stanzas. Take for instance X, 78(1–6). Most editions read

> Qui dal soggetto vinto il saggio Piero
> Stupito tace, e'l cor ne l'alma faccia
> Troppo gran cose de l'estense altero
> Valor ragiona, onde tutto altro spiaccia.
> Sorge in tanto la notte, e'l velo nero
> Per l'aria spiega, e l'ampia terra abbraccia:

O and *G*, almost alone, give

> Con questi detti ogni timor discaccia
> Di Rinaldo concetto il saggio Piero.
> Sol nel plauso comune avien che taccia
> Il pio Buglion immerso in gran pensiero.
> Sorge intanto la notte, e su la faccia
> De la terra distende il velo nero.

Fairfax unquestionably follows *O* and *G*.

> These words of his, of Prince Rinaldoes death
> Out of their troubled harts the feare had raced;
> In all this joy yet Godfrey smil'd uneath,
> In his wise thought such care and heed was placed.
> But now from deepes of regions underneath
> Nights vaile arose, and sunnes bright luster chaced.

Or take XI, 40 (6). The common reading is

> Cala fasci di lana e le frappone.

O stands alone with

> Colà fasci di lana egli frappone.

Fairfax words the line

> There sacks of wooll they place the blow to choke.

His version is characteristically free, but obviously takes its departure from the "Colà"of *O*.

Again, take XVI, 17 (7,8). The all but universal reading is

> Vede pur certo il vago e la diletta,
> Ch'egli è in grembo a la donna, essa a l'erbetta.

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For this we find in *O* the unique variant

> Vede pur certo Armida, e insieme è il vago,
> Sedersi a l'ombra incontra un chiaro lago.

Fairfax's version leaves us in no doubt that his original is the latter.

> Till they beheld the Queene, set with their knight
> Besides the lake, shaded with bowes from sight.

Then there are the proper names. In VI, 56 (1) B_{1-2-3} and their followers give "Aciano," *O* and its group "Cassano"; Fairfax follows the latter.[4] In IX, 41 (2) most editions give "Otton," *O* and *G* "Engerlan"; the latter is the name in Fairfax. In XVII, 19(6) we find a variety of forms: I_1, has "Tumara," I_2 "Tumarra," B_1 "Ramara;" and these three forms are variously distributed in other editions. B_{2-3}, *O*, *G*, S_3, and Ciotti 1598 and 1599 have "Zumara," which is the form adopted by Fairfax.

One might proceed indefinitely. The readings of *O* are sometimes unique,[5] sometimes shared with other editions. Fairfax follows them about like a bloodhound.

But not always. In I, 38(7,8) about half the editions, including *O*, print

> Poi duo pastor de' popoli spiegaro
> Le squadre lor . . . .

The other half print, for "squadre," "insegne." In Fairfax we find

> Two bishops next their standards proud upbare.

If all editions read "squadre," "standards" would be taken for a choice example of his common looseness of rendering; but one can hardly cite that looseness as an argument to explain away anything so definite as "insegne." Nor can it account for all of the following:

I, 30(5) *O*, "alta originaria fonte"; B_{1-2-3}, "altra originaria fonte"; Fairfax, "a further spring."

I, 63(7) *O*, "guardò"; M_{2-3}, "guidò"; Fairfax, "guied."

I, 78(6–8) *O*, and the majority,
La qual può far che tutto il campo abbonde

[4] In this particular passage Fairfax omits the name altogether; but he gives it in III, 19 (6), where it is omitted by Tasso.

[5] When I call a reading "unique" I mean that it is unique in Solerti's record and that it is not among my notes from other editions.

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De' necessari arnesi, e che le biade
Ogni isola de' Greci a lui sol mieta. . . . .

B_{1-2}, S_2, etc.,
La qual può far che tutto il campo abbonde
De' necessari arnesi e de le biade.
Ogni isola de' Greci a lui sol mieta. . . .

Fairfax,
Which for the camp might every day provide
To bring munition good, and victuals store,
The Isles of Greece sent in provision meete . . . .

IV, 15(7) *O*, and the majority,
Diede, che che si fosse, a lui vittoria

I_{1-2}, M_2, etc.,
Ebbero i più felici allor vittoria

Fairfax,
Yet good our cause was, though our fortune nought;
For chance assisteth oft th' ignobler part

V, 91(1) *O*, and others,
Dunque il Signor, che n'indirizza e move

B_{1-2-3}, and most,
. . . . . v'indirizza . . . .

Fairfax,
That Lord, who helpt you out at everie need

VII, 85(3) *O*, "minaccia il ciel"; I_{1-2}, M_2, "spaventa il ciel"; Fairfax, "make high heav'n affraid."

VIII, 1(7) *O*, "Astagorre"; M_3, S_2, etc., "Astragorre"; Fairfax, "Astragor."

IX, 37(4) *O*, alone of all editions,
A procurare in me la tua fierezza

The others,
A provocare in me . . . . . .

Fairfax,
That may provoke thine ire, thy wrath, and spight

IX, 68(3) *O*, "Berlingier"; B_{1-2-3}, S_2, and most, "Berlinghier"; I_{1-2}, "Beringhier"; Fairfax, "Berengario."

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XI, 76(6,7) *O*, and almost all,
corse lor per l'ossa

Un tremor freddo
I_{1-2}, M_2,
corse lor per l'ossa
Un timor freddo

Fairfax,
A chilling feare ran cold through every vaine

XIV, 37(2) *O*, and a few, "sotto quel rio"; the rest, "sotto del rio"; Fairfax, "Under the flood."

XV, 45(7) *O*, and a few, "E quando v'arrivar"; the rest, "Ma quando v'arrivar"; Fairfax, "But at the mountaines foot they both arrived."

XV, 50(8) *O*, and a few, "Ogni nativo ardire"; the rest, "L'ira e'l nativo orgoglio"; Fairfax, "His native wrath."

XVII, 14(5) *O*, and most, "Al mare usurpò il letto"; a few, "Al mare usurpò il lito"; Fairfax, "had won out of the salt sea side."

XVII, 86(1) *O*, and most,
Taciti se ne gían per l'aria nera

I_{1-2}, M_2,
Taciti se ne van per l'ombra nera

Fairfax,
While silent so through nights darke shade they flie

XX, 6(6) *O*, and most, "A'suoi liberator"; I_{1-2}, M_2, "Al suo liberator"; Fairfax, "their deliverer stout."

These correspondences are not all equally convincing; but they do not need to be. They are enough to establish the point at issue, that Fairfax, though holding in the main to the Osanna text of 1584, sometimes follows another. Almost any one of them might perhaps be ascribed to the chances of easy-going translation, but together they seem conclusive. Their evidence is rounded out by that of the title. *Godfrey of Bulloigne or the Reçoverie of Jerusalem* was not taken from the simple *Gierusalemme Liberata* of the Osanna volume. It must derive from *Il Goffredo overo Gerusalemme Liberata* of the Salicato texts and others.

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To make an end. According to antecedent probability, both Carew and Fairfax might have been expected to proceed like Christopher Hunt—select a comely edition of the *Gerusalemme* and follow that. Evidently they did not. Carew must have had before him at least two independent texts; Fairfax, one does not know how many. Were these in separate volumes?

The question seems absurd, but really is not; for one has to reckon here with that appendix of variant readings which is likely to be found in almost any edition of the *Gerusalemme* after the few earliest—not, for instance, in the Bonnà volumes, but in Salicato, 1585. The version of Carew, it will be remembered, is supported by this last at all essential points but one, V, 82(7), and for this passage, as it happens, the necessary reading which is not that approved by the Salicato editor, is recorded in just such an appendix to the volume, where any translator, in search of alternatives, might find it. It is conceivable, then, that Carew worked with a copy of Salicato, 1585, as his sole original; that as he worked he kept an eye on the variant readings; and that at this one point, not liking the text offered him, finding it, perhaps, unmanageable, he hunted for a better in the appendix and discovered what he wanted. That is a possibility, but it will not seem much more—for one cannot readily believe that among so many variants, short and long, as crowd the first seven double-columned pages of that repository Carew should have hunted out this and this only. In any case, although the use of such an appendix might explain the version of Carew, it will not explain that of Fairfax. Osanna, 1584, (his original, if he had one) does indeed print an appendix, but this concerns itself almost exclusively with whole stanzas, rejected by the poet in the course of his revisions—and there are no entries whatever for the first canto, in which the translator most frequently follows other readings than Osanna's. No single extant volume that I know of will explain Fairfax.

If neither Carew nor Fairfax confined himself to one edition of the Italian, does either seem to have dipped into many? For Fairfax one cannot be sure; besides Osanna, on which his work is mainly grounded,[6] he had before him various other texts, but how many and which are altogether uncertain. For Carew the evidence is more definite. Perhaps the most striking of the variants that he adopts

[6] I have not thought it worth while to encumber these pages with a list of the scores of passages that link Fairfax with Osanna. The correspondence is too obvious to require exhaustive proof.

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is that of I, 28 (5), "Ma divien opportun, più che si resti"—striking because in it he adopts what is obviously a mere misprint,"Ma" for "Men." That misprint occurs in only three of the twenty editions open to him, the first two of Bonnà (which for our purposes may be regarded as one, since in all points that concern Carew they coincide) and Salicato, 1585—the very texts that the other variants show to be in such constant conformity with his version. Had he made serious use of other editions, he could hardly have failed to notice the misprint.

How, finally, did Carew and Fairfax deal with these various texts? It can hardly be supposed that their eclecticism was critical, due, that is, to any regard for textual purity or to concern in the debates of Italian editors; they were too remote from the scene of such controversies. One could sooner believe that they turned from volume to volume more or less at random, taking whichever was for the moment nearest at hand. Perhaps, in the end, it is safest to assume that they were aware of textual differences and that they found in these the means of facilitating or enriching their translation. Fairfax, for instance, working on the lines which in the Osanna text (I, 38) read

> Poi duo pastor de' popoli spiegaro
> Le squadre lor, Guglielmo ed Ademaro,

finds himself checked by the difficulty of getting a natural rhyme for "Ademare" that will also fit, in sense, with "squadrons." He turns to another edition (say M_2, which is often with him when he deserts Osanna) and discovers that, if "squadre" is too stubborn he has the alternative of "insegne." In the end he reaches a tolerable solution:

> Two bishops next their standards proud upbare,
> Call'd reverend William, and good Ademare.

The variant has facilitated his task. At other times a variant may enrich—as in XVII, 64 (3, 4). Here Osanna reads

> mansüeto
> Volgeva a terra e vergognoso il ciglio.

I_{1-2} and M_2 read

> mansüeto
> Si stava asperso d'un color vermiglio.

Fairfax translates

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a purple blush did fill
His guiltie cheekes, downe went his eie-sight milde.

—which certainly looks like a combination of the two separate texts. But at this point we reach the borderline of mere speculation and shall do well to push no further.

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XXVIII

VIRGILIAN ALLEGORY AND *THE FAERIE QUEENE*

THE suggestion which this paper has to make will remain only a suggestion when the argument is complete. Perhaps I should disarm criticism in advance by admitting that the plausibility of my final and boldest point consists partly in its seductiveness. I should, in short, like to persuade the reader that the character of Belphoebe in *The Faerie Queene* owes something not only to the Venus of the Æneid but also to the allegorical interpretations of the Virgilian Venus which Spenser inherited from Italy.

Belphoebe is a composite figure. Professor Dodge has studied her relation to Ariosto's Alcina.[1] Her likenesses to Virgil's Camilla and Dido were observed by John Upton nearly two hundred years ago. The parallel which Upton drew between Belphoebe's "sharp bore-speare" and "Golden Baudricke" which "forelay across her snowy breast,"[2] on the one hand, and Camilla's accoutrements in the *Æneid*[3] will hardly bear scrutiny, but he was unquestionably right in remarking that Virgil's simile in describing Dido—

> Qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi
> Exercet Diana choros[4]—

reappears in Spenser's picture of Belphoebe—

> Such as Diana by the sandy shore
> Of swift Eurotas, or on Cynthus green.[5]

When he appropriated Virgil's simile Spenser may have forgotten that in the *Æneid* it was applied to Dido, for it corresponds less with our impression of her than it does with our recollection of Virgil's portrait of Venus disguised as Diana only a hundred lines earlier in his story. Belphoebe's sudden advent in the Second Book of *The Faerie Queene*, canto third, is frankly patterned upon Venus' appearance to Æneas in the First Book of the *Æneid*. The situations have nothing in common but that very fact may have been Spenser's motive for making his imitation of Virgil unmistakable. Belphoebe's surprise of the ridiculous Braggadochio and Trompart was a sarcastic allegory, and the contrast between them and their Virgilian counterparts, Æneas and Achates, may have been

[1] *PMLA*, XII, 184–5.
[2] *F. Q.*, II, iii, 29.
[3] Book XI, 573–9.
[4] Book I, 498–9.
[5] *F. Q.*, II, iii, 31.

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intended to lend edge to the satire. It may seem absurd to compare Trompart, who is traditionally identified with the mischief-making valet of Elizabeth's unpopular suitor, the Duc d'Alencon, to Æneas. The replies of Æneas and of Trompart, however, have too much in common for accident.

> Cui mater media sese tulit obvia silva,
> Virginis os habitumque gerens et virginis arma,
> Spartaneae, vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat
> Harpalyce volucremque fuga praevertitur Hebrum.
> Namque humeris de more habilem suspenderat arcum
> Venatrix, dederatque comam diffundere ventis,
> Nuda genu, nodoque sinus collecta fluentis.
> Ac prior, Heus, inquit, iuvenes, monstrate, mearum
> Vidistis si quam hic errantem forte sororum,
> Succinctam pharetra et maculosae tegmine lyncis,
> Aut spumantis apri cursum clamore prementem.
> Sic Venus; et Veneris contra sic filius orsus:
> Nulla tuarum audita mihi neque visa sororum.
> O—quam te memorem, virgo? Namque haud tibi vultus
> Mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat; O, dea, certe.[6]

When Spenser wrote the dialogue which opens his scene between Belphoebe and Trompart he must have intended Virgil's lines to arise in every reader's mind as a foil for his own. Belphoebe asks;

> Hayle, groom! didst thou not see a bleeding hynde,
> Whose right haunch earst my stedfast arrow strake?
> If thou didst, tell me, that I may her overtake.
>
> Wherewith reviv'd, this answere forth he threw:
> 'O goddesse, (for such I thee take to bee;
> For neither doth thy face terrestriall shew,
> Nor voyce sound mortall) I avow to thee,
> Such wounded beast as that I did not see,
> Sith earst into this forrest wild I came.
> But mote thy goodlyhed forgive it mee,
> To weete which of the gods I shall thee name,
> That unto thee dew worship I may rightly frame.[7]

Belphoebe makes, in all, three appearances in *The Faerie Queene*. In the first of them we have seen that her story is patterned unmistakably upon that of Venus in the *Æneid*. Her second appearance is in Spenser's Third Book, where her rescue of Timias and her miraculous birth are episodes in the fifth and sixth cantos. In

[6] Book I, 314–328.

[7] *F. Q.*, II, iii, 2–3.

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the seventh and eight cantos of Spenser's Fourth Book, Belphoebe again becomes the principal actor and we learn of her estrangement from Timias and of their miraculous reconciliation by a dove which guides her to the squire when he is at the point of death in the forest. In neither of these later appearances of Belphoebe is there anything which positively challenges comparison with the *Æneid*, yet in both of them minor parallels with Virgil's Venus have been suggested. Belphoebe's marvellous cure of Timias[8] by means of "divine tobacco," "panachaea" and "polygony" has been compared with the miraculous healing of Æneas' wound with dictamnus and panacea by Venus in the twelfth *Æneid*, as well as with Ariosto's account of Angelica's herbal treatment of the stricken Medoro.[9] Traditionally, the dove which guides Belphoebe to Timias has been compared with the twin doves which show Æneas his way to the golden bough in the sixth *Æneid*. Miss Crane has recently challenged[10] tradition at this point. Although her opinion makes against the thesis of this paper, I am inclined to accept her very modestly urged suggestion that the dove which reconciled Belphoebe to Timias owed its origin to the Old French romance of *Violette* rather than to the *Æneid*. Both "sources," however, may have been confused in Spenser's memory as he wrote.

In all three of Belphoebe's appearances in *The Faerie Queene*, then, there is something which either challengingly or vaguely recalls the story of Venus in the *Æneid*. Yet this continued parallel between Belphoebe and Venus can hardly have been intentional. We may question whether it was not altogether fortuitous and even whether Spenser was fully conscious of it. The less conscious of it he was—or, at least, the more fortuitous it was—the more significant it becomes if the suggestion about it which I have to offer can be defended. In a word, my explanation is this: the moral allegory which Spenser associated with Belphoebe was, in all essentials, that which criticism of the *Æneid* from Petrarch to Scaliger had taught him to read into Virgil's Venus. A coincidence in the underlying allegories, if it exists, might be expected to produce just such a fluctuating and various set of resemblances between the adventures of the Virgilian Venus and those of the Spenserian Belphoebe as we actually find.

The tradition of interpreting Virgil allegorically goes back, as

[8] *F. Q.*, III, v, 32–33.
[9] *Orlando Furioso*, XIX, 22.
[10] *PMLA*, XLIII, 635–644.

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Miss Nitchie has remarked,[11] to Fulgentius, Dante, John of Salisbury and Bernard of Chartres. In the criticism of the Renaissance we can distinguish three distinct strands of allegorical interpretation of the *Æneid*. The first of them, in the hands of intelligent men, hardly amounted to more than recognition of the "high seriousness" of Virgil. Æneas Sylvius, in his essay *On the education of Boys*,[12] said that the study of poetry should begin with Homer and Virgil because "the loftiness of theme and the romantic spirit of the *Iliad* and the *Æneid* mark them out, as Augustine held, as inspiring training for boys." Sir Philip Sidney reflected this view of the Piccolomini pope when he said in the *Apologie for Poetrie*[13] that, "No philosopher's precepts will sooner make you an honest man than the reading of Virgil." Æneas, together with Ulysses, Orlando and Amadis de Gaule, seemed to Sidney great and stimulating characters. How short a step it was from the pleasure of being edified by those characters to the esoteric thrill of allegorical interpretation of the *Æneid* we realise, however, when we read Spenser's letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, "expounding his whole intention in the course of . . . . *The Faerie Queene*. There Sidney's direct appreciation of the worthies created by Homer, Virgil and Ariosto is stiffened by allegory. Æneas ceases to be merely an inspiring person and becomes "an ensample of a good governour and a vertuous man." By dressing the real or supposed "high seriousness" of Virgil, Homer, Ariosto and Tasso in the uniform of allegory Spenser justified the elaborate symbolism of his work. In doing so he had, as Miss McMurphy has shown,[14] the authority of Toscanella and of Tomaso Porcacchi, Ariosto's allegorizing commentators, as well as of William Webbe and several other critical pamphleteers in England. Most of Spenser's contemporaries preferred to make a somewhat esoteric mystery of Virgil's moral earnestness and Spenser was of their party.

With Spenser's letter to Raleigh we have only begun to penetrate the mysteries of allegorical exposition of the *Æneid* during the two or three centuries preceding the writing of *The Faerie*

[11] Elizabeth Nitchie, *Virgil and the English Poets*, Columbia Univ. Press, 1919, p. 17.

[12] *De liberorum educatione*, tr. W. H. Woodward in *Vittorino da Feltre and other humanist educators*, Camb. Univ. Press, 1897.

[13] *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith, Oxford, 1904. I, passim, pp. 150–178.

[14] Susannah J. McMurphy. *Spenser's Use of Ariosto for Allegory*. Univ. of Washington Press, Seattle, 1924, pp. 14–18.

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Queene. Spenser must have been familiar with the main trends of that interpretation. A glance at the two most salient of those trends—that which has the authority of Christoforo Landino and of J. C. Scaliger on the one hand, and that which has the authority of Petrarch and Tasso on the other—throws a strange light upon the first two books of *The Faerie Queene* and also upon the curious rôle of Elizabeth as a goddess with many avatars throughout Spenser's poetry.

The prince of Virgilian allegorists was Christoforo Landino of the Platonic Academy of Florence. There is no proof that Spenser knew his famous dialogue, the *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, but its interpretation of the *Æneid* makes Virgil the designer of an allegory essentially identical with that which Spenser embodied in his *Legends of Holiness* and *Temperance*. Landino's first book discourses *De Vita Activa et Contemplativa* and his second *De summo Bono*. His third and fourth books are a series of *Allegorie in Virgilium* which represent the *Æneid* as allegorically exemplifying the theories of the first two dialogues. Æneas' visit to the cave of the Sibyl is interpreted in a way which makes it correspond with Redcross's pilgrimage to the mountain peak where he has his interview with the old seer, Contemplation. "Antrum immane petit, quod cum facit ad res divinas erigitur," wrote Landino, and he represented Æneas' experience in the Sibyl's cave as a vision of Platonic truth, through contemplation of which Virgil intended his readers to understand that his hero had reached spiritual perfection.

> Æneas divinarum rerum sibi contemplationem finem proposuit . . . . Nam adventus in Italiam ostendit habitum virtutum iam contractum ita: ut a proposita vita non sit discessurus aeneas.[15]

The golden bough is wisdom. The descent to hell is temptation. The diseases at hell's gate are the perturbations which beset the soul.

Here Landino's interpretation of the *Æneid* loses its resemblance to the First Book of *The Faerie Queene* and begins to recall the Second. Virgil's monsters at the gates of Dis are described one after another as temptations which menace the self-control of the temperate man. The embodiments of "the divine Virgilian pity" have become a half Christian and half Stoic allegory of the sin

[15] Christophorus Landinus. *Allegorie Platonicae in XII lib. Æneidos Basileae.* Ex Off. Henriceptrina, 1577, p. 16.

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which doth so easily beset us. *Male suada fames* and *turpis egestas* are treated as sub-species of *auri sacra fames*. The four rivers of hell become symobls of the four species of perturbations[16] which test the firmness of Æneas' virtue. Fortified by the golden bough, he moves among them unharmed, just as Guyon does among the stormy perturbations of *The Legend of Temperance*. Æneas' marble temple to Apollo is only a symbol of the fact that, "sic mens nullis perturbationibus frangatur sed illas frangat."[17] The entire *Æneid*, like Spenser's Second Book, is but an allegory showing that

> Whoever doth to temperaunce apply
> His stedfast life, and all his actions frame,
> Trust me, shall find no greater enimy,
> Than stubborn perturbation, to the same.[18]

J. C. Scaliger in the *Poetices* allegorized the *Æneid* much less systematically than Landino had done, but he accompanied his interpretation with the theory that all the divine interferences in Virgil's story were contributory to Æneas' quest of the perfection of his own soul.[19] For Scaliger as for Landino, "Hominis perfectio consummetur contemplatione."[20] For Landino and Scaliger alike, the final meaning of the *Æneid* consisted in its combination of the prin-

[16] The four-fold division of the perturbations which underlies Spenser's Second Book is widespread in the writings of the Italian Neo-Platonists. As simple a statement of it as I know occurs in Mario Equicola's chapter on Cardinal Bembo in the first book of his *Libro de Amore*. He resumes Bembo's discussion of the subject in the *Diologhi Asolani* thus: "Pone le quatro perturbationi de l'animo. desiderio, allegreza, timore, dolore, soverchi: Il desio vole sia origine d'ogni nostro male, perche ne sospinge a seguire, & primo perdemo la lena che la caccia ne venga imboccata: Possessori devenuti de la cosa amata, per desiderio de mantenerne semo in la riccheza mendici: Allegreza di amanti e ventoso confiamento che d'ogni cosa se fanno dimentichi, la felicita magiore mutata, piu grave miseria ne pare, come ad Arthemisia, Elisa, Niobe. La paura somiglia a quelli che li poeti fabulegiando dicono stare ne li obscuri abyssi, a cui pende sopral capo un saxo grossissimo retenuto da subtilissimo filo: Seque come se dogliono li amanti & causa de loro dolore, varii casi, fortune, sciagure, dipartenze, tutte senza riposo veruno & allogiamento di male: Se si adormenta e corpo, di imagine pauroso, & li sentimenti sono sgomentati. Revolgendose ad amore di lui si lamenta, & flebilmente di suo infelice stato si rimarica, con lunga querimonia piangendo fa fine al suo [*i. e.* of Gismondo, the principal speaker] parlare."

[17] *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, p. 20.

[18] *F. Q.*, II, v, 1.

[19] J. C. Scaliger, *Poetices. Libri septem* (Editio quarta, 1607) Lib. III, Cap. 25, pp. 265–266.

[20] *Poetices*, Lib. III, Cap. 10, p. 207.

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ciple of resistance to evil with that of divine providence as incarnated in the deities which intervene in the action of the poem.

In *The Faerie Queene* Spenser combined these same two principles as the basis of his *Second Book*. Like Æneas, Guyon takes arms against a sea of troubles, and again like Æneas, he is constantly in need of metaphysical aid, either from his good genius, the Palmer, or from Prince Arthur. At every crucial moment, it is at hand. As if to leave us in no doubt of his meaning, Spenser put his familiar profession of faith in the care of heaven at the head of the eighth canto of this book as a prelude to Arthur's succor of Guyon after the temptation in Mammon's delve and the attack by the sons of Acrates, who—as it is worth while to recollect in connection with Landino's identification of the four great perturbations with the four rivers of hell—is the child of the infernal river, Phlegeton.

> And is there care in heaven? And is there love
> In heavenly spirits to these creatures bace,
> That may compassion of their evilles move?
> There is: else much more wretched were the cace
> Of men then beasts.

M. Denis Saurat has recently offered[21] an interpretation of Spenser's philosophical outlook which obliges him to brand this stanza as a concession to traditional religion which has no organic relation to the thought upon which *The Faerie Queene* is essentially based. It is possible, however, that Landino and Scaliger are better guides to Spenser's philosophical ideas than M. Saurat. We ought, of course, not to regard Spenser's asseveration that there is care in heaven as an isolated profession of faith in a divine providence shaping the affairs of men, but we shall not be far from the truth if we see in it a generalization which covers all the interventions by Prince Arthur, by Belphoebe and by all the lesser *dei ex machina* in *The Faerie Queene*. Spenser's conception of these half-divine champions who interfere in behalf of his stricken heroes is Neo-Platonic rather than Christian. They are half spirit-incarnations and half visions of ideals. The Fairy Queen "beareth two persons, the one of a most royall queene or emperesse, the other of a most vertuous and beautifull lady," which Spenser "in some places expresses in Belphoebe, fashioning her name according to [Sir Walter Raleigh's] excellent conceipt of Cynthia (Phoebe

[21]Denis Saurat. *Les idées philosophiques d'Edmund Spenser*. Yearbook of the New Society of Letters at Lund, Dec. 1924, Vol. I.

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and Cynthia being both names of Diana)." I need not insist here upon the Neo-Platonic element in the allegory which flatters Elizabeth in *The Faerie Queene.* In the overture to the Sixth Book she is "the patterne . . . . of Princely Curtesie" and a heaven-sent messenger from "the sacred noursery of Vertue." In the Fifth Book she is Astraea, the spirit and epiphany of justice. In the Third Book, as Belphoebe, she is a revelation of the chastity which

> Eternall God, in his almightie powre,
> To make ensaumple of his hevenly grace,
> In paradize whylome did plant.[22]

In the Second Book, as Belphoebe, she betrays her divine origin at her first appearance by turning upon the wretched Trompart the "living lamps" of eyes which have been

> Kindled above at th' heavenly Makers light.[23]

The only response that poor Trompart can make is—as we have seen—to stammer a paraphrase of the words of Æneas in the scene where he recognizes Venus in the first *Æneid.* Trompart's salute to Belphoebe, the foster daughter of Diana, in words addressed by Æneas to Venus may not seem to us strictly appropriate, even though Æneas mistook his mother for one of Diana's nymphs in the recognition scene. Spenser, however, felt perfect confidence in his proceeding, for he had made use of it in *The Shepheardes Calendar.* There *April* is dedicated to Elizabeth under the names of Phoebe and Cynthia, but it ends by assigning Æneas' question, "Quam te memorem, virgo?" as emblem to Thenot, while to Hobbinol is assigned Æneas' reply to his own question, "O, dea certe!" Why should Spenser have twice used the dramatic recognition of Venus in the First *Æneid* as part of an allegory in which Elizabeth appears under the names of Phoebe or Belphoebe and is represented as an incarnation of a Christian-Neo-Platonic ideal of chastity?

My answer to this question is, tentatively at least, to suggest that he was influenced by the third of the salient trends of allegorical interpretation of the *Æneid*—that to which I have referred as having been sponsored by Petrarch and Tasso. My suggestion is only a suggestion. I have no proof that Spenser was acquainted with any of the literature in which either the second or the third types of allegorical interpretation of the *Æneid* was embodied. I am

[22] *F. Q.*, III, v, 52.

[23] *F. Q.*, II, iii, 23.

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aware also that his use of the dramatic recognition in the first *Æneid* may have been merely an imitation of its use in some masque or entertainment in honor of Elizabeth. Not very long after *The Shepheardes Calendar* was published and perhaps before the Second Book of *The Faerie Queene* was completed, Marlowe introduced Virgil's scene into his *Dido, Queen of Carthage* with a compliment to Elizabeth manifestly intended. Such an alternative explanation of Spenser's use of Æneas' recognition of Venus as a part of his allegory is not, however, incompatible with the suggestion that I am making, and it may be passed by.

Tasso, in *Il Messagiero Dialogo*, accepted Landino's interpretation of the Æneid as an allegory of the soul perfected by the gradual attainment of the contemplative character, but Tasso assigned a part in the allegory to Venus which makes her essentially what Spenser's half divine heroines are. In Tasso's allegory Venus has a part which faintly resembles that of Beatrice in the *Divine Comedy*. Tasso's conception is Neo-Platonic rather than Christian and he made free use of the jargon of abstract terms which Landino took over from Marsilio Ficino and his disciples of the Platonic Academy in Florence.

". . . . quando Enea . . . . vede Venere, & è da lei alla vista dell' Idee, e delle Intelligenze inalzato; egli si solleva contemplando sovra l'humanità; . . . . e quando Venere ad Enea, come Diva, si dimostre, non descrive ne L'habito, ne il corpo suo, ma dice solamente:

> Et pura per noctem in luce refulsit
> Alma parens, confessa Dea, qualisque videri
> Caelicolis, & quanta solet.

Perche la luce altro non è, che la contemplazione, che fra le tenebre di questo mondo c'inalza alla contemplazione de gli Dei."[24]

Interpretation of the Virgilian Venus as a kind of Beatrice is older than Tasso. We find an approving reference to it in Sperone Speroni's first Virgilian dialogue.[25] Petrarch[26] opened his *Secret*

[24] Torquato Tasso, *Il Messagiero Dialogo di Torquato Tasso.* In Venetia. Appresso Bernardo Giunti, e fratelli. MDLXXXII. p. 4.

[25] Sperone Speroni, *Dialoghi del Sig. Speron Speroni, Nobile Padovano, di nuovo ricorretti.* In Venetia. Appresso Roberto Meietti. MDXCVI. p. 284.

[26] I ought perhaps to guard against any suspicion that I intend to represent Petrarch as a "Neo-Platonist." His adaptation of the recognition scene from the First *Æneid* was a tribute to Virgil and perhaps remotely to Boethius and to Dante, but not to Plato in any sense. When he came to work out a more detailed allegorical interpretation of the *Æneid*, Petrarch made Venus represent the voluptuous temptations from which most other commentators represented her as redeeming Æneas.

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with a story of Truth, incarnated as a woman like the figure of Philosophy which appeared to Boethius, confronting him as Venus did Æneas outside Carthage. Petrarch saluted her in Æneas' own words, the words which Spenser translated for Trompart's reply to Belphoebe, "Quam te memorem, virgo; Namque haud tibi vultus mortalis; nec vox hominem sonat." Petrarch did not work out a consistent allegory for Venus as Tasso did, and we should strain the evidence if we were to assert a direct line of descent from his *Secret* to *The Faerie Queene*. We shall not go too far if we say simply that Landino's interpretation of the *Æneid* as an allegory of heroic virtue gradually sublimated by means of a practical discipline to a contemplative perfection found an almost inevitable complement in Tasso's conception of Venus as Æneas' spiritual counsellor. What part these allegorical interpretations of the *Æneid* may have had in moulding the allegory of *The Faerie Queene* we cannot say surely, but it is at least possible that the coincidences between Belphoebe's story and that of Venus may have arisen from an obscure association of the two in Spenser's mind. Certainly in both *The Shepheardes Calendar* and *The Faerie Queene* he introduced Elizabeth in extravagant allegories which parallel her with the Venus of Tasso's *Messagiero Dialogo*, and which lead in both cases to situations where she is saluted in the very words with which Æneas recognized Venus at her first appearance in the *Æneid*.

The minor and doubtful parallels between Spenser's Belphoebe and Virgil's Venus—the doves which show Æneas the golden bough *vs.* the dove which guides Belphoebe to Timias; Belphoebe's cure of Timias with herbs *vs.* Venus' cure of Æneas with the same simples; and the comparison of Belphoebe to Diana on the shore of swift Eurotas or on Cynthus by Spenser in a passage literally translating Virgil's instance of the same simile applied to Dido in a situation such that Spenser may easily have confused Dido with Venus—may all have been purely accidental. It is a temptation, however, to suspect that they were not all sheer coincidence, and to surmise that some of them may have been rooted subconsciously in Spenser's sense of the resemblance between the allegory which he was spinning around his Fairy Queen and that other faintly Neo-Platonic allegory which Landino, Speroni, Scaliger and Tasso variously read into the Virgilian Venus.

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XXIX

THE RED CROSSE KNIGHT AND MEDIÆVAL DEMON STORIES

THREE times in Canto X of the First Book of the *Faerie Queene* the 'godly aged Sire' impresses upon Red Crosse the fact of his earthly, rather than elfin, lineage.

> Then come, *thou man of earth*, and see the way,
> That neuer yet was seene of Faeries sonne(*F. Q.* I, x, 52).

Stanza 60 has:

> And thou faire ymp, sprong out from English race,
> *How euer now accompted Elfins sonne*,

and stanza 65 gives the reason for this misconception—the story of the theft of Red Crosse while yet 'in tender swadling band,' and of the 'chaungeling' who 'vnweeting' takes his place during his upbringing in 'Faerie lond.'

Now so wondrous quick and persant a spright as the old man of the Hermitage would not thus carefully establish a distinction which had no point. And we shall see that for the Gentle Knight mortality is not a limitation and a curse, but a divinely-planned pre-requisite to an 'aspiration for the infinite'. We have to do with some power, some privilege which is given to the hero because he is *not* of supernatural birth, but an ordinary mortal—in this case it is a sight of the New Jerusalem, entrance into the heavenly kingdom where there are mansions prepared for men but cold shrift for Merlin, Puck, Lucifer, Grendel and the Tuatha da Danann.

In that numerous class of devil-commitment, supernatural-parent, or orchard-stranger stories and romances, which clearly show the intricate interweaving of pagan and Christian conceptions, the gradual contamination of the non-Christian tale of a wonder-child with folk beliefs and patristic warnings against *incubi* and *succubae*, one of the most arresting motifs is the bitter repentance and difficult penance of the hero, victim of his mother's rash vow committing her child to the devil and his service if only her Kinderwünsch may be fulfilled. By a curious contamination with the older story, which accounted for the exploits of a hero by really giving him one supernatural parent—no devil, but a warrior and a gentleman (Tydorel, Finn, Mongan, Alexander, Arthur),—the poor hero is actually made the son of the devil (as in *Sir Gow-*

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ther; Robert the Devil has merely commitment). This, of course, confuses the motif by taking responsibility from the sinful mother (still portrayed, illogically, as remorseful), and by making the repentance and penance impossible—according to all right and proper demonology. For it is only a sentimental generation which gives moments of pity to the Principle of Evil; the author of *Sir Gowther* was only confused, and no wilful defender of Cain, like Blake and Leconte de Lisle and others of the devil's party.

For the devil-committed child the way is hard. Unaware of his tragic flaw, he perpetrates innumerable and awful crimes. No gentle Fidelia is it who opens 'his dull eyes, that light mote in them shine,' but instead the bitter discovery of all men's enmity toward him. Then is he, like Red Crosse, 'prickt with anguish of his sinnes so sore' (stanza 21); he swoons 'for very grete sorowe', and 'bytterly wepe[s] and complayne[s]' for his sins,' whiche are innumerable and abhomynable to recounte', and can only be assoiled by the Pope himself, in Rome. (Thoms, pp. 21–22). [1] The monks of the Abbey where he first rests, 'fayne thereof' though they were 'when they hearde hym pitteously complayne' (Hazlitt, p.244)[2] still seem to have had none of the 'words of wondrous might' of the Leech Patience, who gives Red Crosse his first consolation (st. 24), perhaps because Robert had as yet no Una to plead with a Cœlia for him. Like Red Crosse, he must go on for more potent shrift. It is at this point that Spenser's penitent hero undergoes the mortification which reminds us of certain details in that which is undergone by the devil-child because of his '*inward* corruption and *infected* sin' (*F.Q.* I, x, st.15). The romance of *Robert the Devil* (and of *Sir Gowther* its variant) has attached to it the motif of that *Gesta Romanorum* exemplum against pride (the story of Emperor Jovinian)[3]—the Male Cinderella motif, by which Robert, for penance, must put an antic disposition on under circumstances far more like, in discomfort, to Red Crosse's than to either Hamlet's or the proud Emperor's. 'Downe in a darkesome lowly place farre in,' 'with streight diet,' with 'ashes and sack-cloth' arraying 'His daintie corse,' with 'fasting' 'the swelling of his wounds to mitigate,' praying 'both earely and eke late,' Red Crosse roars like a lion, rends his flesh and 'his owne synewes' eats, while Una, hearing him, 'often tore Her guiltlesse garments, and her golden

[1] *Robert the Deuyll*, ed. Thoms, *Early Engl. Prose Rom.* I.
[2] *Lyfe of Roberte the Deuyll*, ed. Hazlitt, *Early Pop. Poetry*, I.
[3] *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. *Early Engl. Text Soc.* ex. ser. 33, p. 75.

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heare, For pitty' yet must wisely bear all.[4] Robert lies 'vnder a stayre at nyght,'[5] can eat only what is thrown to the dogs, gives up his 'dylycate metes and drynkes, ... his raymentes and wordely pleasure' (Thoms, 35), to 'Covertement ses pechies pleure En pensant Jhesu Crist aeure, Et por avoir redemsion Li prie . . . . ,'[6] is forced to act with all the extravagant wildness of a natural fool, yet contrives to deliver his benefactor from the Saracens, only identified as the mysterious white knight by the wounds he suffers from, in his hidingplace,[7] and the testimony of the princess who wept with pity for him,[8] and who, for love of Robert, 'tare her hare from her head, and all to tare her clothes,'[9] upon learning that she must marry the seneschal.

Red Crosse is guided by Mercie, by way of the holy Hospitall with its seven Bead-men (we rejoice that they are not the 'vii hooly heremytes' whom Robert sent to heaven), 'Forth to an hill, that was both steepe and hy,' whereon was a 'sacred chappell' attended by the hermit Comtemplation, a man favored of God—Whom he even miraculously 'often saw from heauens hight,'—an 'aged holy man,' with 'snowy lockes,' who, saluted by Red Crosse and Mercie, greets them courteously because of his great respect for Mercie, who gives as their purpose 'that same end . . . . high heauen to attaine,' although the hermit protests that Red Crosse could have no better guide to heaven than Mercie, who does 'the prayers of the righteous sead Present before the maiestie diuine.' Then, after Red Crosse has fulfilled the command, for a season to 'fast and pray Till from her bands the spright assoiled is,' he is shown that heavenly sight accorded to no *real* Faeries sonne.[10] Robert is commanded by the Pope 't'en iras vers les *montaignes*' where he will find, by 'une chapele,' the 'plus saint hermite' in the world, 'Car n'est jors qu'en son abitacle Ne fache Dieus por lui miracle'. Robert goes to this 'saint home, chenu, ferant,' salutes him 'par l'apostoile de Rome Qui son saiel li a tramis'[11] however,

[4] *F. Q.* I, x, 25–27.

[5] Hazlitt, *op. cit.* 252; also Thoms, *op. cit.* 34, *Robert le Diable*, ed. Löseth, *Soc. Anc. Textes Fr.* 1903, v. 1265.

[6] *Robert le Diable*, v. 1268.

[7] *R. leD.* 3495 ff., Thoms 44, Hazlitt 256.

[8] *R. le D.* 3548.

[9] Thoms 47.

[10] *F. Q.* I, x, 46–52.

[11] *R. le D.* 638, 656, 706, 720. Upton "remarks that the residence of Contemplation on a hill seems imaged from the Table of Cebes . . . . " (Todd III, 134).

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'as yet' the hermit will not 'assoylle' him,[12] till he has lain without meat or drink all night in the chapel,[12] in penitence for his sins. Robert fulfills the difficult penance given him in the morning; then must he, also, 'aide a virgin desolate foredonne', win famous victorie, and hang his shield 'high emongst all knights' (*F.Q.*st.60). And then is he, as well, ready to shonne all earthly conquest, and would not 'turne againe Backe to the world whose ioyes so fruitlesse are' but would rather 'here for aye in peace remaine' (*F.Q.* st.63), for as he puts it, 'de nul deduit n'avrai cure,' and he will 'en la forest grant abite. Jamais ne quier de lui partir' but 'al siecle un jor ne seroie'.[13] In the French version he dies in the odor of sanctity; in the English he is forever happy with the princess.

The legend of Robert the Devil was as well-known and popular as a universally appealing character and a tinge of supernatural melodrama could make it, for it had the same attraction, as a story of the spiritual regeneration of a hero, which gave the theme of the morality play its hold upon the English imagination, from *Everyman* to the House of Holiness. We have used references from a French metrical version of the thirteenth century.[14] The French prose 'volksbuch' was published in 1496,1497 etc.[15] Its derivative, the English prose version in Thoms' collection, was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1514.[16] The English metrical version printed by Hazlitt is based on the prose, and is of the sixteenth century.[17] Lodge published his *Robin the Diuell* in 1591. There are numerous contaminations and variants of the legend—*Sir Gowther*, *Tydorel*, *Orfeo*, *Yonec*. *The Voyage of the Húi Corra*,[18] in the fifteenth century Book of Fermoy, possibly a much older tale,[19] is the same story, with an interesting parallel to Fidelia's instruction in her sacred Booke, in the instruction ('in the canonical scriptures') of the three 'smooth-delightful, greatly famous' devil-comitted sons of Caerderg.

[12] Hazlitt 248.

[13] *R. le D.* 4961, 4986.

[14] *R. le D.* (ed. Löseth), introd. i.

[15] Breul, *Sir Gowther* (1886), p. 57.

[16] Gordon Duff (*Hand-lists*, p. 24) assigns this date with a query; Breul (*op. cit.*, p. 62) and Wells (Manual of Writings in Mid. Eng., p. 137) give the date as "*c.* 1510."

[17] Breul 63; Wells 137.

[18] Printed by Whitley Stokes in *Rev. Celt.* xiv, 22 ff.

[19] Hibbard, *Med. Rom. in Eng.* 53: 'possibly 11th century.'

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There are certain other sons of ambiguous parentage whose romantic *enfances* remind us of that of Georgos, and whose pedigree, unknown to them, gives them the right of entrance into marvellous places. In the *Bel Inconnu* group, the hero is admitted to a sight of the isle, or the palace—typical otherworlds—because of some characteristic peculiar to him; he is of Gawain's race (*Lib. Desc.*) or he is come 'le dame aidier' (*B. I.* 2880).[20] In *Thomas of Erceldoune* (Cambridge MS., mid 1400's)[21] the lady calls Thomas 'Man of molde' (p.7), but nevertheless shows him the 'fayre way' over the 'mountayne,' the 'fayre castell' upon the 'hill' that 'of towne and toure . . . . berith þe bell.' Oberon himself, curiously enough, has only half claim to his title of fée, and even that, as we shall see, is questioned, in that strange thirteenth-century prologue to *Huon of Bordeaux*, the French *Auberon*.[22] As has been noted in the case of *Huon*,[23] this same *Auberon* has more than one familiar figure. There is the giant Orguilleus, incited by Satan to steal Auberon's famous hauberk, get possession of the castle of Dunostre and mew up there the daughter of Guilemer until Huon shall deliver her. This dazzling white hauberk, which was a chastity test, and at the same time rendered its wearer invulnerable, was originally the property of Brunehaut (*Aub.* 1067), who was queen of the faerye (*Aub.* 663). We are not quite told, as of Arthur's shield, that

> the Faerie Queene it brought
> To Faerie lond, where yet it may be seene, if sought, (*F.Q.* I, vii, 36),

yet it *is* this same 'good harnays,' Oberon's gift from Brunehaut which is delivered over to Huon with his realme and dygnite, after which they 'taryed styll in the fayrey, and shal do unto the day of Iugemente.'[24] There are the copper automata, at the door, each with his flail, long ago noted as the predecessors of Talus.[25] Brunehaut, into whose especial service Auberon comes, has the same sort of wonder-working powers that make of Fidelia such a

[20] Schofield, in *Harvard Stud. and Notes* iv, 48, 52.

[21] *Thomas of Erceldoune*, *EETS*, orig. ser. 60–61, lvi.

[22] ed. Graf, *I Complementi della Chanson d'Huon de Bordeaux*, I.

[23] The article of J. B. Fletcher in *J. E. G. Ph.* ii concerns itself chiefly with parallels in general action, but various details have been noted by J. R. Macarthur in an article on the "Influence of *Huon of Burdeux* upon the *F. Q.*", in *J. E. G. Ph.* iv, 215–238, and by Miss Winstanley in the introduction to her edition of Book I.

[24] *Huon of Burdeux*, *EETS* ex. ser. 41, p. 606.

[25] By Miss Winstanley and by Macarthur, who also notes the parallel in the castle descriptions.

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curious, almost mythical character; Oberon himself can make a path through the river for his men to pass,[26] but the 'flouds' he parts 'in tway' (*F.Q.*I,x,20) do not, after all, seem quite so much like the Red Sea. There are certain interesting castle descriptions in the *Huon* and in the *Libeaus Desconus* group[27] which sound curiously as though Spenser were putting his Jerusalem in England's green and pleasant land. The otherworld palace of Oberon, whose inhabitants have such 'great marueyle to se any mortal persons to enter'[28] is perhaps not that same 'goodly Citie' 'Whose wals and towres were builded high and strong Of perle and precious stone' seen from the top of the 'highest Mount,' at the end of a 'little path, that was both steepe and long,' nor yet that Cleopolis with its 'bright towre all built of christall cleene' (*F.Q.* stanzas 55–58), yet it is at least seen in very much the same manner—from the 'mountayne wheron they mounted with great payn and trauayle,' —a 'great citye . . . . the walles and towers of the citye and paleys . . . . of whyghte marble polysshed, the which stone [*sic*] so bryght agaynst the sonne as thoughe it had bene al of christall'[29]—and seen, after all, by just such another mere 'man of earth.'

For Robert the Devil is only one of many half-mortal sons whose mortality insures their participation in joys otherwise never yet seen of Faeries sonne. Oberon, known in Huon of Bordeaux as the son of Julius Caesar and the lady of the 'pryuey Isle,' endowed with marvellous gifts at his birth, by many ladies of the Fayrrey, nevertheless has 'a place *aperrelyd* in paradyce,' for 'all thynges creatyd in this *mortall* world must nedys haue an ende.'[30] He explains his peculiarly unfairylike behaviour once more when he gives Huon his kingdom: 'lordes and ladyes who be here assembeled all, ye knowe that euery mortall thynge connot always endure / I speke it for my owne selfe who am sone to a mortall man,

[26] *Huon of Burdeux*, *EETS* ex. ser. 40, p. 78.

[27] The parallel in general action between the stories of Libeaus Desconus and of the Red Crosse Knight has of course been frequently noted, e.g. in Ker, *Epic and Romance*, 392, Cambridge *History* I, 295; Broadus in *M. L. N.* xviii, 202–4, Maynadier *The Arthur of the English Poets*, 263. Miss Paton (*Studies in Fairy Mythology of Arth. Rom.*, 134) compares Dunostre, which in *Fergus* receives its light from a miraculous shield (cf. Auberon's hauberk) with Dun-an-Oir in the *Lay of the Great Fool*, with the Il d'Or in *Bel Inconnu*, and the Chef d'Oire of *Partonopeus* (v. Gaston Paris' connection of *oire* with the *portae aureae* of Jerusalem).

[28] *Huon of Burdeux*, *EETS* 41, p. 597.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 596.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 74, 599.

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and was engendered on the ladye of the preuye Ile who can neuer dye, because she is one of the fairy engendered of a man of the fayrey and doughter to a woman of the fayrey, and where so it was so that Iulius Seser was a mortall man, therfore it behouethe me to pas out of this worlde by the co*m*mandement of our lorde god, who hathe ordeined that it shulde so be.'[30]

To have been redeemed for the Christian heaven through Iulius Seser is no small matter. But even Oberon himself is far from exhaustive, in *Huon*, on the subject of his fairy forbears. The definitive edition of his complicated genealogy, properly connected with all the important events in human, divine and elfin history is to be found in that same *Auberon*[31] which we have already noticed. Therein we learn that Judas Macacbeus and the daughter of king Bandifort have a daughter Brunehaut, gifted at her birth by four fées, taken at the age of seven into fairy land, where she becomes queen, marries Caesar and gives birth to Julius Caesar. When he is to marry, Brunehaut selects Morgue:

'Suer est Artu qui tant est de grant pris:/ Tex est li rois c'onours li croist tous dis.' (v. 1209).

And this 'Morgue' has a history that is distinctly apropos:

'Morgue sa suer, quant enfes fu petis/ *De gens faees fu li siens cors rauis;*/ Uns rois faes, qui uix ert et flouris,/ Le nourri tant qu'ele ot ans dusc' a. x.'

It is from this old fée that 'Morgain tous ses engiens apris.' This seems a sorry disturbance of the Fata Morgana, 'euer now accompted Elfins race.' So Oberon is born, in the land of Faerye, of Julius Caesar and of the sister of Arthur—thus 'vnweeting reft.' The next item in the genealogy is more astounding. Morgan gives birth to twin boys. One of these is Auberon le fae, dowered at birth as we have come to expect; he shall be king of the fairies, yet

'quant li ame de son cors partira/ Em paradis seurement ira.' (v. 1421).

But the other, son of Julius Caesar and of Morgue suer d'Artus, shall be '*saintefies* en paradis,' and *he* is none other than Saint *George* the Dragonkiller! And more than that, for in this curious hodge-podge, he is, as well, voyager into strange Eastern lands, protector of all things,—of the daughter of the king of Persia, the infant Jesus enroute to Egypt, and the miraculously re-at-

[31] Ed. Graf, *op. cit.* For convenient summary see Gautier, *Les Epopées Francaises* III, 725 ff.

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tached beard of poor Saint Joseph. It is again the same story of him 'that is accompted Elfins sonne,' who wins many a 'famous victorie' 'To aide a virgin desolate foredonne,' whose blessed end is to 'be a Saint' 'emongst those Saints'—and whose name is 'Saint George of mery England.' (*F.Q.* I,x, 60–61).[32]

This Saint George has an enfance curiously parallel to that given to his mother in the Auberon. 'Reft,' as he slept 'in tender swadling band,' by a Faerie: 'Thence she thee brought into this Faerie lond, And in a heaped furrow did thee hyde' (*F.Q.*65–66).[33] We find remnants in other of the St. George legends of what may have been a traditional attachment to motifs of supernatural conception and fairy enfances. In the *Seven Champions of Christendom*[34] the lady 'never was in hope of child till now;' however, the mysterious dragon birth is only in her dreams; although George can only accomplish the deed because he is a 'Christian knight, never born of a woman,' the motif has been completely rationalized. When the child is born, however, the fell enchantress Kalyb steals it from the careless nurses, brings it up in a cave, unaware of its parentage, for twice seven years. A late ballad in Percy's *Reliques*, the *Birth of St. George*,[35] stresses the grief of the old father, who, like Spenser's hermit, 'So withers on the mountain top A fair and stately oake,' because of the loss of the infant George.

'Meantime amid the lonely wilds/ His little son was bred./ There the weird lady of the woods,/ Had borne him far away,/ And train'd him up in feates of arms/ And every martial play.'

[32] It is perhaps more than interesting to note that in that book of the '*Antiquitie of Faerie* lond' (*F. Q.* II, x) in which Guyon reads the high history of the elfin line which was to give the Faerie Queene to England, which had built the Cleopolis, and the Panthea 'all of Christall,' whose glory Red Crosse had known (*F. Q.* I, x, 55),—in this complicated genealogy, that same Oberon whose political counterpart (Henry VIII) has sometimes been connected with the Red Crosse knight is also the halfmortal descendant of a Fay. Inescapably, a Celtic Fairy Mistress in the royal family. This Fay had been met in the gardens of Adonis by that anomalous creature, the 'man so made [by Prometheus] . . . . called *Elfe*, to weet Quick, the first authour of all Elfin kind,' as he wandered 'through the world with wearie feet.' (*F. Q.* II, x, 71).

[33] Upton explains 'Georgos' as follows: '*Georgos* in the Greek language signifying a *husbandman*, our poet hence takes occasion . . . . of introducing the marvellous tale of Tages . . . . the son of the earth: a ploughman found him' (Todd III, 146). He also notes the legend in the *Seven Champions*. (Todd III, 145). Padelford and O'Connor in an article on "Spenser's Use of the St. George Legend" (*S. in Phil.* xxiii, 142–156) stress other parallels in the legend, but do not mention the birth story.

[34] Johnson, Richard, *Seven Champions of Christendom*, ed. 1670, ch. 1.

[35] Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, III, 223–4.

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Selden, in his notes to Drayton's *Polyolbion*, says (with regard to the legend which connected George with the Perseus-Andromeda motif); 'But you may better beleeue the Legend then that he was a Couentry man borne, with his Caleb Lady of the Woods, or that he descended from the Saxon race and such like, which some English fictions deliver.'[36] We can only quote 'sprong out from English race,' 'from ancient race Of Saxon kings' (*F.Q.*I,x,60-65), and regret the 'English fictions,' with a *maledicat* for some nameless analogue of Warburton's cook. That there must have been a traditional enfance story for Saint George, we recognize; but the late remnants that are left to us are highly rationalized, and are mere echoes of the primitive tendency to endow a hero (as in a sort of pourquoi story) with a truly supernatural conception, such as Spenser may have known in Irish story (for example, Mongan, begotten upon the wife of Fiachna by Manannan mac Ler in Fiachna's shape, and kept by his supernatural father in the Land of Promise from his third day until his twelfth year).[37]

The stanzas which tell the story of the infant George are full of reminiscences of often-recurring romantic enfances—the shreds and patches gathered by an eclectic imagination and fused, as was Spenser's habit, into a new whole, coherent, convincing, true, yet none the less suggestive of those tales of other foundlings—from Romulus and Remus, Valentin and Orson, down to Libeaus Desconus and the young Perceval—which were Spenser's unrealized literary inheritance. It is only as we are aware of this unconsciously eclectic temper that such considerations as these have any importance in the study of a poet's 'sources.' For if by that may be implied only the conscious adaptation, into a consistent parallel, of material carefully scrutinized and deliberately selected,—only the making over of a *Rosalynde* into an *As you like it*,— if 'sources' may include that process only, than indeed we must admit *this* sacred river to be flung up momently from no source whatever. But there were caverns through which it ran, and though perhaps they are, to our sorrow, measureless to man, they are, after all, surely worth our remarking.

ROSEMOND TUVE

[36] Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Spenser Society New Ser. 1, 2, 3, p. 68. I am indebted for this note to Professor Edwin Greenlaw.

[37] See Nutt's discussion, *Voyage of Bran*, II, 22 ff.

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XXX

SPENSER'S COSMIC PHILOSOPHY AND HIS RELIGION

IN SPITE of the fact that Spenser, less than three years befor his death, published *An Hymne of Heavenly Beautie* and *An Hymne of Heavenly Love*, which show a mixture of strongly Christian elements with Platonic idealism, there has been a tendency of late to classify Spenser as pre-eminently pagan, or even atheistic. A moderate view is that of Denis Saurat, who, in his "Les idées philosophiques de Spenser,"[1] concludes that religion was necessary to Spenser's temperament but impossible to his intellect. He credits Spenser with no systematic cosmogony or reasoned agnosticism; and, though he quotes Professor Greenlaw on Spenser's interest in contemporary scientific thought, he does not seem inclined to rate it so highly. Spenser, as Saurat depicts him, is by temperament a pagan: though he has a sincere desire for religious faith, he has at the same time an intellectual inability to believe.

Professor Greenlaw, in a series of articles on Spenser's religion and cosmic philosophy,[2] goes much further in denying his religious faith. It is chiefly with reference to the opinions there expressed that I propose to re-examine Spenser's views on the universe, the creation of the world and of vegetable and animal life, the immortality of the soul, the existence of God, and the relations of God to the universe.

The passages in Spenser's works chiefly concerned with these topics are:

1. The two early hymns, *An Hymne in Honour of Love*, and *An Hymne in Honour of Beautie*. Spenser refers to these, in the dedication of his *Fowre Hymnes* (1596), as composed in the "greener times" of his youth.

2. The "Mutability" cantos, usually printed after Book VI of *The Faerie Queene* as if they were a fragment of a projected later book. These cantos, according to the conclusions which I have presented elsewhere,[3] were written as early as 1579–80 but were

[1] Yearbook of the New Society of Letters at Lund, 1924-25.

[2] Edwin Greenlaw, "Spenser's Influence on Paradise Lost," *Studies in Philology*, XVII (1920), 320–59; "Spenser and Lucretius," *Ibid.*, 439 ff.; and "Some Old Religious Cults," *Ibid.*, XX (1923), 216 ff.

[3] "Spenser's Reasons for Rejecting the Mutability Cantos," *Stud. in Philol.*, April, 1928. An objection to my dating of these cantos is made by H. M. Belden,

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abandoned after being harshly criticised by Harvey and other friends to whom he read them.

3. The Garden of Adonis passage (*Faerie Queene*, Bk. III, canto vi), published in 1590. This was certainly written before December 1, 1589, and, in my opinion, after the Mutability cantos.

4. *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, lines 799–883. The dedication is dated December 27, 1591. The material of the passage is akin to part of the Garden of Adonis, and the point of view is similar. This passage, which is not discussed by Professor Greenlaw, affords evidence of some importance that Spenser derived his cosmogony from a source quite other than Lucretius.

5. The proem to *The Faerie Queene*, Book V, written before November 19, 1594. Like the Garden of Adonis passage, it contains ideas from the abandoned "Mutability."[4]

6. *An Hymne of Heavenly Love*, and *An Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*, dedicated September 1, 1596. So far as we now know, these were Spenser's latest poems, and they may fairly be regarded as constituting the summit of Spenser's philosophical and religious development, the final stage in his spiritual growth.

The usual chronology places "Mutability" after *The Faerie Queene*, but Professor Greenlaw goes still further and dates it after the last two hymns. According to his interpretation, "Mutability" marks a fall from their lofty idealism and inspired faith to an entirely materialistic philosophy, a state of scientific doubt, and a denial of God and of immortality of the soul. Not only that: the very Heavens which have so magnificently declared the handiwork of God suddenly must tell another tale—that there is no God at all. Such a fundamental relapse from Spenser's religious exaltation within two years and four months of his death would seem to call for more than Irish troubles or a sudden interest in science to account for it. The Irish troubles were an old story; and in Spenser's last years in Ireland there is nothing whatever to suggest that a passion for science suddenly developed.

In my opinion no such lapse occurred; Spenser was never an

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in "Alanus de Insulis, Giles Fletcher, and the 'Mutabilitie' Cantos," *Stud. in Philol.*, XXVI (1929), pp. 142–44; but the passages in "Mutability" which he quotes are from an obviously patched-in addition, which may be as late as 1589. A later date than 1589 is not required for the passage quoted from *Colin Clout*, as I shall show in a reply to Mr. Belden's objections.

[4] Book V, I think, may replace what the Mutability cantos were once designed for, but with more pointed reference to individual policies in Ireland.

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atheist, nor a reasoned agnostic. There is, indeed, a marked difference in tone between the sort of faith expressed in "Mutability" and that in the last two hymns; but if "Mutability," as I contend, was written sixteen or seventeen years before these last hymns, that is, nearer to the period of the first hymns (what Spenser calls the "greener times" of his youth), the difference in tone becomes explicable. I do not, of course, wish to imply that Spenser was still adolescent at twenty-six to twenty-nine years of age (taking 1550–1553 as range of possibilities for birth dates); but between those years and the age of forty-three to forty-six, there was still room for a good deal of change in spiritual attitudes. Confucius is reported as saying: "At thirty, I could stand; at forty, doubts ceased; at fifty, I understood the laws of Heaven" (Book II, 4).

What I am endeavoring to do is, to interpret "Mutability," the "Garden of Adonis," and *Colin Clout* (lines 799–883) as youthful attempts at a world philosophy, largely under the influence of Empedocles as to cosmic theory, with a curious admixture of notions from Genesis and a few ideas from Aristotle. While the result is something of a hodge-podge, it is not as queer as it has sometimes been represented, and certainly is far more intelligible if removed by a span of years from the conception of the universe found in the last two hymns, where new influences appear—not only the ideas of Benivieni and Ficino, but the loftiest sentiments of Castiglione in his *Il Cortegiano*, together with a commingling of ideas from Platonic, neo-Platonic, Aristotelian, and strictly Christian philosophers. It is still more intelligible when one understands Spenser's real aim in writing the "Mutability" cantos, and on which side his sympathies lay in the debate. This is a matter which, it seems to me, Mr. Greenlaw has decided wrongly.

Most of the points on which I take issue with Mr. Greenlaw are presented in his paper, "Spenser and Lucretius," but a few occur in the other two articles listed at the beginning of this paper. In some points these three articles do not entirely agree. It is the attribution of a dominant influence to Lucretius which causes the difficulty. Of the "Mutability" cantos and the Garden of Adonis passage, Mr. Greenlaw says:

> The chief source of the two passages is Lucretius. Spenser knew *De rerum natura* not merely as a body of great poetry . . . . but as a source of philosophy which he annexed as a province of his mind.[5]

[5] "Spenser and Lucretius," *Stud. in Philol.*, XVII (1920), 440–1.

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Again, he concludes:

> Both in intellectual atmosphere and in the entire plan of Spenser's poem, including certain elements in the first of these two cantos as well as practically all of the second, the material owes a very great debt to the fifth book of *De rerum natura*. Near the beginning of this book Lucretius speaks once more of his master Epicurus, saying that while walking in his footsteps he follows out his reasonings and teaches in his verses the law of nature . . . . . In this passage it will be observed that Lucretius states the theme of his fifth book to be to set forth the law of all things, how necessity binds all things to continue in that law, and how impotent they are to annul all the binding statutes of time.
>
> This theme is at once similar to that of the Adonis passage and dominant throughout the Mutability cantos, including the judgment given by Nature.[6]

There is a strong initial probability that Spenser would know Lucretius, and it might reasonably be assumed that he would admire him as a poet. Evidence of familiarity is furnished by Mr. Greenlaw in Spenser's use of Lucretius's hymn to Nature. Although I believe several other likely sources could be proposed for Spenser's ideas of Time the enemy, the Golden Age, and the changeableness of the elements (earth, air, fire, and water), I should be willing to concede that Spenser might derive these notions from Lucretius, if a specific source is necessary for these rather usual Renaissance notions. But that Spenser should have been in fundamental agreement with Lucretius on important problems of life seems to me frankly inconceivable.

The fifth book of *De rerum natura*, like the others, undertakes, according to Lucretius's own statement, to present a rational, materialistic natural philosophy which is capable of relieving mankind of all superstitious beliefs, all fear of any gods, all ideas of a life of the spirit apart from the body. Now if that is the aim of Spenser's "Mutability," Spenser did not know it. He thought he was on the other side of the debate, as is definitely indicated by the heading of the seventh canto and the conclusion of it, as well as by the last stanza of the fragmentary eighth, not to mention the whole scheme of the debate.

Lucretius is an epicurean, a materialist, a denier of immortality of the soul, of life after death. He is an atomist whose chance combinations do away with a Creator. He has gods, but they are merely of finer atoms than men, and have no divinity. Fear of the

[6] *Stud. in Philol.*, XVII, 459.

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gods is superstition. There is no one great God, creator and establisher of the universe. Now how does all this fit in with Spenser's habits of mind and thought?

Astonishingly enough, Professor Greenlaw is willing to make Spenser an atomist, "almost as much a materialist as Lucretius," a denier of immortality of the soul, and of the Creator! This from one of the best Spenser scholars of the country, who has himself, in another article, given a very fine appreciation of the spirit of the last two hymns. Speaking of the school of philosophy with which he proposes to align Spenser, he says:

> It flatly denied the supernatural, the realm of the Platonic ideas; denied all mysticism, all revealed religion. It found its supreme expression, up to the advent of modern science, in Lucretius. It was closely akin, ready to establish fruitful contacts, with the new science which in Copernicus, in Galileo, in Newton, and ultimately in Darwin and his followers, was to transform modern life and much of its thought.[7]

How to get rid of the supernatural, the Platonic ideas, the mysticism, the revealed religion of the *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie* between Sept. 1596 and whatever date between that and the end of 1598 Professor Greenlaw would choose for the composition of "Mutability" is a pretty problem. It would involve a sudden sloughing off of mental habits, besides the loss of a religion.

In another article, in which Spenser's debt to Alanus de Insulis is stressed,[8] Mr. Greenlaw is obliged to reconcile the scientific spirit of Spenser with his being "spiritually in tune" with mysticism; for Alanus is quite different from Lucretius. He says, speaking of the interest of Spenser in cosmogony,

> The presence of so much of this material in the work of a major poet of the sixteenth century suggests the tendency that was later to give birth to the new science . . . . While Spenser was in no sense an original thinker on scientific matters, was not even a sceptic in his attitude toward the science of his times, he preludes the sort of inquiry destined to make the study of nature supreme over dogma as an avenue to truth. Already the new spirit of scientific research was at work. Bruno adopted eagerly the work of Cusanas and of Copernicus, and by sheer force of his imagination pointed out the course which science was to follow. But he clothed new thoughts in the language of a nature mysticism. With much that we find in his work Spenser was spiritually in tune. That is why the

[7] "Spenser and Lucretius," *Stud. in Philol.*, XVII, 439.

[8] "Some Old Religious Cults in Spenser," *Stud., in Philol.*, XX, 216 ff.

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mysticism that was in Alanus appealed to Spenser while it meant nothing to the temperamentally different Chaucer.[9]

In what is probably the first of the three articles, "Spenser's Influence on *Paradise Lost*,"[10] we have still another view:

> His conception of nature is mystical,—in the Adonis myth, in the Hymnes, and in the conception of the Goddess herself in the Mutability cantos.

This is difficult to reconcile. Spenser is in sympathy with Alanus, who is religious, mystical; with Bruno, who is modern, scientific, skeptical, but also mystical; and with the modern, materialistic scientific thought of his day, of which Lucretius is the best representative,—and which is opposed to the supernatural, the mystical, the religious. The difficulty arises chiefly from the attempt to interpret Spenser as scientific, materialistic, skeptical, and atheistic, under the influence of Lucretius.

It is doubtful whether Spenser had any stronger scientific bent than the average cultivated sixteenth-century English gentleman well read in the Greek and Roman classics. Like Du Bartas—perhaps because of him—Spenser rejected, if he knew, Copernicus; so he is not like Bruno there in reaching out for the new science. Spenser's heavens are, like Aristotle's, Ptolemaic; though it is clear from the proem of Book V that Spenser was, as Harvey has also assured us, interested in contemporary astronomy. As for the notions Mr. Greenlaw has in mind, concerning elementary substances, the creation, the "origin of species," etc., I hope to show that Spenser's views are as modern and as scientific as a combination of the views of Moses (15th century B. C.) and those of Empedocles (5th century B. C.) would be likely to insure—that, in fact, there is in Spenser very little on these scientific themes as "modern" as Lucretius. For the points in Empedocles and Lucretius both that have been regarded as preliminaries to Darwinian theory do not appear in Spenser. Perhaps the opposition to this part of Empedocles's doctrine by Aristotle or by Plato may have warned Spenser away from these ideas; or possibly Spenser was simply not interested in "survival of the fittest."

The interpretation of Spenser as materialistic and scientific depends largely on Mr. Greenlaw's decision that the poet sided with the *losing* debater in "Mutability," who is taken to present

[9] *Stud. in Philol.*, XX, 216.
[10] *Ibid.*, XVII, 340.

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the poet's real views. As a trace of this belief seems also to color M. Saurat's article cited above, it is worth considering in advance of a study of the supposed relations between Lucretius and Spenser. Mr. Greenlaw expresses quite positively his conviction as to Spenser's being on the losing side:

> The whole attempt of Mutability, detailed in the preceding canto and here brought to trial, may be regarded as an argument for a materialistic conception of the world as against all supernaturalism. Jove represents the idea of a superior spiritual power governing men and things; the aim of Mutability is to unseat him, to assert the rule of change in the heavens as well as on earth. Though Spenser speaks of the whole matter as a victory for Jove, it is clear both from the action and the trial that the true victory is in the assertion of a law in nature that rules men and gods alike; that this conclusion is the same as that in the Adonis passage; and that the Mutability cantos, more clearly even than those with which we have been dealing thus far in this essay, are charged with true Lucretian skepticism. It is worth noting, I think, that Lucretius himself compares his attack on supernaturalism to the attempt of the Titans to cast Jove from his seat.[11]

Still more explicitly (on p. 459) Mr. Greenlaw charges that Spenser, like Lucretius, aimed to depose God as creator and ruler of the universe:

> Lucretius compares his design, in a passage that immediately follows, to the attempt of the giants that warred on Jove, since he and all who, like him, seek to drive out religious superstition are thought to be atheists, whose purpose it is to displace the walls of the world and to brand immortal things in mortal speech (V, 110–121). Spenser's cantos, however disguised, are precisely such an adaptation of the old Titan myth, since the theme is the expulsion of supernaturalism by a materialistic philosophy. Furthermore, Spenser's gods, like those of Lucretius, are far removed from human affairs, living at ease, neither the makers nor the rulers of the earth. This he expresses allegorically not only by the general impression of remoteness that he gives in the first canto, but also by the statement that worldly affairs are entirely in the hands of Hecate, who has rule and principality under her control; of Bellona, who continually stirs up strife; and of Mutability. Even the gods, Mutability states, are of earthly birth and are mortal like all things else.

Now it is true that in the debate the character Mutability represents a materialistic philosophy with some definite points of resemblance to that of Lucretius; but this in no way proves that Spenser's own philosophy of life was akin to that of Lucretius. I have pointed

[11] "Spenser and Lucretius," *Stud. in Philol.*, XVII, 455.

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out, in an article on "Spenser's Mutability and Lipsius's *Constancy*"[12] that Lipsius in his two books of *Constancy* stages a debate on the same subject, with the same conclusion, victory for God as creator and maintainer of the universe, based on a decision by the voice of Nature. The question whether Nature rules the gods is thoroughly worked out too. The conclusion is absolutely deistic, and in line with usual stoic positions. Nature's laws and Nature's Order, and the Necessity or Fate that rules the changing affairs of this world are seen as an expression of the will of God who works as omniscient and overruling Providence. If we add to Spenser's "Mutability" the discussion of God's justice and providence in Book V (the scales incident, which is paralleled by Lipsius in *Constancy*), we shall have in Spenser substantially the intellectual views of Lipsius on this problem. There is but one important disagreement. Spenser here, as elsewhere, sighs for the good old times of the Golden Age; and for this tendency Lipsius's philosophy offers him a remedy. Spenser was apparently by nature rather melancholic and backward-looking, so that only by effort could he look forward with hope in progress. Lipsius had the same moods and doubts to struggle with, but, being of a more sanguine temperament, he had more confidence in the results of his philosophic reasonings; so that his conclusion is not only optimistic but positively cheerful. Spenser's conclusion is optimistic, but the effort is apparent, and the end cannot be reached by mere logical reasoning, but requires a definite act of faith.

The aim of Lipsius in *Constancy* may fairly be said to be, to "justify the ways of God to man." Such, I believe, was Spenser's real desire in "Mutability." In Lipsius's debate, the author places himself in the position of the doubter who makes the challenges, which are then refuted by his wise old friend Langius. There is no lack of length or eloquence in the expression of the doubts and disbeliefs. But probably no one would mistake Lipsius's final intention. The one feature of Spenser's poem which lays him open to misinterpretation is his proportion. Unfortunately, he was not brought up on modern rhetorical rules of "Mass." He was, however, aware of the difference in length of the opposed pleas, as we see in the heading of Canto vii:

> Pealing, from Jove, to Nature's Bar,
> bold Alteration pleades
> Large Evidence; but Nature soone
> her righteous Doome areads.

[12] Not yet published.

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No matter what the eloquence of opposed pleas, it always has been felt, and probably always will be, that the conclusion of a debate is of vital importance. And if a plan arranges for a formal awarding of victory to one side, it seems reasonably clear that that side was meant by the arranger of the debate to be regarded as establishing his case as right. That is the law of the literary, as well as of the practical, debate. And if the announced theme and intention of the debate line up on the side of the conclusion and award, these together may reasonably be regarded as more significant than mere length of speeches. Now in Spenser's poem the plan is, that Nature shall be umpire; and at the head of Canto vii, her decision is called *righteous*, and is reflected on and accepted in the "imperfect Canto viii" by the poet speaking in his own person—accepted in spite of one lingering doubt about change in worldly affairs. Also, in the beginning of Canto vii, (where we may expect, as in similar heads of cantos elsewhere, a sincere statement of intention), the Muse is invoked to

> tell of Heauens King
> (Thy soueraine Sire) his fortunate successe,
> And victory, in bigger noates to sing,
> Which he obtained against that Titanesse,
> That him of heauens Empire sought to dispossesse.

There is much that is obscure in Spenser, but he does not seem to try to obscure his intended topic or the side he takes in a controversy. Stanza 59 of Canto vii confirms Jove's victory:

> So was the Titaness put down and whist,
> And Jove confirm'd in his imperiall see.

But the conclusion, says Mr. Greenlaw, is very unsatisfactory:

> In the two stanzas which are all we have of the following canto, Spenser indicates that he is not fully satisfied by the explanation which he had put into the mouth of Nature, an explanation which is ultimately classical. He professes to accept the judgment that the heavenly bodies are under the rule of law, but when he contemplates mortality, he finds nought but change. So the *Faerie Queene* ends, if these cantos indeed be what their first editor supposed, a fragment of one of the later books, in an unsolved problem. This uncertainty is not wholly due, of course, to the poet's contemplation of the world of nature; it is due in part to his contemplation of men and events. But it seems very different from the medieval treatises about fortune. Part of this difference seems to me to be due to the new spirit of scientific doubt which was characteristic of the time.[13]

[13] "Spenser's Influence on *Paradise Lost*," *Stud. in Philol.*, XVII, 339.

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It is true that, in the first stanza of Canto viii, the poet, speaking in his own person, says that it still seems to him that change rules in this world; but it is also true that, in the next stanza, Spenser concludes the whole discussion with a prayer for rest with "that great Sabbaoth God" who is contrary to Mutability and who rules eternally. And this is the poem which, according to Mr. Greenlaw, was designed to unseat God from his throne!

That Spenser has not clearly and logically removed his doubts by pure reason any fair-minded reader of "Mutability" will at once admit. But the conclusion is a definite act of faith, based upon a will to believe. This seems to me to be in the mind of M. Saurat in the article cited above. But the inability to banish all doubt by pure reason does not seem to be, in the experience of most persons, an insuperable obstacle to religious belief. Persons intelligent enough to inquire and doubt and reason as to religion are seldom able to get an absolutely satisfactory answer, in the realm of logic, to every problem. It seems likely that Spenser remained for years in a state of deliberate faith in spite of intellectual doubts. In the first book of *The Faerie Queene* (published in 1590) Spenser has Fidelia (Faith), carry in her hand a Bible (I, x, 13),—a book

> signd and seald with blood,
> Wherein darke things were writ, hard to be understood.

Far from rejecting the Bible, however, he chooses it as the book for the Redcross Knight to give to Arthur (I, ix,19),

> a worke of wondrous grace, and able soules to save.

This saving power of the Holy Word is dependent upon the ability of Faith to interpret to Una's knight those teachings

> That weaker wit of Man could never reach,
> Of God, of grace, of justice, of free will.

To brand a sixteenth-century Englishman with atheism is a serious stigma. What in Spenser justifies it? That he has doubts? What thinking person, however religious, has not had them?

Tennyson, assailed by scientific doubt as well as personal grief and bewilderment over the problem of evil and of God's justice, reasoned at great length in *In Memoriam*; but when he finally arrived at a religious philosophy of life, he, too, required a definite act of faith. Is he, because of his eloquent voicing of his misgivings, classified chiefly as a poet of doubt, a skeptic, an agnostic,

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an atheist? Milton did as handsomely by Satan in his defiance of the powers of Heaven as Spenser did by the Titan warring on Jove. But who would think of lining up Milton on the side of the powers of darkness?

The sensible conclusion is that Spenser, like many a young man, attempted to build him a religion upon purely logical grounds, and, for reasons that have something to do with the very nature of religion, failed. But at the same time he achieved, with effort, an act of faith which permitted religious belief in spite of a serious misgiving. Then, during the interval of perhaps sixteen or seventeen years between this effort and the *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*, he rose to the heights of religious exaltation by the aid of emotion and inspiration rather than by pure reason. It is true, he made him an intellectual staff of Platonic idealism, but he also grew a pair of wings—of pure Christian faith and hope.

How far Spenser's position on religion was removed from that of Lucretius may be seen from three passages where, with slight variations, Lucretius presents one conception of the godless origin of things and the godless rule of them by chance, as opposed to the conception of a universe set going by a Creator and showing the presence of God in his created work. It is as remote as can be from Spenser's conception of a God revealed in Nature. Lucretius says (V,179–194):

> For in such wise the first-beginnings of things many in number in many ways impelled by blows for infinite ages back and kept in motion by their own weights have been wont to be carried along and to unite in all manners of ways and thoroughly test every kind of production possible by their mutual combinations; that it is not strange if they have also fallen into arrangements and have come into courses like to those out of which this sum of things is now carried on by constant renewing.
>
> But if I did not know what first-beginnings of things are, yet this judging by the very arrangements of heaven I should venture to affirm, and led by many other facts to maintain, that the nature of things has by no means been made for us by divine power:[14]

In two almost identical passages (V,418 ff. and I, 1020 ff.) Lucretius denies design and attributes to his first-beginnings (which were somewhat similar to what later came to be called atoms) a sort of self-directing activity which, combined with

[14] I use the translation of H. A. J. Munro, which seems to me sufficiently literal for this discussion. The passages can be easily located in the original.

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chance, was the sole guiding principle in creation. I will quote the fuller of the passages (V, 418 ff):

For verily not by design did the first-beginnings of things station themselves each in its right place by keen intelligence, nor did they bargain sooth to say what motions each should assume, but because the first-beginnings of things many in number in many ways impelled by blows for infinite ages back and kept in motion by their own weights have been wont to be carried along and to unite in all manner of ways and thoroughly to test every kind of production possible by their mutual combinations, therefore it is that spread abroad through great time, after trying unions and motions of every kind, they at length meet together in those masses which suddenly brought together become often the rudiments of great things, of earth, sea, and heaven, and the race of living things.

How different this denial of design and of divine origin from Spenser's view in the early *Hymne in Honour of Beautie*, lines 29–32:

> What time this worlds great workmaister did cast
> To make al things, such as we now behold,
> It seemes that he before his eyes had plast
> A goodly Paterne, to whose perfect mould
> He fashiond them as comely as he could.

Lucretius has gods, but they are merely beings composed of finer atoms than are men. As for any divine power or everlasting life, that is a figment of men's imaginations arising out of dreams. It is a mere makeshift of the unintelligent who cannot explain the system of nature. Thunderbolts are not from Jupiter. (Spenser seems fond of referring to Jove's thunderbolts). Other causes of superstitious fear are rationally explained away by Lucretius to relieve men of this erroneous belief in gods (V, 1160 ff.).

Mr. Greenlaw rids himself of Spenser's Creator by holding that Spenser, like Lucretius, stressed spontaneity, or voluntary activity of things, as doing away with God. Lucretius says (II, 1077ff.):

If you well apprehend and keep in mind these things, nature free at once and rid of her haughty overlords is seen to do all things spontaneously of herself without the meddling of the gods. For I appeal to the holy breasts of the gods who in tranquil peace pass a calm time and an unruffled existence, who can rule the sun, who hold in his hand with controlling force the strong reins of the immeasurable deep?

The ideas, says Mr. Greenlaw, are the same as Spenser's; for

Spenser lays special stress on the fact that no Gardener is needed, that all

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things grow of their own accord; thus he gets away from supernaturalism as completely as Lucretius himself. He also, it will be noticed, insists on the order of Nature.

And again,

The explanation of the origin of organic life is very similar in the two poets. Spenser first speaks of the endless progeny of weeds that bud and blossom in the garden of Dame Nature. No gardener is needed to take care of these, or of the souls that are also growing in the garden waiting for the time when they are to be clothed in earthly weeds.[15]

But, to be fair to Spenser, why not, when quoting the lines on the absence of any gardener from the Garden of Adonis which so impress Mr. Greenlaw as denying a divine origin of life, complete the passage (III, vi, 34) to include the Creator whom Spenser has so clearly, in the most orthodox and Genesaic fashion, indicated as starting-point?

> Ne needs there Gardiner to set, or sow,
> To plant or prune: for of their owne accord
> All things, as they created were, doe grow,
> And yet remember well the mightie word,
> Which first was spoken by th' Almightie lord,
> That bad them to increase and multiply:
> Ne doe they need with water of the ford,
> Or of the clouds to moysten their roots dry:
> For in themselves eternall moisture they imply.

The "mightie word" of "the Almightie lord" is undoubtedly that in Genesis, I, 22, "God blessed them saying, Be fruitful and multiply." Spenser's remark on the needlessness of water from the ford or from the clouds is also adequately explained by the statement in Genesis, II, 5: "The Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth. . . . . But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground." Surely this is what Spenser had in mind in the presence of eternal moisture self-supplied from the soil, rather than an acceptance, as Mr. Greenlaw suggests, of Lucretius's grotesque notion (V, 796 ff.) of Mother Earth's gushing milk from her pores to feed the infant creatures that had burst forth from the wombs attached by roots to the earth, their Mother.

Mr. Greenlaw's interpretation of "For in themselves eternall moisture they imply" as equivalent to another remark by Lucretius on the origin of species seems equally unhappy. Lucretius says (I, 188 ff.):

[15] "Spenser and Lucretius," *Stud. in Philol.*, XVII, 447 and 444.

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We are told that all things grow step by step, as is natural, from a fixed seed, and increase in size and are fed out of their own matter.

The passages seem to me to be on different themes. Lucretius is saying that things grows from a *fixed* seed, as is natural, and preserve their kind; "so that you may know that all things grow from their own matter." And he immediately adds:

Furthermore without fixed seasons of rain the earth is unable to put forth its gladdening produce, nor again if kept from food could the nature of living things continue its kind and sustain life.

This is certainly opposite to Spenser's remark,

> Ne doe they need with water of the ford,
> Or of the clouds to moysten their roots dry;
> For in themselves eternall moisture they imply.

Spenser can endure the miraculous; Lucretius must explain rationally in accordance with observed natural laws.

Mr. Greenlaw declares of Spenser that, "unlike some of his contemporaries, he does not relate the story of the creation according to Genesis, though there is no evidence that he rejected it."[16] It is true that Spenser nowhere turns into verse the whole scriptural story of the creation; but if one cares to add together the various passages on the creation by Spenser, he will find Genesis well represented. In *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* (dated 1591 in the preface) we have a combination of two accounts of creation, in lines 841ff. One of these is that in Genesis. In line 850 the emergence from the void suggests Genesis I, 2, "The earth was without form and void." The earth was at first in darkness (*Colin Clout*, 855; Genesis, I, 2). But light appeared. Then the heavens came (*C.C.*, 855; Gen., I, 6). Next the earth showed her naked head (*C. C.*, 857) out of "deep waters which her drownd alway." So in Genesis I, 9: "And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear." Day and night were then established, Spenser placing this step a little earlier in the series than in Genesis. Spenser begins with vegetable life, as in Genesis, except in the very brief passage in *Colin Clout*, where he skips the vegetable stage.

As to the creation of man, the allegorical account in the Garden of Adonis is mythical and under Pythagorean influence as to the doctrine of pre-existence and transmigration of souls. But the *Hymne*

[16] "Spenser's Influence on *Paradise Lost*," *Stud. in Philol.*, XVII, 340.

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of Heavenly Love, which is direct and not allegorical, is decidedly orthodox in its following of the account of Genesis, I, 26 and II, 7:

> And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.
> And the Lord God formed man from the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.

Spenser's account of the divine plan for the creation of man in the *Hymne of Heavenly Love* begins with line 105. Man is a creature

> Whose root from earths base groundwork shold begin
>
> Therefore of clay, base, vile and next to noght,
> Yet form'd by wondrous skill, and by his might:
> According to an heavenly patterne wrought,
> Which he had fashiond in his wise foresight,
> He man did make, and breathed a living spright
> Into his face most beautifull and fayre.

As for Spenser's thinking much on the "origin of species," as Mr. Greenlaw believes,[17] or his developing any noteworthy ideas on it, I see no evidence of it. He is interested in the separateness of the species as an instance of Order. Mr. Greenlaw likens Spenser's interest in Order here[18] to that of Lucretius (II, 1077–92), where Nature, though doing things spontaneously, observes order, as all things are begotten in classes. But while Lucretius's Order is not teleological, as he himself expressly asserts in at least three places, that of Spenser, like that of Lipsius, is. Chance directed the original movements and combinations of Lucretius's first-beginnings in the creation of things.

There is little in Spenser's account of the origin of species on which to base a dependence on Lucretius's account of kinds (II, 1077–92). Spenser says (III, vi, 35):

> Infinite shapes of creatures there are bred,
> And uncouth formes, which none yet ever knew,
> And every sort is in a sundry bed
> Set by it selfe, and ranckt in comely rew:
> Some fit for reasonable soules t' indew,
> Some made for beasts, some made for birds to weare,
> And all the fruitfull spawne of fishes hew
> In endlesse rancks along enraunged were,
> That seem'd the *Ocean* could not containe them there.

[17] "Spenser's Influence on *Paradise Lost*," *Stud. in Philol.*, XVII, 340.
[18] "Spenser and Lucretius," *Stud. in Philol.*, XVII, 447.

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As it happens, neither the passage in Spenser nor that in Lucretius referred to by Mr. Greenlaw contains anything markedly different from the account in Genesis, I, 20–26, which is fully as insistent as Lucretius on the spontaneity of production and also on the separateness of the kinds, as well as on the prolific production remarked on by Spenser:

> And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven.
>
> And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind. . . . .
>
> And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind. . . . .
>
> And God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and everything that creepeth after their kind. . . . .
>
> And God said, Let us make man in our image.

These verses are quite as good a source for anything in Spenser on origin of species as the passage in Lucretius Mr. Greenlaw refers to—or any other passage, for that matter. There is certainly nothing strikingly scientific in Spenser's observations on species of animals. Spenser's uncouth forms may perhaps be no more than the great whales of Genesis, instead of Lucretius's monsters produced in the course of nature's experiments, as Mr. Greenlaw thinks. And certainly there is nowhere in Spenser any reminder of the grotesque picture made by Lucretius of the birth of mortal men from wombs attached to the earth by roots (795–819), which Mr. Greenlaw summarizes to show resemblance to Spenser. I have accounted for the "eternal moisture" above in a way that makes Genesis a far better source than Lucretius at this point.

Let us consider next the supposed parallel between Spenser's "atomic theory" of first-beginnings and that of Lucretius, as traced by Professor Greenlaw. Though admitting a Platonic influence on the Garden of Adonis, he predicates an atomistic conception of origins in Spenser under the influence of Lucretius, as well as an acceptance of Lucretius's ideas of chaos, of void, and of the relations of substance and form, and certain philosophic principles.

> According to Lucretius, some bodies are the first-beginnings of things; the remaining bodies are formed from a union (concilium) of these first-beginnings. Nothing is ever begotten out of nothing by supernatural power. The laws of nature determine what each thing can do, and what

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it cannot do. Thus to Lucretius the existence of these unchangeable substances and their operation independent of supernatural aid is connected with the idea of a definite order and fixed law in nature. His second proposition is that nothing is ever annihilated, but all things on their dissolution go back into the first-beginnings. Next, Lucretius explains the existence of void. This void exists mixed up with the substances of bodies, as well as in the universe outside the created world. Thus all nature, whether the world or the realm of chaos, is made up of first-beginnings and void. In this philosophy Lucretius opposes Aristotle, who regarded the universe as depending upon a center which was the goal of all motion, and Plato, who in the *Timaeus* insists over and over that all the elements were used in the creation, leaving no part of any of them out of which another such world might be created, and also guaranteeing the safety of the world and its freedom from decay. Far from thinking that all the elements were used in the creation of the world, Lucretius maintains that continual waste goes on, so that the world is fed by fresh streams of atoms flowing in from the infinite void. If this supply of matter should lose its way in the void and fail to replenish the needs of the world, chaos would result.[19]

I do not find in Spenser any discussion of the problem of waste or of a constant fresh supply of matter coming in from the infinite void, such as would link him with Lucretius. Neither on void nor on chaos is there any special resemblance to Lucretius. As to the principle that "Nothing is begotten out of nothing by supernatural power," one may find a similar principle in the mystic Empedocles, as well as in several of his predecessors. It belonged to a whole line of philosophers.

It may be stated positively that Spenser's "first-beginnings" are not those of Lucretius. Spenser cannot by any stretch of the term be called an atomist. He follows an older school of philosophic thought, represented by Empedocles of Agrigentum. Whether Lucretius called his first-beginnings *rerum primordia*, *materies*, *corpora prima*, or *corpora genitalia*, they act like what were later called atoms (as, *e.g.* in the account of the chance combinations quoted above); and Lucretius may fairly be grouped with the atomists. But Spenser's first-beginnings are the four elements—earth, air, fire, water,—which nobody with a feeling for scientific distinctions would ever think of referring to as atoms.

Just as Empedocles of Agrigentum imitated Parmenides in plan, so Lucretius admired and imitated Empedocles, even to the point of coinciding with him in a few general philosophic principles. But he flatly contradicted the theory of origins which Spenser

[19] "Spenser and Lucretius," *Stud. in Philol.*, XVII, 448–50.

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seems to have adopted from Empedocles. The praise of Lucretius for the man who is responsible for much of Spenser's theory of origins is expressed in *De rerum natura*, I, 716ff., where he says that Sicily "held within it nothing more glorious than this man, nothing more holy marvellous and dear. The verses too of this godlike genius cry with a loud voice and set forth in such wise his glorious discoveries that he hardly seems born of a mortal stock." It is hardly surprising, then, to find resemblance between a few of Empedocles's ideas and those of such an admirer. Both, for example, repeat to a considerable extent the Eleatic arguments for the indestructibility of "what is." But Lucretius rejects absolutely Empedocles's ideas on first-beginnings (I, 739 ff.):

> In the first place, this god-like philosopher and his followers have yet gone to ruin in the first-beginnings of things.

He goes on to show why they have gone to ruin. It is because they are not, like him, atomists. They believe in four first-beginnings, the elements—fire, earth, air, water. Lucretius devotes a long passage to disproving the elements as ultimate sources and establishing what were later called atoms as sources.

Again, Lucretius attacks (I, 690–733) all those who make the first-beginnings of things two-fold couplings,—air with fire, and earth with water,—and those who believe that all things grow out of four origins, fire, earth, air, and water.

Now Spenser holds precisely the theory of origins that Lucretius rejected and criticised. In "Mutability," VII, 25, he says of the elements, earth, water, air, and fire,

> Thus, all these fower (the which the groundwork bee
> Of all the world and of all living wights).

And the same stanza contains the two-fold couplings: fire and air, air and water, water and earth. Similarly in *Colin Clout*, (847 ff.), we have other two-fold couplings: "The cold began to covet heat, and water fire," bringing forth other kinds as a result. Now Lucretius names Empedocles of Agrigentum as the author of this doctrine of the four elements and the two-fold couplings. He criticises him further, together with other followers of Heraclitus in certain doctrines:

> Moreover they go back to heaven and its fires for a beginning, and first suppose that fire changes into air, next that from air water is begotten and earth is produced out of water, etc. . . . . and that these cease not

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to interchange. . . . . All which first-beginnings must on no account do. (I, 782.)

Compare with this the stanza by Spenser on the elements partly quoted above:

> Yet are they chang'd (by other wondrous slights)
> Into themselves, and lose their native mights;
> The Fire to Aire, and th' Ayre to Water sheere,
> And Water into Earth.—(*Mutability*, VII, 25.)

Lucretius proceeds with his attack on those who begin with the elements:

I have assumed that earth and fire are mortal, and have not doubted that water and air perish, and have said that these are likewise begotten and grow afresh. (V, 247.)

He makes sport of the myth of the ever-burning lamp of the world. But Spenser's elements are eternal, and he comments specifically on the immortality of fire:

> Last is the fire: which, though it live for ever,
> Ne can be quenched quite.—(*Mutability*, VII, 24.)

It is clear, then, that we must look elsewhere than to Lucretius for Spenser's theory of first-beginnings. As I have already hinted, the source of much of Spenser's earlier cosmic theory may be found in the Sicilian philosopher, Empedocles of Agrigentum (?495-435 B. C.), whom Lucretius admired in general but disagreed with radically on origins. In "Mutability," in the "Garden of Adonis," and in *Colin Clout* the theory of the four elements as groundwork, and the principles of combination of them, and several other ideas point clearly to Empedocles as source. Before taking these up in detail, it may be well to give a brief account of Empedocles, that the difference between his system and that of Lucretius may be clear.[20]

[20] My account of his system is based chiefly upon the fragments of Empedocles as edited by Henry Stein, *Empedoclis Agrigentini fragmenta*, 1852; by Simon Karsten, *Empedoclis . . . . carminum reliquiae: de vita ejus . . . .*, 1838; and by John Burnet, in *Early Greek Philosophy*, 1908, 238 ff. There are many other accounts accessible. I quote in this paper passages from Burnet's translation of the Fragments (1908 edition), having compared them with Stein's and Karsten's texts. The numbering of the fragments is that of Diels.

A fifteen-page survey at the close of Karsten's text will give an idea of the use of Empedocles by later writers.

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Spenser's knowledge of Empedocles may have been got at second-hand,—but not because he could not or did not read Greek philosophy in the original, as has been suggested recently by several Spenser scholars with reference to his use of Greek sources. The curriculum of the Merchant Taylors school and that of Cambridge would leave little chance for such ignorance. And that Spenser availed himself of his opportunities is indicated by the testimony of his friend Lodowick Bryskett, in his *Civil Discourse* (1606) (p.25):

> Yet is there a gentleman in this company, whom I haue had often a purpose to intreate, that as his leisure might serue him, he would vouchsafe to spend some time with me to instruct me in some hard points which I cannot myselfe understand: knowing him to be not onely perfect in the Greek tongue, but also very well read in Philosophie, both morall and naturall. Neuertheles such is my bashfulness, as I neuer yet durst open my mouth to disclose this my desire unto him, though I haue not wante of some hartning thereunto from himselfe. For of his loue and kindnes to me, he encouraged me long sithens to follow the reading of the Greek tongue, and offered me his helpe to understand it.

The two works containing the natural philosophy of Empedocles are: a poem on *Nature* and the *Purifications*. The Librarians of Alexandria estimated that the former contained about 2000 verses and the latter 3000.[21] Diels' edition of fragments gives about 350 verses and parts of verses of the poem on Nature. This is hardly a fifth of the whole, but we know much more of Empedocles through other sources of information. Certain traditions have descended from his school of followers. Many of those who transmitted his ideas in physics were alive in the time of Plato, and both Plato and Aristotle were to some extent influenced by his doctrines, though both disagreed with him on certain fundamentals. Plato shows kinship on the doctrine of pre-existence of souls, but he refers to Empedocles only twelve times. Aristotle introduces 201 references to Empedocles in twenty-four separate works; and for this reason, if no other, it seems reasonable to suppose that Spenser would be aware of the nature of Empedocles's doctrines. Plutarch refers to Empedocles 118 times, of which five are in *De Isis et Osiris;* and Ovid is evidently familiar with him, though he refers to him but once (*Ibis*).

Empedocles was, like Pythagoras, a mystic philosopher, and

[21] Cf. *Diog.* VIII, 77 (*R. P.* 162); Suidas, s. v. *Empedokles*. Cf. Diels, "Ueber die Gedichte des Empedokles," *Koenigl. Akad. Berlin, Sitzungsb.*, 1898, pp. 396 ff.; and John Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy* (1908), pp. 238 ff.

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believed in the transmigration of souls. He preached a new religion of purity and abstinence as a means of securing release from the wheel of re-birth. It is possible that Spenser took from Empedocles this Pythagorean doctrine of re-birth, though he might easily meet the doctrine in a later form. However, it is worth noting that in the two poems of Empedocles the Pythagorean doctrine of pre-existence of souls is combined with the peculiar cosmogony that Spenser exhibits in his earlier accounts of origins.

As a physicist, Empedocles was not a monist. He might properly be called a pluralist, but certainly not an atomist. He took from Parmenides a conception of unalterable being, restating it over and over again. This doctrine influenced many later systems, including Lucretius's, and recurs in several of Spenser's poems. The distinctive turn given it by Empedocles is a reconciling of unalterable being with the flux of Heraclitus. *Nothing is created and nothing is destroyed,* is the contribution of Parmenides. *Yet things perish into one another, and birth and death are the mingling and separation of the eternal elements,* is the statement of Empedocles under the influence of Heraclitus's "eternal flux." This combination is a favorite with Empedocles—the eternity of substance, but the shift of form. Fragments 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 17, 21, and 34 are especially devoted to the idea. A few illustrations follow:

11 and 12. Fools! for they have no far-reaching thoughts—who deem that what before was not comes into being, or that aught can perish and be utterly destroyed. For it cannot be that aught can arise from what in no way is, and it is impossible and unheard of that what is should perish; for it will always be, wherever one may keep putting it. (*R. P.* 165a.)

8. And I shall tell thee another thing. There is no coming into being of aught that perishes, nor any end for it in baneful death; but only mingling and change of what has been mingled. Coming into being is but a name given to these by men. (*R. P.* 165.)

9. But, when the elements have been mingled in the fashion of a man and come to the light of day, or in the fashion of wild beasts or plants or birds, then men say that these come into being; and when they are separated, they call that woeful death. They call it not aright; but I too follow the custom, and call it so myself.

17. And nothing comes into being besides these, nor do they pass away; for, if they had been passing away continually, they would not be now, and what could increase this All and whence would it come? How, too, could it perish, since no place is empty of these things? They are what they are; but, running through one another, they become now this, now that, and like things evermore. (*R. P.* 166.)

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21. Behold the sun, everywhere bright and warm, and all the immortal things that are bathed in heat and bright radiance. Behold the rain, everywhere dark and cold; and from the earth issue forth things close-pressed and solid. When they are in strife all these are different in form and are separated; but they come together in love, and are desired by one another.

For out of these have sprung all things that were and are and shall be—trees and men and women, beasts and birds and the fishes that dwell in the waters, yea, and the gods that live long lives and are exalted in honour. (*R. P.* 166i.)

For these things are what they are; but, running through one another, they take different shapes—so much does mixture change them. (*R. P.* 166g.)

The Lucretian passage (I, 227–8), on nature's dissolving things back into their first bodies but not destroying them, cited by Professor Greenlaw in his "Spenser and Lucretius," page 454, as proving Lucretius's influence on Spenser offers no advance upon Empedocles; and if Spenser's origins are to be found rather in Empedocles than in Lucretius, it would be better to attribute this also to the earlier source.

Empedocles had a few original ideas, and achieved some further advance on earlier systems by new combinations of old ideas. The Eleatics had no explanation for motion. The problem bequeathed to Empedocles by Parmenides was, how to introduce any differences into the matter of an eternal and immovable sphere, and how to get motion and change into it. Empedocles denies unity of substance,—that 'all that is, is one,'—and introduces a variety of elements as first-beginnings (what Plato later called στοιχεῖα). The elements are eternal. "They are what they are." But new forms are produced by mingling and separation of the elements. As Empedocles has four roots, and a mixture of them in place of the homogeneous or continuous mass of Parmenides, change and motion are now possible.

Empedocles first introduces his four elements or "roots of all things" under mythological names, (in Fragment 6), as did many early philosophers in speaking of primary substances. But it is clear that they are not gods, for their nature is revealed in a later passage, Fragment 71:

But if thy assurance of these things was in any way deficient as to how out of Water and Earth and Air and Fire mingled together, arose the forms and colours of all those mortal things that have been fitted together by Aphrodite, and so are now come into being. . . . . (Cf. Fr. 17.)

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These elements are primitive material substances, but they are mingled together and form one all-including sphere.

Spenser's elements are the same, as we have seen in "Mutability," VII, 25, (quoted above on page 732), and in *Colin Clout*, 847ff. They are the groundwork of all; they are eternal, and they are mingled in one body. "Mutability," (VII, 25), tells of the changes, as of fire to air, and concludes,

> Yet all are in one body, and as one appeare.

It is true that these rather general ideas might have come to Spenser from several sources. I emphasize the resemblance to Empedocles in order to show that, in accepting this doctrine, Spenser is lined up with an Empedoclean position squarely opposed by Lucretius in his doctrine of origins.

It is the way in which the elements mingle and separate that makes unmistakable Spenser's reliance upon Empedocles for his earlier cosmic theories. This influence was specially significant for Spenser's earlier philosophy of life, since it is bound up with his whole conception of Love as the source of every living thing and indeed of the universe. Though later he outgrew this idea, he never completely lost it. His progression was rather toward a higher conception of this love, reaching its perfection near the close of his poetic career in the *Hymnes of Divine Love*.

The distinctive doctrine which Spenser took over from Empedocles is that of Love and Strife as combining and disintegrating forces working the changes among the four elements. Given the four elements in the one sphere, no particular forms could arise without some means of separating the four elements and some other means of bringing them together in varying proportions. At the time Empedocles wrote, incorporeal forces had not been conceived. He therefore posited two more corporeal elements, Strife and Love. His descriptions of them equate them with the other four elements, but his accounts of their behavior prove that they were active forces or principles, agents disintegrating and recombining the four elements. This was understood by Aristotle, who says (*Met.* A, 10, 1075, b3): "The love of Empedocles is both an efficient cause, for it brings together, and a material cause, for it is a part of the mixture." The elements are separated by Strife. Love then brings them together into a variety of new forms. There is a cyclic progress of disintegration and recombination. Aristotle also comments (*Met.* A. 4. 985 a21) on the fact that, in a sense, each o

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these forces acts both to disintegrate and to recombine. For, when Strife breaks up the Sphere it disintegrates elements, but it combines when it brings together one element, Fire. And Love, though combining elements into one particular form, is also separating parts of the elements from their kind. The Love here described by Empedocles as an elemental substance is not usually thought to be the same as an attraction of like for like, to which also he assigns importance in formation of the world. But there is one passage in Fr. 21, quoted above, p. 736, which seems to suggest kinship at least. Fragments 16 and 17 give the best exposition of the function of Love and Strife among the elements. Fragments 35 and 36 explain the cycles of domination of Love and Strife alternately; and 21, read after these, will become clearer as explaining Strife and Love in the creation of the animal world.

16. For of a truth they [Strife and Love] were aforetime and shall be; nor ever, methinks, will boundless time be emptied of that pair. (*R. P.* 166c.)

17. I shall tell thee a twofold tale. At one time it grew to be one only out of many; at another, it divided up to be many instead of one. There is a double becoming of perishable things and a double passing away. The coming together of all things brings one generation into being and destroys it; the other grows up and is scattered as things become divided. And these things never cease continually changing places, at one time all uniting in one through Love, at another each borne in different directions by the repulsion of Strife. Thus, as far as it is their nature to grow into one out of many, and to become many once more when the one is parted asunder, so far they come into being and their life abides not. But inasmuch as they never cease changing their places continually, so far they are ever immovable as they go round the circle of existence.

But come, hearken to my words, for it is learning that increaseth wisdom. . . . . At one time it grew together to be one only out of many, at another it parted asunder so as to be many instead of one;—Fire and Water and Earth and the mighty height of Air; dread Strife, too, apart from these, of equal weight to each, and Love among them, equal in length and breadth. Her do thou contemplate with thy mind, nor sit with dazed eyes. It is she that makes them have thoughts of love and work the works of peace. They call her by the names of Joy and Aphrodite. Her has no mortal yet marked moving round among them, but do thou attend to the undeceitful ordering of my discourse.

35, 36. But now I shall retrace my steps over the path of song that I have traveled before, drawing from my saying a new saying. When Strife was fallen to the lowest depth of the vortex, and Love had reached to the centre of the whirl, in it do all things come together so as to be one only;

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not all at once, but coming together at their will each from different quarters; and, as they mingled, countless tribes of mortal creatures were scattered abroad. Yet many things remained unmixed, alternating with the things that were being mixed, namely, all that Strife not fallen yet retained; for it had not yet altogether retired perfectly from them to the outermost boundaries of the circle. Some of it still remained within, and some had passed out from the limbs of the All. But in proportion as it kept rushing out, a soft, immortal stream of blameless Love kept running in, and straightway those things became mortal which had been immortal before, those things were mixed that had been unmixed, each changing its path. And, as they mingled, countless tribes of mortal creatures were scattered abroad endowed with all manners of forms, a wonder to behold. (*R. P.* 169.)

The clearest expression of this doctrine by Spenser will be found in one of the early hymns, the *Hymne in Honour of Love.* Empedocles, in Fragment 16, said, "Strife and Love were aforetime and shall be ever." Spenser portrays love as the eldest of the "heavenly Peares" in the *Hymne in Honour of Love,* 57ff.:

> For ere this worlds still mouing mightie masse,
> Out of great *Chaos* ugly prison crept,
> In which his goodly face long hidden was
> From heauens view, and in deepe darknesse kept,
> Love . . . .
> Gan reare his head.

Then follows an account of the conflict of Love and Strife in the creation of the world and its living forms. Love took wings and flew aloft.

> Then through the world his way he gan to take,
> The world that was not till he did it make;
> Whose sundrie parts he from them selues did seuer,
> The which before had lyen confused euer.
>
> The earth, the ayre, the water, and the fyre,
> Then gan to raunge themselues in huge array,
> And with contrary forces to conspyre
> Each against other, by all meanes they may,
> Threatning their owne confusion and decay:
> Ayre hated earth, and water hated fyre,
> Till Loue relented their rebellious yre.
>
> He then them tooke, and tempering goodly well
> Their contrary dislikes with loued meanes,
> Did place them all in order, and compell

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To keepe themselues within their sundrie raines,
Together linkt with Adamantine chaines;
Yet so, as that in euery liuing wight
They mixe themselues, and shew their kindly might.

So euer since they firmely haue remained,
And duly well obserued his beheast;
Through which now all these things that are contained
Within this goodly cope, both most and least
Their being haue, and dayly are increast.
Through secret sparks of his infused fyre,
Which in the barraine cold he doth inspyre.

Thereby they all do liue and moued are
To multiply the likenesse of their kynd.

Fragment 26, of Empedocles, tells the tale of conflict of Love and Strife again:

For they prevail in turn as the circle comes around, and pass into one another, and grow great in their appointed turn. (*R. P.* 166c.)

They are what they are; but, running through one another, they become men and the tribes of beasts. At one time they are all brought together into one order by Love; at another, they are carried each in different directions by the repulsion of Strife, till they grow once more into one and are wholly subdued. Thus in so far as they are wont to grow into one out of many, and again divided become more than one, so far they come into being and their life is not lasting; but in so far as they never cease changing continually, so far are they evermore, immovable in the circle.

It will be noted that in Spenser's story Love and Strife act among the elements just as in Empedocles's, and we have the mixture, the subdual of Strife by Love, and the growing into one, the dependence of all creatures upon these elements and these activities for their coming into being, and (elsewhere in Spenser) the circle or wheel of existence.

The same theory of Love as pre-existent, as maker of the world and as opponent of Strife, and of the conflicts and combinations of the elements prefaces the theory of the creation contained in *Colin Clout*, 839ff.:

For long before the world he was y'bore
And bred aboue in *Venus* bosome deare:
For by his powre the world was made of yore,
And all that therein wondrous doth appeare.
For how should else things so far from attone
And so great enemies as of them bee,

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Be euer drawne together into one,
And taught in such accordance to agree?
Through him the cold began to couet heat,
And water fire; the light to mount on hie;
And th'heauie downe to peize; the hungry t'eat
And voydnesse to seeke full satietie.
So being former foes, they wexed friends,
And gan by litle learne to loue each other:
So being knit, they brought forth other kynds
Out of the fruitfull wombe of their great mother.

This looks like a re-working of the passage in the *Hymne in Honour of Love* quoted above.

Empedocles's doctrine of origins probably appealed to Spenser because it was mystical and poetic and agreed with his youthful convictions as to the all-importance of love. But with such a man as Burghley it may have helped to give him the reputation of a vain amatorious poet.

In the Garden of Adonis, "seminarie of all things born," Venus is the mother of all forms, and Adonis the father (III, vi, 47). Possibly Fragment 17 of Empedocles throws a light on Adonis the father of all forms, who is subject to mortality and yet eternal in mutability. And it may be that the Boar imprisoned by Venus is a figure for Strife, the foe of Love. It will be noticed that in the kindred passages in *An Hymne in Honour of Love*, (lines 87–90), Love chains up the contrary, striving elements.

Many of the difficulties arising out of Empedocles's doctrines Spenser evades, being guided in this perhaps by the criticism of Plato and Aristotle. Plato in his Laws condemns Empedocles for leaving no room for design, while Aristotle says he does not account for the chance that made the elements "run" in a certain direction. Empedocles believed in a God as well as gods, and in the immortality of the soul. He was mystical and intensely religious; but his cosmic origins leave loopholes for materialistic philosophers.

Lucretius takes ideas from Empedocles and gives them an entirely new turn. Though he starts with something like atoms and rejects the elements as foundations, Lucretius develops chance combinations of his first-beginnings as the order of creation, thereby definitely and intentionally eliminating design, and with it a creator's mind and function. Also Lucretius, like Empedocles, has a doctrine approaching what came later to be called "survival of the fittest"; but his doctrine is not that of

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Empedocles. A very brief sketch of the notions of Empedocles and Lucretius on this point will suffice to show that Spenser follows neither,—that he almost entirely evades the problem, touching it but once, very slightly, in such a way as to suggest Aristotle, rather than Empedocles or Lucretius, from both of whom Aristotle differed decidedly.

Empedocles believed in abiogenesis, or spontaneous generation, as the origin of living forms. His account of trees as the first living, growing things, rising up because of the heat in the earth, so that they are parts of the earth just as embryos are parts of the uterus, is substantially the same idea as Ovid's, as may be seen by comparing Fragments 77–81 of Empedocles with *Metamorphoses*, I, 370.[22] To account for similar ideas in Spenser, therefore, it is hardly necessary to turn to Ovid.

Empedocles's account of the creation of animals is peculiar. Animals first appear from the earth not as whole individuals but in parts:

57. On it [the earth] many heads sprung up without necks and arms, wandered bare and bereft of shoulders. Eyes strayed up and down in want of foreheads. (*R.P.* 173a.)

58. Solitary limbs wandered seeking for union.

59. But as divinity was mingled still further with divinity, these things joined together as each might chance, and many other things besides them continually arose. (*R.P.* 173b.)

60. Shambling creatures with countless hands.

61. Many creatures with faces and breasts looking in different directions were born; some, offspring of oxen with faces of men, while others, again, arose as offspring of men with heads of oxen, and creatures in whom the nature of women and men was mingled, furnished with sterile parts. (*R. P.* 173b.)

62. Come now, hear how the Fire as it was separated caused the night-born shoots of men and tearful women to arise; for my tale is not off the point nor uninformed. Whole-natured forms first arose from the earth, having a portion both of water and fire. These did the fire, desirous of reaching its like, send up, showing as yet neither the charming form of women's limbs, nor yet the voice and parts that are proper to men. (*R. P.* 173c.)

[22] On Empedocles's account of the creation of living forms, we have the doxographical tradition and the Aristotelian interpretations (as in the Treatise on Plants) to help out the fragments. The text of Aetios is quoted in part by J. Burnet in his *Early Greek Philosophy*. Aetios gives the clearest view of the four stages of life in accordance with the dominance of love and strife. I have not presented this because it is not in Spenser.

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20. This [the contest of Love and Strife] is manifest in the mass of mortal limbs. At one time all the limbs that are the body's portion are brought together by Love in blooming life's high season; at another, severed by cruel Strife, they wander each alone by the breakers of life's sea. It is the same with plants and the fish that make their homes in the waters, with the beasts that have their lairs on the hills and the seabirds that sail on wings.) *R. P.* 173d.)

If we must have monsters as an origin of Spenser's "uncouth forms" among the created animals, we may find as good ones in Empedocles as in Lucretius; but it is possible that the "great whales" of Genesis would do as well.

The extraordinary beings that, according to Empedocles, were brought together by the play of love and strife became extinct unless fitted to support themselves and propagate. Others arose, by direct birth from the earth as before. Thus, in the cycle in which Love predominates there is a sort of survival of the fittest. It was in another cycle, or stage, presumably, that the whole-natured forms as yet undistinguished as to sex arose (See the end of Fr. 61 and Fr. 62; and Cf. Plato, *Symp.* 189e).

The features of Empedocles's theory that can be called "modern" or forward-looking are: the gradual development of life, the succession of plant and animal life, the weeding out of imperfect forms by a sort of natural selection, and the survival of the more perfect. The teleological conception had not yet risen. Naturally, there is no real evolution in such a doctrine, as we have series of new births direct from earth which do not involve perfecting one form progressively from a previous one in any way.

Lucretius has an equally striking account of how Mother Earth produced the first races of men (V, 796 ff.):

Then . . . . did the earth first give forth races of mortal men. For much heat and moisture would then abound in the fields; and therefore, wherever a suitable spot offered, wombs would grow attached to the earth by roots, and when the warmth of the infants, flying the wet and craving the air, had opened these in the fulness of time, nature would turn to that spot the pores of the earth and constrain it to yield from its opened veins a liquid most like to milk. . . . . The earth . . . . of herself gave birth to mankind.

Many errors of nature were produced at first, (V, 837–56. I summarize the passage):

The earth then essayed to produce many monsters, things coming up with strange faces and limbs, the man-woman . . . . some things deprived

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of feet, others lacking hands, ... or dumb, ... or blind, ... or with limbs so bound that they could not live. All these the earth produced in vain, so that many races of living things died out, being unable to beget and continue their breed.

Lucretius's theory, then, provides for new experiments of nature and a sort of natural selection, but no gradual development of organic life by a succession of new forms rising one out of another with better adaptations, as in the theory of Aristotle. The new animals, according to Lucretius, arise directly out of earth. This is hardly as well fitted to be regarded as pointing forward to a doctrine of descent of forms on an improving scale as is the earlier and more fantastic theory of Empedocles.

Now Spenser evidently had opportunity, by reading Empedocles, Lucretius, and Aristotle, to become acquainted with such pre-Darwinian notions as existed; and, as in at least four places he treats topics suitable for the introduction of such ideas, he might easily have displayed any "scientific" notions which he cherished. But there is no evidence that he had any clear conception of evolution of forms, or even of survival of the fittest. Spenser presents in "Mutability" two opposed views with regard to the round of animal creation, death, and birth. In VII, 18 the materialistic formula that he proposes to overthrow is stated by Mutability: the successive decomposition of forms into their substance and re-creation in new forms:

> And, being dead,
> To turne again unto their earthly slime:
> Yet, out of their decay and mortall crime,
> We daily see new creatures to arize;
> And of their Winter spring another Prime,
> Unlike in forme, and chang'd by strange disguise:
> So turne they still about, and change in restlesse wise.

Here is no progress, even physical. But Nature replies, (stanza 58) with a very brief suggestion that what seems mere change is after all, progress toward a goal.

> Being rightly wayd
> They are not changed from their first estate;
> But by their change their being doe dilate:
> And turning to themselves at length againe,
> Doe worke their own perfection so by fate.

This is perhaps a faint glimmer of evolutionary doctrine, but by no

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means derived from Lucretius. It suggests rather Aristotle,[23] who believed that a graded scale of living beings was produced by Nature. Each superior degree unites in itself the characters of the inferior degrees and adds its own peculiar, more excellent virtue. Man is distinct, having reason. Spenser also treats man as separate from the lower animals, for the same reason. The "dilating" of the being, and "working their own perfection so by fate" suggest that his treatment of progression of animal forms is based on Aristotle's doctrine; but the passage is so brief and so general that one cannot be sure whether it was based on Aristotle's doctrine in its first form or upon some later adaptation of it. In any case, it affords no evidence of any strong scientific spirit in Spenser.

Spenser's doctrine of abiogenesis might come from any one of several sources. The animals arise out of earthly slime in *Colin Clout*, 859ff., and in "Mutability," VII, 17–18. The account bears no resemblance whatever to Lucretius's, and little to Empedocles's. The clayey origins in Genesis would be as good a source as either of these.

Mr. Greenlaw sees in the emergence of forms in the Garden of Adonis, (III, vi, 37 and 38) a dependence on Lucretius in connection with the relation of form and substance:

> How closely Spenser studies even the phraseology of Lucretius is also illustrated by the passage already quoted in which he says that from the substances in chaos all things fetch their first being and borrow matter which, when it catches form and feature,
>
> Becomes a body and doth then invade
> The state of life out of the griesly shade,—
>
> on which compare
>
> At nunc seminibus quia certis quaeque creantur
> inde enascitur atque oras in luminis exit,
> materies ubi inest cuisque et corpora prima. (I, 169–71.)

The figure which Lucretius uses for birth—*atque oras in luminis exit*—is, however, extremely common and wide-spread; if we start trailing it, we shall find that Lucretius *may* have himself taken it from Empedocles, Fragment 9,

> But when the elements have been mingled in the fashion of a man and

[23] Aristotle is teleological, and objects to views such as Empedocles's and Lucretius's which make Chance rule combinations. His criticism of Empedocles's principle of survival of the fittest is in his *Physics*, B, 8, 198b29 and his *De Part. An.* A, 1, 640 a19.

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come to the light of day, or in the fashion of the race of wild beasts or plants or birds, then men say they come into being.

Nor does the thought in the rest of the Spenserian passage fix Lucretius as the source of this common figure. Spenser's statement (st. 37) is that matter comes out of chaos in the womb of the earth, while Lucretius states that everything comes from fixed seeds of its own kind; so that the context is closer to Empedocles than to Lucretius. But I, for one, should be willing to concede to either poet the power to originate that figure without any conscious indebtedness.

Another of the verbal and logical resemblances to Lucretius brought forward by Mr. Greenlaw may equally well be traced to other sources. In his article on "Spenser and Lucretius," (pp. 449–451) he three times likens Spenser as an atomist to Lucretius, saying that the falling of Lucretius's atoms into certain arrangements by chance is comparable with Spenser's emergence of living forms from the substance, particularly in the expression that beings "catch form and feature." He goes on to say, (p. 451),

That by "substaunce" Spenser meant the Lucretian atom is proved by the distinction he makes between these first-beginnings or materials of things, and the "forms" which result from combinations in this substance. The substance must "catch" form and feature before it invades the world of light. When "form" fades, the "substaunce" is not consumed but is merely altered to and fro. Spenser's statement,—

> For every substaunce is conditioned
> To chaunge her hew, and sondry formes to don,
> Meet for her temper and complexion

imitates almost verbally Lucretius, II, 1002–6,

> Et effit ut omnes Res ita convertant formas mutentque colores.

But Spenser's lines here show as close verbal resemblance to Empedocles, Fragment 71:

But, if thy assurance of these things was in any way deficient as to how, out of Water and Earth and Air and Fire mingled together, arose the *forms and colors* (εἴδη τε χρόαι, Karsten text, no. 152) of all those mortal things that have been fitted together by Aphrodite, and so are now come into being.

And we should remember that Spenser's groundwork is the four elements, and his creative principle is Love. Lucretius's beginnings are atoms, and the creative principle, Chance producing combinations. Not by explaining Spenser's substance as the

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Lucretian atom can one make it so. Nor is his "altering to and fro" the ceaseless activity of the atoms:[24] it is merely the circle of life, the wheel of being.

Spenser's treatment of substance and of form is rather general. It is as near to Aristotle's as to any other. In his *Metaphysics*, Aristotle places first among his fundamental principles, form, and second, matter. Form is the shaping-principle resulting in the realization or accomplishment (*entelecheia*, *energeia*, *actus*) of the possibility or potentiality inherent in the matter or substratum. It is the form-principle acting on the matter that gives rise to individual forms. This is a tenet of many later philosophers, among them certain Arabians who transmitted Aristotle to the Middle Ages. Essentially in harmony with such a doctrine is Spenser's declaration, "For soule is forme, and doth the bodie make."

Ronald B. Levinson, in an article[25] which appeared since this essay was written, traces Spenser's idea to Bruno, interpreting the passage as showing a "conception of spiritual substance." I doubt whether it shows anything more than is in Aristotle and some earlier philosophers. Mr. Levinson rightly says of the *Spaccio* of Bruno, which he quotes on p. 678, that Bruno included in his system an eternal spiritual substance together with an eternal material substance. But, however much alike they may look to a literary critic today, the "eternal spiritual substance" of Bruno and the "form-principle" of Aristotle were not in Bruno's day regarded as identical; for this was the crucial point of controversy on which Bruno lectured in the colleges for many years and on which he discoursed in print, his contention being that Aristotle's theory of the relations of form and matter made impossible the immortality of the individual soul, inasmuch as the form-principle became a sort of accident. It was to

[24] There is but one approach to atomism in Empedocles, and that is undoubtedly by an unconscious implication where, in Fragments 17 and 34, he describes the movements of the elements as "running through each other." According to Aristotle, Empedocles explained mixture as due to symmetry of the "pores." As like bodies tend to have like "pores," like bodies can mingle more readily. I have spoken of the "mixture" of elements as being taken over by Spenser in the early *Hymne of Love*, 91 ff., and elsewhere. It is possible that the need of selecting "likes" as mates expressed in the early *Hymne of Beautie*, 190 ff. may be due to Empedocles, as Fragments 22 and others in Empedocles have to do with the harmony of mating and mixing "likes."

[25] "Spenser and Bruno," *PMLA*, XLIII (1928), 679.

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correct this doctrinal error that Bruno proposed his *eterna sustanza incorporea* (a somewhat difficult philosophic conception). It will not do to say with Mr. Levinson (p. 678): "Here we have to do with substance in the Platonic and Aristotelian sense, spiritual substance or form, the reality of which is implied in Spenser's description of the Garden and explicitly stated in his often quoted line, 'For soule is forme and doth the bodie make.'" The error lies: (1) in equating Bruno's spiritual substance with Aristotle's form-principle; (2) in equating Plato's and Aristotle's ideas of substance; and (3) in finding in Spenser's line the 'eternal spiritual substance' of Bruno. If Bruno's spiritual substance were Aristotle's form-principle, then Bruno would not be, as Mr. Levinson suggests, p. 679, first to find room in his system for the two substances, as they would then stand side by side as the first two principles in Aristotle's Metaphysics, and there would thus be no occasion to resort to Bruno as a source or as an explanation of Spenser's philosophy.

The postulation of such an influence to explain a combination of Platonic and Lucretian ideas by Spenser is unnecessary, for the simple reason that such Lucretian ideas as appear in Spenser are traceable to earlier systems frequently combined with the Platonic, at least in part. I have tried to eliminate from Mr. Greenlaw's list a number of supposedly Lucretian ideas. The notion of Chaos in Spenser, Mr. Levinson thinks, has been shown to be "ultimately Lucretian." If one must have the ultimate, why not go back at least four more centuries, to Anaxagoras? Spenser's Chaos in his works is a shifting, fanciful conception as much mythical as philosophic. Here are some of the things he says of Chaos: she is the mother of Earth; he is a terrorizing creature who may break his chains and bring back eternal night; and it is a dwelling-place of Demogorgon, and the home of the Fates. Why sit up of nights trailing Spenser's Chaos to one author as a source?

The resemblances which have been pointed out, at various times within the last forty years, between Bruno's *Spaccio* and Spenser's "Mutability" are not of much significance, even if the *Spaccio* were (as I think not) the earlier work. The assembly of the gods was a common literary device; Jove would naturally preside over such an assembly; and alteration or change was a very common theme of conversation in the Renaissance. Somewhat more significant is the mention by one character in *Spaccio*

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of a goal of perfection at the end of change; but this was a well-known Aristotelian conception and argues no more than common debt to Aristotle or his followers. The general subject-matter, the purpose, and the tone of Bruno's ironic fable, the *Spaccio*, are quite remote from Spenser's in the "Mutability" cantos.

The points of resemblance between Spenser's philosophy and Bruno's are those in which they follow well-beaten paths; the points of difference appear wherever Bruno is independent and original. Not only is there no trace in Spenser of Bruno's peculiar beliefs on astronomy and physics, but Bruno's whole attitude toward the material world is at odds with Spenser's, as one might expect from the sharp contrast between their temperaments and personalities and general philosophies of life. As Bruno traces his belief in transmigration to Pythagoras and other ancients, and as the idea is also in Plato, there is no need to assume that Spenser got it from Bruno. And a very careful sifting of the Platonic and neo-Platonic conceptions of Bruno and of Spenser (especially in the four hymns) in comparison with similar conceptions of Ficino, Pico, and Benivieni, would probably establish what has already been suspected, that many of these conceptions were standard in Italy and in England.

Let us turn now to Spenser's attitude toward things unseen. Mr. Greenlaw argues that Spenser aims, like Lucretius, to overthrow superstition based on ignorance connected with belief in the higher powers, immortality of the soul, etc., because Mutability says to Jove ("Mutability," VII, 49): The things which we see not, how can we believe?"[26] This is unlikely: first, because Spenser is not on the side of Mutability; and second, because he himself habitually believes in things unseen. The rest of his poetry declares him to be normally inclined to the acceptance of myths, to belief in the supernatural, to mysticism in general. It is by faith in the unseen, not by the evidence of the senses, that the conclusion in "Mutability" is established.

The remark of Mutability, then, accords rather with the beginning of Empedocles's expression of his philosophical system in his poem on Nature. Fragment 2 rebukes those who will believe only what the senses tell them:

> For straitened are the powers that are spread over their bodily parts, and many are the woes that burst in on them and blunt the edge of their careful thoughts! . . . . Each is convinced of that alone which he had

[26] "Spenser and Lucretius," *Stud. in Philol.*, XVII, 461.

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chanced upon as he is hurried to and fro, and idly boasts that he has found the whole. So hardly can these things be seen by the eyes or heard by the ears of men, so hardly grasped by the mind.

That Spenser agreed with Empedocles is suggested by the proem to Book II of *The Faerie Queene*, against those who disbelieve the poet's tale because it has not been experienced. Spenser asks (st. 3):

> Why then should witlesse man so much misweene
> That nothing is, but that which he hath seene?

The next stanza goes on with the idea of Empedocles, that the senses are too blunt to report all there is to be known:

> Ne let him then admire,
> But yield his sence to be too blunt and bace
> That no'te without an hound fine footing trace.[27]

Mr. Greenlaw says that, in the Garden of Adonis, Spenser

> alters in extraordinary fashion the Platonic and Christian idea of souls coming from a spiritual realm to inhabit mortal bodies to a conception as materialistic as that of Lucretius himself. For the chief point about the entire passage in Spenser is that these souls grow in the garden of Dame Nature in precisely the same manner as the flowers and trees and all the animals. The only supernatural agencies are Nature herself, personified in much the same fashion as Lucretius, with all his denial of the supernatural in life, personifies her, and the porter, Old Genius. Even this vague supernaturalism drops out of sight in the thirty-fifth stanza, about the infinite shapes of creatures, including monsters as well as men and the animals that survived, that grow in the Garden like plants springing from the earth. With this compare Lucretius, V, 795 ff.[28]

As we have already seen (*supra*, p. 727), Mr. Greenlaw, in his denial of supernatural agencies in creation, overlooked the presence of God the Creator in the very passage he was discussing. And, except for growing in a garden, man is *not* treated by Spenser as on a par with the vegetable and lower animal life. There is a careful discrimination, in that a supernatural agent introduces a soul into him, and that soul has had pre-existence outside the garden. This difference is essential. It is one of the many points in which Spenser is absolutely at odds with Lucretius.

Genius, who introduces the soul, is certainly intended to be a supernatural agent. Spenser contrasts with him the Genius who

[27] In fragment 101, Empedocles, in connection with his discussion of the senses, uses the dog tracking by scent.

[28] "Spenser and Lucretius," *Stud. in Philol.*, XVII, 445.

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is porter of Pleasure and attends Venus as goddess of Fecundity in the Garden of Acrasia. Of this lesser and lower Genius he remarks:

> They in that place him Genius did call;
> Not that celestiall powre, to whom the care
> Of life, and generation of all
> That lives, perteines in charge particulare.

It may be readily admitted that this account of how the soul got into man is not that of Genesis. For such an account one must turn to Spenser's last hymn, which has been quoted above. The whole tale in the Garden of Adonis is mythical and allegorical. It is Greek and more or less pagan; and yet it carefully includes with the pagan powers a definite recognition of God the Creator.

Proceeding with his argument that Spenser is as materialistic as Lucretius, Mr. Greenlaw (p. 459) discusses and quotes from "Mutability", VII, 18:

> All that earth produces, however fair, must decay, and being dead, must turn again into earthly slime (the first-beginnings, or substaunce) out of which new creatures arise. So also, the beasts that perish, and men who pass from youth to age and then to death,—
>
> Ne doe their bodies only flit and fly
> But eeke their minds (which they immortall call),
>
> on which it may be remarked that Lucretius's chief argument against the immortality of the soul, in his third book, is that the mind decays with the body as extreme old age comes on.

Here, as usual in treating Mutability, Mr. Greenlaw attributes to Spenser allegiance to the materialistic Mutability who is overthrown at the end of the debate—in spite of the fact that the poet in his own person expresses a hope of eternal life with God. But if Mr. Greenlaw does not notice God here, as he evidently did not in the story of creation in the Garden of Adonis, it is still hard to see how he can represent Spenser as believing that the mind dies with the body—in the face of his account of transmigration of souls in the Garden of Adonis. There is no possibility of harmonizing these contrary beliefs in the mind of a poet who is sane.

With Spenser's garden of eternal souls, existing apart from the bodies for thousands of years, compare Lucretius's teachings on the human soul. To Lucretius the mind and soul seemed one united substance, alike mortal. The soul is "fine and formed of minute bodies,"—more minute than those of water, mist, or smoke. At death the soul vanishes more easily than mist or smoke.

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It "is shed abroad and perishes." . . . "For when the body that serves for its vessel cannot hold it . . . . how can you believe that this soul can be held by any air?" (III, 418. Cf. Epic. ap. Diog. L. x. 64ff.) "The mind cannot come into being alone without the body nor exist far away from the sinews and blood. It must more strenuously be denied that it can abide out of the body." (V, 124–7).

Perhaps, however, Mr. Greenlaw does not take seriously Spenser's use of the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration of souls. More orthodox views of the life of the soul apart from the body may be found at the end of "Mutability", in *An Hymne of Heavenly Love*, and in the elegy *Daphnaida*, which is within a year of the date of publication of the Garden of Adonis. Daphne says, line 268,

> The messenger is come for mee,
> That summons souls unto the bridall feast
> Of his great Lord.

She goes then to rest in the abode of the blest, free from care and woe, where saints and angels praise God eternally. Is this like Lucretius? And what of the thirty to forty lines of orthodox Christian consolation over Dido's death in the November eclogue of the *Calender*?

The two stanzas of the Garden of Adonis which present a Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration of souls (III, vi, 32 and 33) have been traced by Professor Greenlaw and others to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Bk. V, Plato's *Republic*, and Plato's *Timaeus*. I have shown elsewhere that the *Constancy* of Lipsius has pre-existent souls 'trailing clouds of glory' from a heavenly home. Any or all of these Spenser may have known, and he may also have known Pythagoras. Or, he may have derived the idea from Empedocles, as it is the fundamental idea underlying his *Purifications*. Fragment 115 presents it in part:

> There is an oracle of Necessity [an Orphic personage], an ancient ordinance of the gods, eternal and sealed fast by broad oaths, that whenever one of the daemons, whose portion is length of days, has sinfully polluted his hands with blood, or followed strife and forsworn himself, he must wander thrice three thousand years from the abodes of the blessed, being born throughout the time in all manners of mortal forms, changing one toilsome path of life for another. For the mighty Air drives him into the Sea, and the Sea spews him forth on the dry Earth; Earth tosses him into the beams of the blazing Sun, and he flings him back to the eddies of

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the Air. One takes him from the other, and all reject him. One of these I now am, an exile and a wanderer from the gods.

Fragments 125 and 126 seem to continue the theme:

> From living creatures he made them dead, changing their forms.
> . . . . [The goddess] clothing them with a strange garment of flesh.

Spenser's stanzas (III, vi, 31 ff.) have the notion of an eternal decree of fate, the idea of punishment in rebirth, the long period of years between the changes of state, and the perpetual wheel of existence of the soul and rebirth in mortal shape:

> Old *Genius* the porter of them was,
> Old *Genius*, the which a double nature has.
>
> He letteth in, he letteth out to wend,
> All that to come into the world desire;
> A thousand thousand naked babes attend
> About him day and night, which doe require
> That he with fleshly weedes would them attire:
> Such as him list, such as eternall fate
> Ordained hath, he clothes with sinfull mire,
> And sendeth forth to live in mortall state,
> Till they againe returne backe by the hinder gate.
>
> After that they againe returned beene,
> They in that Gardin planted be againe;
> And grow afresh, as they had neuer seene
> Fleshly corruption, nor mortall paine.
> Some thousand yeares so doen they there remaine;
> And then of him are clad with other hew,
> Or sent into the changefull world againe,
> Till thither they returne, where first they grew:
> So like a wheele around they runne from old to new.

For the "sinfull mire" and the "fleshly corruption," Empedocles would be a good source, inasmuch as the whole aim of his *Purifications* is to show that by purifications and abstinence only can one hope to get rid of sin and escape the wheel of life, i.e., rebirth in mortal form. On the garden of souls, Mr. Greenlaw's suggestion of debt to Plato's meadow seems reasonable. Aristotle, like Plato, believed in a pre-existence. He thought a part of the soul, the *nous* (reason) was pre-existent, and entered from without (*De. gen. animal.* II. 3). Whether Spenser was influenced by Pythagoras, by Empedocles, by Ovid, by Plato, or by Aristotle, he at least was presenting a doctrine radically opposed to the position of Lucretius.

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Professor Greenlaw hints that Spenser's gods are much like those of Lucretius. It is true, Spenser, like most poets of his age who were saturated with Greek mythology, has certain decorative gods and goddesses who are of no significance as deities. They appear in some poems alongside of God, the Creator, establisher and ruler of the universe. But they are not treated in at all the same way, being handled in the conventional mythical fashion of the ancient Greeks. In "Mutability", Jove, in the body of the poem, is, I believe, the same as the "great Sabbaoth God" in the poet's own remarks at the close; but he is called Jove earlier because of the myth in which he appears— of a Titaness attempting to unseat him. Let the reader who thinks Lucretius's gods are Spenser's endeavor to imagine Lucretius praying for rest in eternity with "that great Sabbaoth God." Lucretius expects his soul to 'ooze out' and perish like smoke, just as his body 'rots in noisome stench.'

Empedocles had both little gods and a big God. The little gods are no gods, in effect, for, though long-lived, they eventually perish. But the big God of the Purifications is worth a glance, for he is no anthropomorphic conception but a spiritual principle that animates the universe. Some have said he is a sun god; but in any case he is interesting in connection with a poet whose final conception of God is that Sapience is his chiefest attribute.

Fragment 133. It is not possible for us to set God before our eyes, or to lay hold of him with our hands, which is the broadest way of persuasion that leads into the heart of man.

134. For he is not furnished with a human head on his body, two branches do not sprout from his shoulders, he has no feet, no swift knees, nor hairy parts; but he is only a sacred and unutterable mind flashing through the whole world with rapid thoughts. (*R. P.* 180).

Many have felt that there was something "all wrong" with Spenser's God. Perhaps that was part (a small part) of Burghley's objection to him. In his early philosophy, the probable point of objection was the idea of Love as creator and ruler of the world. There are two aspects of this idea, even in the earlier poems; for Love is occasionally treated in a sensuous, "amatory" fashion, and at other times as a principle, not of the flesh. Throughout his life Spenser seems to have felt a need of balancing his interests in the lower and the higher forms of love. In his youth he is far less sensual than the average poet of his day, and is already aware that Love should be refined; yet he is alive to its sensuous aspects

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and writes hyperbolic praise of Love as creating the world and ruling it. Even today persons may quote the scriptural texts, "He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is Love" (I, John 4:8), and "God is love, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God" (4:16), without meaning to assert that Love is God, or even that God is Love in any ordinary human sense. This is, perhaps, the shock that Spenser gave in his early career,—Love is God.

This is why he wished to republish the amatory hymns of his youth. It was not that they were gross in their conception of human love, for they were not; but human love had apparently been elevated to a place which only divine love should occupy. That is corrected by the addition of *An Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*, which emphasizes God's love of the world in sending his only begotten son,—a poetical sermon on the text of I John, ch. 4. And Venus is here put down in her proper place, (lines 211–217). Her beauty cannot "once come near" that of Sapience, the "soueraine dearling of the Deity." In this the final stage of the poet's philosophy supreme Wisdom is the most significant attribute.

It may be that some persons, after reading the last two hymns, will still find Spenser lacking in his conception of God. He is not like the God of some Sunday-school children,—a benevolent old gentleman with a long white beard: nor is he like Herrick's God, one who may be praised for his "round and smooth hands" that drop gifts freely; nor does he seem to take a personal interest in seeing to it that the poet has his "beloved Beet." He does not even clap his hand on Spenser's shoulder and call him, "My child!" as does Herbert's God. He is an awe-inspiring deity who rules the universe with infinite love and infinite wisdom. The last hymns describe him, but not photographically. His face is too glorious for mortal sight, as we see in *An Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*, lines 127–9:

> The meanes therefore which unto us is lent,
> Him to behold, is on his workes to looke,
> Which he hath made in beauty excellent.

The poet when he wrote the last two hymns had his answer to what troubled him in "Mutability"—how to have absolute faith in God as creator and maintainer of the universe, and how to justify God's ways. He was now under the influence of Platonic, Aristotelian, and Christian thought.[29]

[29] In his conception of God he is a little like Empedocles and more like the stoics. The stoic God is a diety which permeates the world as a creative fire, an all-

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Plato is specifically referred to in the *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*, lines 82–4, where Spenser accepts the Idea rejected by Aristotle as having a separate existence. Miss Winstanley and others have so fully discussed the Platonic influence on these hymns that it is unnecessary to go into the matter here. In his physics, Spenser was much more influenced by Aristotle, but in his spiritual philosophy, it is clear that Plato dominated him.

In the *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*, the passage on God's relation to the firmament might well be on the text of the nineteenth Psalm, I, "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handiwork." The cosmic theory in this hymn, as in "Mutability," is essentially Ptolemaic as to its major outlines, but the particular turn of interpretation is Aristotelian. According to Aristotle, the degrees of perfections of things vary with remoteness from the direction of God; for God moves the world from its circumference (Cf. Spenser, ll. 72–5). The motion is communicated from the outer sphere to the next (Cf. Spenser, l. 74). As God acts directly on the firmament of the fixed stars (Sp., l. 67), their motion is superior to that of the planets, and the lower regions show imperfections (Sp., l. 65). These ideas of Aristotle seem to inspire the beautiful lines of the Hymn, 36–77.

Perhaps I should consider, in connection with Spenser's nature philosophy, Mr. Greenlaw's attribution to Alanus de Insulis of considerable influence on Spenser;[30] but space permits only a brief noting of the points of contact. Alanus is a mystic, who repudiates Chance. He is of a school of philosophers radically opposed to Lucretius. Mr. Greenlaw has good evidence that Spenser knew Alanus; and it is reasonable to suppose that Alanus would appeal to him. But the resemblances seem to me by no means so marked as they do to Mr. Greenlaw. Let us take his own account of *De planctu naturae:*

> Disorder in the realm of man is contrasted with the harmony of the heavens, but earthly chaos has come through man's disobedience, and Nature renders judgment. . . . . Both poets represent her purpose to be to quell disorder and to rebuke the degeneracy of God's works from their first excellence. . . . . Alanus asks why she, a stranger from the skies, has sought the earth. To this the goddess replies that it is because of the transgression of the earthly sphere, the disorder in the ordering of the world, the carelessness of government, the unjustness of laws, that she

pervading breath, the soul and reason of all (Justus Lipsius, *Physiologia stoicorum*, Antwerp, 1610). Lipsius himself emphasizes wisdom as a chief attribute of God, in his *Constancy*.

[30] "Some Old Religious Cults in Spenser," *Stud. in Philol.*, XX (1923),216 ff.

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has been forced to descend. Thus the argument, the scene, and the mission of the goddess are the same in both works.

But in Spenser's "Mutability," Nature comes for no such reason. She is made judge of a debate as to whether Change rules, or God. There is degeneracy of things, but this is due to Mutability, not to the sin of man (See VI, 5 and 6). Nature does not come down to rebuke man for disobedience and sin, nor does she so rebuke him. She does not complain that "God's finest work, man, has been degenerated by sensuality"—partly because constancy in "Mutability" has no relation whatever with chastity. The poem is on another subject. The *De planctu* has affinities with the House of Alma, rather than with "Mutability." The one important point of contact is that Alanus repudiates Change; but this resemblance would hardly appeal to Mr. Greenlaw who believes that Spenser lined up with Mutability.

As to the description of the goddess Nature in Alanus's *De planctu*, the resemblance seems to me general, rather than detailed. Thin garments and flowers at her feet Nature ought to have. As to the veil, for all Mr. Greenlaw's ingenuity, Alanus's Nature is *not* veiled. On the contrary, she is revealed in most elaborately detailed description. The nearest resemblance is that some say Spenser's deity was veiled because her face was *like that of a lion*. And Alanus's Nature wore a crown with one jewel in front which blazed with a form *like a lion*. The height, the veiled face, the suggestion of terror, the doubtful sex of Spenser's mysterious Nature are not accounted for in the pictorially elaborate and outright description by Alanus. The attendance of Genius upon Nature in Alanus may be significant for another poem, the Garden of Adonis passage. Also the epithet Great Mother may have been derived either from Alanus or from Lucretius,—if it is necessary to trace a source for this denomination of the earth.

Mr. Greenlaw's tracing of the pageant of the seasons and the hours, etc. to Ovid, *Met.*, Bk. 2, in his article on Spenser and Lucretius, (p. 457), seems very plausible. For the eternal flux Ovid could serve as a source, though Empedocles is more likely, on account of the other ideas taken over from Empedocles as outlined above. I see no special reason for seeking in Ovid's Pythagorean doctrine the source of Spenser's.

My main interest in this article has been to refute the conclusion that Lucretius had a dominating influence on Spenser's philosophy of life, either early or late. A few points of contact may be granted. Even if Spenser had not used the invocation to Venus, as Mr.

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Greenlaw points out, one should concede an initial probability that Spenser would read and enjoy Lucretius as a poet and that the emphasis on Venus in Lucretius might appeal to Spenser in his youth. Possibly this combined with Empedocles's elevation of Love to the position of creative force to influence Spenser in his youthful hyperbolic praise of love. There may possibly be some reminiscence of Lucretius (I, 225, 229, 1131–2, and V, 828–35) in Spenser's treatment of Time as the enemy of forms (*Faerie Queene*, III, vi, 39, 40, 41), though Spenser's application of the notion is not strikingly similar to that of Lucretius. Lipsius's *Constancy* presents a closer analogue to Spenser, on the same theme. Moreover, the idea was very common in Renaissance literature, so that the establishment of a definite source is difficult.

Mr. Greenlaw's attempt to derive from Lucretius Spenser's conception of the ceaseless warfare between life and death[31] seems not very convincing. Lucretius seeks to show in the closing lines of Book II that the world is gradually growing old, wearing out,—an idea which Spenser might perhaps approve, though it is not the same as that in the Spenser passage compared, which deals with the constant succession of forms taking temporary shapes out of imperishable matter.

It may be admitted that Spenser, like Lucretius, seems to have held that things in general were growing worse. For this he was rebuked by Harvey in his letter of criticism on Mutability, and Harvey probably knew something of the tendencies of Spenser's mind. The early "ruins and downfall" poems and the proem to Book V of *The Faerie Queene* show a lack of temperamental optimism, and his attempts at a political career were not likely to brighten his spirits. Harvey opposes the recent views of Bodin to Spenser's notion of the Golden Age as being the first state. In this opinion Spenser had large company. The matter is argued in Lipsius's *Constancy*, Lipsius's conclusion being substantially that of Bodin,—that the present is the golden age. Empedocles (*Purifications*, Fragment 128) gives a view of the Golden Age, which was the age of Pythagoras, when Queen Kypris ruled and all was love and peace and harmony. Empedocles also has recurring cycles of dissolution and constant warring against Strife, the disintegrating force. But Spenser's temperament and experience may well account for his long held view that the world was growing worse, though the reference to the Golden Age as in the dim past was very common at the time.

[31] "Spenser and Lucretius," p. 453.

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If the influence of Lucretius is traceable in Spenser, it is to be recognized perhaps in a similar emphasis on Venus; in a tendency to lament the changes of Time and sigh for the Golden Age; and in a contrary reaction upon his materialistic philosophy as something to be refuted, as in the discussion of the changing elements in "Mutability."

On the other hand, Lucretius is not the source of Spenser's theory of origins of things, nor of his religious convictions. The impossibility of any such dependence arises from these facts:

1. Lucretius is an atomist. Spenser starts with the elements, following Empedocles, whom Lucretius has rejected.

2. Lucretius is opposed to the principle of two-fold couplings of elements which Spenser takes from Empedocles as creative activities.

3. Lucretius has no place for such forces as Love and Strife in conflict in creation, as has Spenser, following Empedocles.

4. Aside from abiogenesis, which Empedocles has also, Spenser's notion of animal creation shows no resemblance to Lucretius's.

5. The one modern note in Lucretius, the approach to a definite doctrine of "survival of the fittest," does not appear in Spenser.

6. Lucretius's ruling force in creation is Chance. To this Spenser is opposed. Lucretius sees no design; Spenser sees a goal of perfection.

7. Lucretius denies God as creator, as divinity, and as revealed in Nature. Spenser affirms all this.

8. Lucretius denies immortality of soul, including pre-existence, after life, and ability of soul to exist apart from the body. Spenser believes in all these.

9. Lucretius has no Heaven; Spenser has.

10. Lucretius is a materialist, opposed to all that is mythical or mystical, or supernatural. Spenser revels in the ideas which Lucretius regards with disgust or contempt.

It would be difficult to find in the whole history of philosophic and scientific thought an author who held more views contrary to Spenser's than did Lucretius.

In conclusion, I would say that I do not think that Spenser was at all scientific in his tendencies, except that he had a certain interest in astronomy. On the other hand, I am disposed to give him credit for a slightly saner combination of philosophical notions than has sometimes been attributed to him.

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XXXI

NOTES ON MARLOWE'S *HERO AND LEANDER*

CRITICS have frequently remarked upon the Ovidian eroticism which Marlowe introduces into his poem, and which is quite lacking in the sober Greek original. A few particular parallels have been noted between *Hero and Leander* and Marlowe's earlier translation of Ovid's *Amores*,[1] and this article collects some more. As the two works are commonly placed at the beginning and end of Marlowe's career, the close verbal resemblances suggest that he had a good memory or was rereading his translation when writing *Hero and Leander*.[2]

> My words shall be as spotlesse as my youth,
> Full of simplicitie and naked truth. (*Hero and Leander* i. 207–8).
>
> Accept him that wil serue thee all his youth,
> Accept him that will loue with spotlesse truth . . . . .
>
> My spotlesse life, which but to God giues place,
> Naked simplicitie and modest grace. (*Elegies* i. 3, p. 4).
>
> The rites
> In which Loues beauteous Empresse most delites,
> Are banquets, Dorick musicke, midnight-reuell,
> Plaies, maskes, and all that sterne age counteth euill.
> (*Hero and L.* i. 299 ff.)
>
> Festiuall dayes aske *Venus*, songs, and wine,
> These gifts are meete to please the powers diuine. (*El.* iii. 9, p. 77)
>
> Beautie alone is lost, too warily kept. (*Hero and L.* i. 328).
> Unmeete is beauty without use to wither. (*El.* ii. 3, p. 33).

This last is of course a commonplace.

Compare *Hero and Leander*, ii. 291–6, 314, 317, 324, with:

[1] G. Lazarus, *Technik und Stil von Hero and Leander* (Bonn, 1915), points out the following:

Marlowe i. 231 ff. and *Elegies* i. 8, ll. 51 ff. (Lazarus, p. 94).
Marlowe ii. 141 ff. and *El.* ii. 19 and iii. 4 (*Ibid.*, p. 101).
Marlowe ii. 225 and *El.* i. 8, l. 63 (*Ibid.*, p. 77).

These three belong to Leander's speeches against virginity. Miss Lazarus also notes many parallels between the poem and the *Metamorphoses*.

[2] Quotations from *Hero and Leander* are from the *Works of Marlowe* (ed. Brooke); those from Marlowe's *Elegies of Ovid* from the reprint of Etchells & Macdonald, London, 1925.

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> And striuing thus as one that would be cast,
> Betray'd her selfe, and yelded at the last.
> Stark naked as she stood before mine eye,
> Not one wen in her body could I spie. . . . .
>
> I cling'd her naked body, downe she fell. (*El.* i. 5, pp. 7–8).
>
> But as her naked feet were whipping out. (*Hero and L.* ii. 313).
> With that her loose gown on, from me she cast her,
> In skipping out her naked feete much grac'd her. (*El.* iii. 6, p. 71).
>
> Dang'd downe to hell her loathsome carriage.
> (*Hero and L.* ii. 334).
> And early mountest thy hatefull carriage.
> (*El.* i. 13, p. 23, *Ad Auroram*).

Thus Marlowe seems to have drawn for phrases or passages upon *El.* i. 3, 5, 8, 13; ii. 3, 19; iii. 7, 9. It is generally believed that the *Elegies*, on account of their "boyish stiffness of expression, ... metrical inexperience, and defective scholarship," belong to the poet's Cambridge days.[3] On the other hand it is generally believed that *Hero and Leander* was his latest work and was interrupted by his sudden death. But some scholars, such as L. Chabalier (*Hêro et Lêandre*, Paris, 1911), have urged that this poem also was written in Marlowe's university period. The reasons given are the probable distractions of dissipation and dramatic writing in London, the immaturity of much of the poem, the contemporary habit of beginning a poetic career with such an experiment, and so forth. The internal evidence supports both views. There is certainly in parts of *Hero and Leander* a great advance in poetic mastery, yet it need not presuppose any long interval—witness the swift maturing of the equally precocious Keats. And in any age but the Elizabethan the waywardness and the conceits of the poem would point to youth. The passages cited above, which echo all sections of the *Elegies*, do not, to be sure, take one very far. Yet poets are not greatly given to perusing their juvenilia, and these parallels, along with the general similarity in erotic tone, may at least suggest a query whether the *Elegies* and *Hero and Leander* could have been somewhat nearer each other than the beginning and end of Marlowe's career.

Some other miscellaneous parallels may be worth recording. The rather unusual epithet "proud" which Marlowe applies

[3] Brooke, p. 554, Cf. Dyce; Bullen—"a somewhat earlier date" [than 1587]; *D. N. B.*, etc.

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to Adonis (l. 14) might be a recollection of Adlington's *Golden Ass* (ed. Seccombe, 1913, p. 48): "As the proude yonge man Adonis was torne by a Bore."

Since Leander's sentiments on love and virginity (which, of course, are partly Ovidian) are commoner in English poetry after than before Marlowe, it might be worth while to quote a passage with similar ideas and illustrations from Warner's *Albion's England* (c. 24 of Book v, which appeared in 1589):

> Let Nature hide her barren formes
> And imperfections thus,
> And in such puritanes as thou
> Commend her skill to us.
>
> Thou wrongest Nature, molding thee
> To molde by thee as faer. . . . .
> Shouldst thou but dreame, what marriage were,
> Thou would'st not liue a maid. . . . .
>
> Too too much
> Thou dotest on virginitie. . . . .
>
> Els what should meane this penning up,
> Such vowing, and these vailes,
> Since vessels onely are of worth
> That beare in stormes their sailes. . . . .
>
> Her red disperst in shadowed white
> Did adde to either more,
> To her of beautie, and to him
> Loue greater than before.
>
> She claimes the place's priuiledge,
> And faintly cites a tex:
> She pleades her birth too bace, and playes
> The No. I of her sex,
>
> And fighteth as she would be foyl'd. . . . .
> (Chalmers, *English Poets*, IV, 565)

With these lines one may compare Marlowe, ll. 203–4, 252, 304–8, 262–4, 225–8, 181–2, 342–4, ii. 294 ff.

In his preface to Hoby's *Courtier* (Tudor Translations, p. lxxx) Sir Walter Raleigh suggested that some of Marlowe's lines (167 ff.) were based on *The Courtier* (p. 48). This may strengthen the possibility that Marlowe based ll. 267–8 on *The Courtier* also:

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Marlowe: By which alone, our reuerend fathers say,
Women receaue perfection euerie way.

Courtier (p. 226): For that in this act, the woman receyveth of the man perfection, and the man of the woman imperfection. (A marginal note refers to Aristotle.)[4]

Marlowe's description of the nurse (ll. 353 ff.) seems to be drawn from the epistles of Hero and Leander in the *Heroides*, especially xix. 25, 45. Other items apparently from the *Heroides* are as follows:

Marlowe, ii. 150 ff. and *Her.* xviii. 47–8, 53.

Marlowe, ii. 205, and *Her.* xviii. 49.

Marlowe, ii. 206, and *Her.* xviii. 84.[5]

Miss Lazarus notes (p. 61) that the robe of Venus in Lodge's *Glaucus and Scilla* (1589) had embroidered on it "the yong *Adonis* wrack," and that Hero's robe also has a picture of Adonis. It would be likely that *Glaucus and Scilla*, the first Italianate mythological poem, which influenced Shakespeare, would also influence Marlowe. But whatever general inspiration Marlowe might have got from Lodge's pretty and invertebrate piece, the only other tangible possibility seems to be this not very rare sentiment:

Marlowe, ii. 139–40: But loue resisted once, growes passionate,
And nothing more than counsaile louers hate.

Lodge (ed. Gosse, p. 20): . . . . nor words, nor weeping teares
Can fasten counsaile in the louers eares.

Mr. Einstein (*Italian Renaissance in England*, p. 354) thought that Marlowe's account of Leander's swim, especially ii. 162, might owe something to Bernardo Tasso's poem on Hero and Leander. But I find no other resemblance, and Marlowe, whose unaided imagination was capable of associating mermaids with the sea, might have got the suggestion from less remote sources.[6]

[4] Of course the notion was not uncommon. In *The Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*, which took the story of Sinorix and Camma from pp. 236–7 of *The Courtier*, the same dictum is quoted and attributed to Aristotle (ed. Gollancz, I, 82).

[5] Other borrowings from these two epistles are noted in Jellinek, *Die Sage von Hero und Leander in der Dichtung*, (Berlin, 1890).

[6] *Heroides* xviii. 131–2 and xix. 199 refer to dolphins and fish. There are general pictures of sporting Nereids and Tritons in Adlington's *Golden Ass* (ed. Seccombe, p. 101), *Glaucus and Scilla*, pp. 22, 25, 28, and *Faerie Queene* III. iv. 31 ff. With Spenser Upton compares *Iliad* xviii. 35 ff. and *Georgics* iv. 317. F. Pintor (*Delle liriche di Bernardo Tasso*, Pisa, 1900) mentions the nereids in Catullus's *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis*. One may note also the association with Leander's swim of dolphins and nymphs in Wotton's *Courtlie Controversie of Cupid's Cautels*, 1578, pp. 135–6, and of a dolphin in the English translation of Boccaccio's *Amorous Fiammetta*, 1587, p. 110.

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Since these miscellaneous parallels belong only to the category of possibilities there may be no fall from grace if a rather remote one is added. Jellinek (p. 22) suggests that Hero's fright at Leander's appearance was a reminiscence of the Nausicaa episode in the *Odyssey*. The following extract from a popular book, if it adds nothing to Marlowe, may at least confirm a point of feminine psychology, for the heroine, like Hero, "screeches," takes refuge in bed—a proceeding which M. Chabalier finds incompatible with Hero's innocence—and tries to escape, but is pulled back:

> Danes was so sore abasshed whan she felt herself so kyste/that she crept wyth in the bedde. Iupiter nyghed neer so fer that he descourid her face for to speke to her/wherof she beyng a frayd opend her eyen and whan she wiste that hit was Iupiter/and was allone by her bedde side/she made a ryght grete skryche and crye/whan Iupiter herd this crye he was not right well assured . . . . he sprange in to the bed and laye by her side. how well that she wythsayd and wythstode hit wyth alle her myght Thanne sayde the mayde that she was betrayed And wepynge tenderly she wende to haue fled and dide her beste to haue gon away. But Iupiter toke good hede/And at the lepe that she supposid to make caught and helde her by the Arme/And made her to lye down agayn And beclypt her and kyste her agayn. And so appesed her in suche facion that she left her wepynge. (Caxton, *Recuyell*, ed. Sommer, I, 129)

And after that one should make an end.

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XXXII

THE AUTHENTIC TEXT OF *TITUS ANDRONICUS*

IT WAS in 1905 that Mr. Evald Ljunggren, Librarian of Lund University, collated the newly discovered copy of the first quarto of *Titus Andronicus* with the quarto of 1600, and published his list of variant readings.[1] Forty-seven of his readings involved more than mere variations in spelling and punctuation, and, of these, fifteen had been anticipated by the ingenuity of earlier scholars. One variant was a misprint, and thirty-one offered material for the consideration of the textual critic. But although these readings have been available to the scholarly world for a quarter of a century, editors have shown a marked hesitancy in introducing them into the traditional text of the play. The Neilson text, published the following year, incorporates only four,[2] although twenty-two are listed in the notes. In the Tudor edition of 1913 Professor Elmer E. Stoll adopted as many as twenty-one,[3] and in his notes included five others. But in the Yale Shakespeare issued in 1926, Mr. A. M. Witherspoon accepts none of the recovered variants, and in his notes leaves twenty-seven unmentioned. Basing his text almost entirely upon the First Folio, Mr. Witherspoon, I take it, assumes either that the editors of one or more of the editions following the first quarto had had access to the original Shakespearean manuscript or Shakespearean annotations, or else that Shakespeare himself did the revising.

The purpose of the present paper is to show, on the contrary, that the poet was neither directly nor indirectly concerned with any of the modifications subsequent to 1594; that, accordingly, all of the recovered variants, save the obvious misprints, can be safely adopted; and that, as long as the unique copy of the first quarto remains inaccessible, the only satisfactory text of Acts I, II, IV, V, and of the first scene of Act III,[4] must be one based upon the second quarto after it has been modified by these readings.

[1] *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XLI, 211–5.

[2] Those that I have numbered, in Table I, 4, 15, 25, 50.

[3] Table I, Nos. 4, 5, 8, 12, 15, 20, 23, 24, 25, 30, 31, 32, 38, 39, 43, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52.

[4] The second scene of Act III, appearing for the first time in 1623, presents other problems, which are discussed later in this article.

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When one brings together the quartos of 1600 and 1611,[5] the Folio of 1623, and the list of the first quarto readings, one can without difficulty trace the evolution of the accepted text.[6] That the first quarto stood copy for the second, the second for the third, and the third for the First Folio, is evident from the consistent repetition of variants throughout successive editions, from the successful correction of only the more obvious of the earlier errors, and from the progressive variations traceable in a few striking instances.

Five misprints in the first quarto were corrected by the second printer; 13 new errors were made; 28 minor variations were introduced; and 6 passages more than a line in length were modified. Setting aside for the time being the consideration of these longer passages, I endeavor in the following table to present graphically the significance of the lesser readings. Mr. Ljunggren has permitted me to examine photographic reproductions of seven[7] of the seventy-seven pages of the unique copy of the first quarto and from them I have collected five other variants not listed by him, one of which alone (No. 11) will have significance for future editors. These five I mark with asterisks. The table thus contains all the variations between the first and second quartos that I have been able to discover, exclusive of those slight modifications in spelling and punctuation that would not be distinguished in a modernized edition of the play. The later history of these readings I indicate in the last two columns, Column 3 containing the further changes made in the third quarto and the First Folio,

[5] In my collating I have made use of the Praetorius facsimile of the Quarto of 1600, and of the copy of the Quarto of 1611 in the possession of the Elizabethan Club, of New Haven, Connecticut. For the use of this latter I wish to express my thanks to the members of the club and to the Librarian, Professor Andrew Keogh.

[6] I am not concerned here with the history of the play previous to its first appearance in print.

[7] (1) The title-page, (2) the first page of the text, containing the half-title at the top, "The most Lamen-/table Romaine Tragedie of/*Titus Andronicus:* As it was Plaide by/the Right Honourable the Earle/of *Darbie*, Earle of *Pembrooke*,/ and Earle of *Sussex* their/Seruants," and concluding with line 14, (3) I, i, 166–200, (4) I, i, 201–234 (thirty-five lines as printed in Q_1), (5) I, i, 235–269, (6) II, iii, 200–234, and (7) the final page, probably K_4 *verso*, containing the last 31 lines of the text, V, iii, 170–200, and obviously a left-hand page. Several of these photographs have been reproduced in Swedish periodicals. Nos. 1 and 7 appeared in *The Illustrated London News*, CXXVI, 185 (Feb. 11, 1905). The unique copy of the first quarto is in the possession of Mr. Henry Clay Folger, of New York City, and is not at present available for examination.

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and Column 4 those emendations of later editors that were accepted by W. J. Craig in the Oxford Shakespeare of 1902. This edition I take as representing the standard text just previous to Mr. Ljunggren's discovery, and its line-numbering I follow throughout. To facilitate a perusal of the table obvious errors among the variants are displayed in bold-face. The absence of an entry in the third or fourth columns indicates that the earlier reading was taken over unchanged.

TABLE I

			Q_1	Q_2	Q_3 & F_1	Oxf'd, 1902
1	I, i,	35	(*discussed later*)			
2		90	the dead	**dead**	the dead Q_3	
3		122	your *Gothes*	you Gothes		your Goths
4		131	Was neuer .... barbarous.	Was euer .... barbarous?		
5		162	this earth	the earth		
6		214	thy friends	thy **friend**		thy friends
7		219	yee	you		
8		224	our	your		
9		226	**Tytus** Raies	Tytans raies		
10		230	**sors** [?]*[8]	sort		
11		264	change of war*	chance of war		
12		477	doo I	I doe		
13	II, i,	26	thy wits wants	thy wit wants		
14		80	propose,	**propo** [*sic*]	propose, Q_3	
15	II, iii,	147	a womans pittie	a woman pitty		
16		208	**Exit** *after line* 207*	Exit *after line* 208		
17		222	bereaud in blood	embrewed heere		
18		231	**Priamus***	Piramus		
19	III, i,	126	like meadowes	**in** Meadowes		like meadows
20		209	wouldst	would	wilt F_1	
21		225	sighs doth	sighes doe		
22	IV, i,	49	thy annoie	thine annoy		
23		106	our lesson	**you** lesson	your lesson Q_3	
24		109	base	bad		
25		117	my message	thy message		
26	IV, ii,	7	whats	**what**	what's Q_3	
27		21	arcu	**arcus**		*arcu*
28		59	thy	thine		

[8] The final letter of "sors" and the initial letter of "seleeues" have been so nearly obliterated by attempted emendation as to render my reading of them highly uncertain. It is at least clear that the former is not a *t* and the latter is not an *r*.

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29	IV, iii,	46	big-boand-men	**big-bond-men**	bid-bon'd-men F_1	
30	V, i,	27	Dame	dam		
31		96	which had	that had		
32		107	that letter	the Letter		
33		114	creuice	**creuie**	Creuice F_1	
34		133	haystalkes[9]	haystakes	haystackes Q_3	
35	V, ii,	19	Thou	**Thon**	Thou Q_3	
36		23	trenches	**trenchers**	trenches Q_3	
37		42	mine	**thine**	mine Q_3	
38		71	humors	fits		
39		106	shalt	maist		
40		113	towards	toward,	towards Q_3	
41		137	abide	bide		abide
42		140	Yeeld	**Yeede**	Yeelde Q_3	
43		142	knew . . . . supposd	know . . . .suppose		
44		157	Murder and Rape	Murder, Rape		
45	V, iii,	25	(*discussed later*)			
46		93	(*discussed later*)			
47		130	(*discussed later*)			
48		164	(*discussed later*)			
49		181	**seleeues** [?]*[8]	releeues		
50		195	rauinous	hainous		
51		196	weede	weeds		
52		200	(*discussed later*)			

A glance at the table will show that neither Q_3 nor F_1 derives directly from Q_1, for in all cases but one (No. 40) in which a choice between Q_1 and Q_2 is possible, the Q_2 forms are followed, and the only instances of a return to Q_1 by either Q_3 or F_1 involve the correction of obvious errors. Furthermore three of the manifest errors of the Q_2 text are corrected in neither Q_3 or F_1, and three other instances show Q_2 acting as intermediary between Q_1 and one of the two later editions:

20 wouldst > would > wilt
23 our lesson > you lesson > your lesson
34 haystalkes > haystakes > haystackes

More significant is the deduction to be drawn from a comparison of Q_1 and Q_2. Disregard the six longer passages, and you will find in these columns no evidence to indicate the outstanding superiority of either text. Eighteen variations are cases of obvious error in one edition or the other, and of the remaining 28, only 5

[9] Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* gives "stalk" as a recognized Hertfordshire variant of "stack" or "shock" (of corn, etc.).

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involve a specific change in meaning. In general, the variations affect the use of auxiliary verb and demonstrative pronoun, or have to choose between *thy* and *thine*, and *which* and *that*. The five exceptions are scarcely more significant:

11 change of war > chance of war
17 bereaud in blood > embrewed heere
24 base > bad
38 humors > fits
50 rauinous > hainous

At first sight, Item 17 might suggest the superiority of Q_2, "embrewed heere" being certainly more intelligible than "bereaud in blood."

Quarto, 1594; II, iii, 222–4
Lord *Bassianus* lies bereaud in blood,
All on a heape like to a slaughtered Lambe,
In this detested darke blood drinking pit.[10]

But the phrase in Q_2 leaves the origin of the earlier reading unexplained. If it arose, as seems likely, through a printer's misreading of the author's manuscript, one may easily conjecture that the manuscript read "bedaub'd in blood" (as in *Romeo and Juliet*, III, ii, 55), or "bedew'd in blood" (as in *Richard II*, III, iii, 99). Either of these phrases is more vivid than the reading of Q_2.

Passing from the second quarto to the third, one may note 19 errors corrected,[11] 16 new errors made, 56 minor variations introduced, 4 stage-directions changed slightly, 3 new ones inserted to make explicit stage-business already implied in the text, and 16 speech-headings altered, *though in only two cases, with a change of speaker*.[12] No new passages are included, and, in two instances, a line has been omitted, to the distinct detriment of the text. These changes need not detain us. The correcting of the errors and the introducing of the new stage-directions and speech-headings are not beyond the compass of an intelligent printer, while the other alterations effected in the play are so

[10] This passage is copied from one of Mr. Ljunggren's photographs.

[11] The third quarto and First Folio variants are listed in two tables at the conclusion of this paper.

[12] An indentation, but no speech-heading, appears in Q_2 (I, i, 474), where the obviously correct *All* appears in Q_3. The last two lines of a speech of Marcus Andronicus in Q_2 (IV, i, 77) are transferred to Titus in Q_3 so that the tribune may not be burdened with two consecutive speeches.

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slight[13] as to show, when considered together, no manifest superiority, and ought therefore, in no instance, be accepted. Mr. A. W. Pollard has demonstrated the worthlessness of all early readings not occurring in the one edition closest to the manuscript of the author, unless there is proof of subsequent access to the original manuscript, and he thus establishes the folly of accepting particular early variants on the ground of their æsthetic appeal alone.

The transition from the third quarto to the First Folio[14] brought

[13] Of the 56 variations that are neither obvious errors nor simple corrections, seven alone rise to the distinction of a change in meaning: imperious>imperiall; seruile>idle; Nymph>Queene; aged eyes>noble eyes; catch>finde; mourning>mournefull; and the passage (III, i, 33–7) discussed in note 14. "Queene" in the third item was undoubtedly carried down from "Queene" in the line of the text immediately preceding.

[14] That this transition, in all probability, did not involve an examination of either Q_1 or Q_2 is evident (a) from the close following of the Q_3 text by the Folio editors, even to the carrying over of occasional errors; (b) from the fortuitous nature of the very few instances in which F_1 agrees with Q_2 rather than Q_3; and (c) from five groups of readings that show Q_3 as intermediate step between two extremes:

I, i, 154, drugges>grudgges>grudges

IV, iv, 92, seede>feede>foode

II, iv, 41,
A craftier *Tereus*, Cosen hast thou met Q_2
A craftier *Tereus* hast thou met Q_3
A craftier Tereus hast thou met withall F_1

V, iii, 109,
I am the turned forth Q_2
and I am the turned forth Q_3
And I am turned forth F_1

III, i, 33–7,
Why tis no matter man, if they did heare
They would not marke me, or if they did marke
They would not pitty me, yet pleade I must,
And bootlesse vnto them.
Therefore I tell my sorrowes to the stones, Q_2

Why tis no matter man, if they did heare
They would not marke me, or if they did marke,
All bootlesse vnto them.
Therefore, I tell my sorrowes bootles to the stones, Q_3

Why 'tis no matter man, if they did heare
They would not marke me: oh if they did heare
They would not pitty me.
Therefore I tell my sorrowes bootles to the stones, F_1

This last item is the only indication that I have been able to discover of a possible connection between Q_2 and F_1. One can see that the direct cause of the later confusion was the dropping of a line in Q_3, but it is not easy to determine whether the

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with it the correction of 12 earlier errors and the introduction of no less than 48 new ones. Five single lines were at that time dropped, clearly by chance, from the text; two lines of doubtful value were added, although neither of the two lines omitted in the third quarto was restored; and 69 single words and phrases were so slightly modified as to produce no marked change in the meaning of their sentences.[15] Seventeen stage-directions were emended; 19 new ones were added; and 31 speech-headings were altered, *with a change of speaker in but four cases*. The play was divided into acts, although not into scenes, and a complete scene of 86 lines (III, ii) was included for the first time. Few of these items possess significance for the present investigation. The correcting of existing errors and the omitting of the five single lines could easily have been the work of the 1623 printer. The two added lines and the 69 minor alterations are inconclusive when considered by themselves, as are also the 27 speech-headings altered without change of speaker. In these latter, for instance, the *Moore* becomes *Aron*; the *Queene* becomes *Tamora*; the *King* becomes *Sat.*; and *Puer* becomes *Boy*. The four speeches attributed to new speakers are but slightly more important. In I, i, 368, *3. Sonne* reads *1. Sonne*. In I, i, 474, *All* is changed to *Son*. The *Romaine* of V, iii, 176, is increased to the plural *Romans*. And the confusing and clearly corrupt speech-heading at V, iii,

restoration of "They would not pitty me" in 1623 represents an examination of the Q_2 text, or merely a happy guess on the part of the Folio editors. At least the omitted line was not restored by them.

[15] The most striking of these minor modifications are the following: peoples Tribunes>Noble Tribunes; dririe>sudden; petty>pretty; iet>set; yellowing>yelping; scrowle>scowle; ply>play; and two items that call for further comment:

(a) III, i, 281–2 (Armes Q_2Q_3>things F_1)

And *Lauinia* thou shalt be imployde in these Armes,
Beare thou my hand sweet wench betweene thy teeth.

I agree with the Cambridge editors that "Armes" of 281 was probably a correction, inserted in the MS. by a reviser to replace "teeth" of 282, and that the first printer carelessly included it in the wrong line through his failure to notice that "teeth" had been crossed out. My own reconstruction of the two lines as they originally stood, however, is this:

And *Lauinia* thou shalt be imployde in this,
Beare thou my hand sweet wench betweene thy teeth.

(b) V, ii, 17–8 (that accord Q_2Q_3>it action F_1)

No not a word, how can I grace my talke,
Wanting a hand to giue that accord.

I accept Pope's emendation, "give it that accord," as the probable reading of the MS.

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73, *Roman Lord*, is slightly improved by being altered to read *Goth*. The importance of the Folio readings, in short, can be determined only by an examination of the altered stage-directions and of the one added scene.

The 19 directions newly inserted in the First Folio comprise seven *Flourishes*,[16] five cases of *Exeunt* or *Exeunt omnes*,[17] two cases of *Winde Hornes* (II, ii, 10; II, iv, 10), one *Aside* (IV, iv, 35), *A long Flourish till they come downe* (I, i, 233), and three sentences that make explicit stage-business implied in the text: *Boths* [sic] *fall in* (II, iii, 245), *Manet Lucius* (III, i, 287), and *A Table brought in* (V, iii, 25). They are thus the sort of annotations that a prompter might have jotted down on the margin of a printed copy of the play that he was using as prompt book, although some of them could equally well have been added by a literary editor.

Of the 17 directions deriving from the quartos and modified in the First Folio, four are probably misprints. The coffin of Act I (I, i, 149) is made *Coffins* eighty lines after it has been introduced as a single casket. The correct phrase of 1611, *Exit all but Marcus and Titus* (I, i, 390), is compressed in 1623 to the single word *Exit*. The *ends* of the arrows of Act IV (IV, iii, 1) become *end* in the First Folio. And, in the same act, *Exit* (IV, iv, 112) is illogically substituted for the earlier *Exeunt*. Two stage directions, abbreviated in the Folio, suggest the accidental omissions of a typesetter:

Exit Titus sonnes with Alarbus (Qq; I, i, 129).
Exit Sonnes with Alarbus (F_1).

Enter Tamora alone to the Moore (Qq; II, iii, 9).
Enter Tamora to the Moore (F_1).

Four others, enlarged in the Folio with a slight gain in definiteness, suggest somewhat the prompter's hand:

Marcus Andronicus with the Crowne (Qq; I, i, 17).
Enter Marcus Andronicus aloft with the Crowne (F_1).

Enter Titus Andronicus *and his three sonnes, making a noyse with hounds and hornes* (Q_3; II, ii, 1).
Enter Titus Andronicus and his three sonnes, making a noyse with hounds and hornes, and Marcus (F_1).

[16] I, i, 1, 63, 149, 398; V, i, 1, 164; V, iii, 15.
[17] II, iii, 306; II, iv, 10; III, i, 16; V, ii, 166; V, iii, 204 (*Exeunt omnes*).

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Exit (Qq; II, iii, 208).
Exit Aaron (F_1).

Enter Marcus from hunting (Qq; II, iv, 10).
Enter Marcus from hunting, to Lauinia (F_1),

More suggestive of the hand of the prompter are the four stage-directions in which new words and phrases have been substituted for earlier ones. I have, in these excerpts, indicated the added or modified words by the use of square brackets.

sound Trumpets (Q_3; II, i, 1).
Flourish (F_1).

Trumpets sound (Qq; IV, ii, 48).
Flourish (F_1).

Sound trumpets (Qq; V, iii, 25).
Hoboyes (F_1).

Enter the Tribunes *and* Senatours *aloft: And then enter* Saturninus *and his followers at one doore, and* Bassianus *and his followers, with Drum and [Trumpets]* (Q_3; I, i, 1).

[Flourish.] Enter the Tribunes and Senators aloft And then enter Saturninus and his Followers at one doore, and Bassianus and his Followers [at the other], with Drum & [Colours] (F_1).

The newly added *Colours* and *Hoboyes* of these last two selections give the only definite indication that I can find throughout the four editions of any change in stage properties between 1594 and 1623. The three remaining stage-directions alone offer evidence of literary revision.

Sound Drummes and Trumpets, and then enter two of Titus *sonnes, [and then] two men bearing a Coffin couered with blacke, then two other sonnes, [then]* Titus Andronicus *and then* Tamora *the Queene of Gothes and her two sonnes,* Chiron *and* Demetrius, *with* Aron *the More, and others, as many as can be, [then] set downe the Coffin, and* Titus *speakes* (Q_3; I, i, 69).

Sound Drummes and Trumpets. And then enter two of Titus Sonnes; [After them,] two men bearing a Coffin couered with blacke, then two other Sonnes. [After them,] Titus Andronicus, and then Tamora the Queene of Gothes, & her two Sonnes Chiron and Demetrius, with Aaron the Moore, and others, as many as can bee: [They] set downe the Coffin, and Titus speakes (F_1).

Exeunt/sound Trumpets, manet Moore (Q_3; II, i, 1).
Exeunt./Actus Secunda./Flourish. Enter Aaron alone (F_1).

Enter [Lucius sonne] and Lauinia running after him, and the boy flies from her with his bookes vnder his arme (Q_3; IV, i, 1).

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Enter [*young Lucius*] *and Lauinia running after him, and the Boy flies from her with his bookes vnder his arme* (F_1).

The change in the first passage reveals a desire to avoid the repeated *then*; the second passage exhibits an alteration made necessary by the introduction of act divisions;[18] and the last merely normalizes the designation of the boy known in other stage-directions as *Young Lucius*. I can therefore see in all these altered and added stage-directions evidence of nothing more than the briefest literary revision, the growing use of the term *Flourish*, two changes in stage-properties, and a more complete marking of exits and entrances.

There remains the single added scene—a scene that sounds to me, as I read it, genuinely Shakespearean. But yet I see no reason why its Shakespearean quality need confer authenticity upon the other changes of the First Folio. There are even slight indications that it can be considered a thing apart from the rest of the play. The speeches of Titus are here labeled *An.* throughout—a speech-heading found nowhere else in the four editions. The scene itself is the only one in this rapidly moving tragedy entirely devoid of external action, the plot being advanced no whit by the killing of the fly or by the laments of the aged warrior. And it is the only scene in the last three acts in which the theme of revenge does not predominate. Titus appears here in his most sentimental and least vengeful mood, able at the end to forget his tormentors and wander off with his daughter to read with her "sad stories chancèd in the times of old."

Although the circumstances producing the scene cannot be definitely determined, it is possible to suggest two ways by which it might have come from Shakespeare to the editors of the First Folio without, at the same time, involving the poet in the other changes of the 1623 text. Dr. W. W. Greg suggested, in a note on *Titus Andronicus* in his edition of Henslowe's Diary, that there may have been, in the year 1594, two distinct versions of the play, both descending from the Pembroke copy bought by Henslowe the preceding Fall, one of them revised by Shakespeare for the Chamberlain's Company, and preserved in manuscript, the other revised by some unknown writer for the Sussex Company, and printed in successive quartos. The first copy, according to Dr.

[18] But if Mr. W. J. Lawrence is correct in supposing that music between the acts was a late innovation in the public theatres, this notation, too (*Actus Secunda*), may have originated with the prompter.

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Greg, may have perished in the Globe fire of 1613, and the Chamberlain's Men may have been forced to buy a copy of the rival version—in its 1611 edition— into which they inserted from memory the one striking scene not represented in the Sussex play. This printed copy, with a single sheet of manuscript between its leaves, would have been taken over by the Folio editors, and would thus have effected the union of the third quarto variants with the manuscript scene that marks the 1623 edition.

My own hypothesis posits the first quarto as Shakespeare's revision of 1594—with no rival version in existence—and suggests that, some time between that year and his death, he added a second scene to Act III with the idea of giving the actors playing Titus and Marcus richer parts. Such a theory would account for the absence of external action in the scene and for the other slight differences suggesting a superfluous addition inserted into a finished play. The Chamberlain's Company might have used as prompt book either the complete manuscript of the play or the various printed editions in turn, with the manuscript scene inserted. If one assumes them to have used the complete manuscripts, the subsequent union of the third quarto variants with the new scene could have been effected by the desire of the Folio editors to set type from the printed text, a rapid collation of which would have revealed this added scene as the only important variant between the playhouse copy and the most recent edition of the play.

But although the Folio editors showed themselves successful in discovering the authentic manuscript of this scene, they give no proof of having had access either to the complete manuscript of the play or to a printed copy containing Shakespeare's marginal corrections. If they were indeed so fortunate, they neglected to make an adequate collation of it, for all the changes appearing in their edition may be attributed to variations introduced by printers, to jottings made by prompters and stage-managers, and, in a very few instances, to the improvements of a prosaic editor.

I turn back, therefore, to the only group of important alterations made in the text of the play—the six passages more than a line in length which appeared in the first quarto and were modified in the second. If Shakespeare's hand is to be seen anywhere as reviser, it must be seen here. And inasmuch as the revision falls between 1594 and 1600, during the period when the dramatist was apparently rewriting *Love's Labour's Lost*, *All's Well that Ends*

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Well, *Hamlet*, and his series of historical plays, it would seem, at first sight, highly probable that he might also have touched up the first edition of a play which had been in print since 1594, and which, it is safe to assume, was still produced on occasion. But the existing evidence will not support such a theory. I have been able to determine by counting lines the original position on the printed page of these passages, and, as a result, I am persuaded that Shakespeare can have had no connection whatsoever with this revision, and that its origin is to be sought rather in certain physical defects in the first quarto.

It appears from the photographs that Mr. Ljunggren let me examine that in the first quarto one of these passages stood near the center of the second page; that four others stood at or near the foot of the last four pages; and that the remaining one was printed two pages earlier. It seems unlikely that a dramatist bent upon artistic revision would limit his work on a play of such marked crudity to the seven pages at the beginning and end of the book, and, in the case of four of them, would rewrite only those passages that were printed opposite each other near the foot of the page. On the other hand, if the particular copy of the first quarto that came into the hands of the second printer had happened to lose the lower parts of its last two leaves, one could understand how four of the passages, recurring at almost exact page-intervals, came to be rewritten. And when one compares the two versions of these four passages one notes that in each the later version is distinctly lacking in poetic power.[19]

Two of the passages originally appeared at the foot of the two pages printed on the last leaf of the book. Each extended from the 31st line on its page to the foot. I print them here in their two versions, placing within square brackets the altered words of each, and, in the 1594 versions, indicating the position of the foot of the page.[20]

[19] It is this poetic inferiority of the later versions—together with the absence of Shakespeare's name, as author or reviser, from a title-page of James Roberts' printing as late as the year 1600—that prevents me from considering Shakespeare himself the one who patched up this mutilated copy. The only bit of evidence that I can see in support of such a possibility is the somewhat Shakespearean quality of the new conclusion to the play, and even this can be explained in other ways —as due to Shakespearean imitation, or to late Elizabethan tragic convention.

[20] For the spelling and punctuation of the earlier version of lines 160–4, I have been obliged to follow the quarto of 1600. The remaining lines of the earlier version are copied from Mr. Ljunggren's notes and photographs.

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Quarto, 1594; V, iii, 160–9 (*recto*)

Lucius. Come hither boy come, come and learne of vs
To melt in showers, thy Grandsire lou'd thee well,
Many a time he daunst thee on his knee,
Sung thee a sleepe, his louing breast thy pillow,
Many a [storie] hath he told to thee,
[And bid thee bare his prettie tales in minde,] (*line 31*)
[And talke of them when he was dead and gone.]
[*Marcus.* How manie thousand times hath these poore lips,]
[When they were liuing warmd them selues on thine,]
[Oh now sweete boy giue them their latest kisse,] (*foot of page*)

. . . . . .

V, iii, 195–200 (*verso*)

As for that [rauinous] tiger *Tamora*,
No funerall right, nor man in mourning [weede,]
No mournefull bell shall ring her buriall
But throw her forth to beasts and birds to pray,
Her life was beastlie and deuoide of pittie,
And being [dead let birds on her take] pittie. (*line 31*)
[*Exeunt.*]
[*Finis the Tragedie of Titus Andronicus.*] (*foot of page*)

Quarto, 1600

Lucius. Come hither boy come, come and learne of vs
To melt in showers, thy Grandsire lou'd thee well,
Many a time he daunst thee on his knee,
Sung thee a sleepe, his louing breast thy pillow,
Many a [matter] hath he told to thee,
[Meete and agreeing with thine infancie,]
[In that respect then, like a louing child.]
[Shed yet some small drops from thy tender spring,]
[Because kind nature doth require it so,]
[Friends should associate friends in griefe and woe.]

. . . . . .

As for that [hainous] Tiger *Tamora*,
No funerall right, nor man in mourning [weeds,]
No mournfull bell shall ring her buriall.
But throw her forth to beasts and birds to pray,
Her life was beastly and deuoide of pitty,
And being [so, shall haue like want of] pitty.
[See iustice done on *Aron* that damn'd Moore,]
[By whom our heauie haps had their beginning:]
[Than afterwards to order well the state,]
[That like euents may nere it ruinate.]

[*FINIS.*]

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The poetic superiority of the first quarto text in this passage requires no demonstration. Now let us suppose that in the copy which was being used for setting up the second quarto, the lower part of the leaf had been mutilated in such a way that only the beginning and end of the last line remained legible. The print-shop reviser, not knowing that this formed the final line of the play, might have "restored" the text by adding four lines in imitation of the Shakespearean manner. But his restoration can hardly be regarded as successful: he proceeded again to pronounce sentence on Aaron, twenty lines after he had been finally disposed of; he failed to restore the quibble on beasts and birds of the original; and he removed from its emphatic position the rhyming of the word "pittie" with itself which originally closed the play.

The final stage direction "Exeunt" and the *explicit*: "Finis the Tragedie of Titus Andronicus," which were also presumably lost by the mutilation of the leaf, are omitted in the second quarto, which concludes abruptly with the single word "FINIS." Except on this hypothesis, it is difficult to explain this omission, since the second printer (with a single exception to be considered presently) followed the stage-directions of his original verbatim. He even preferred to copy it for his half-title: "As it was plaid by the Right Honorable the Earle of Darbie, Earle of Pembrooke, and Earle of Sussex theyr Seruants,"[21] rather that reproduce his own title-page, on which the names of the three companies were transposed, and the name of the Chamberlain's Company was added.

Two of the other modified passages of Act V occur 72 and 37 lines earlier than the first of the passages discussed. Since the four complete pages reproduced by Mr. Ljunggren contain 35 lines each, as against the 34 lines of the second quarto, one may calculate that these passages were printed near the foot, but not at the foot, of the pages appearing on the two sides of the penultimate leaf of the play. Presumably the printer found here a three-cornered blot that rendered illegible a portion of the lower part of the leaf, destroying the beginnings of lines 93 to 97 and the ends of lines 130 and 132—the intervening line 131 being too short to be touched. Two lines remained undisturbed at the foot of each page, the opening words of lines 96 and 97 were not destroyed; and the blot must have appeared in the form of a wedge extending from the binding of the book downward towards the middle of the lower edge of the page.[22]

[21] This follows the spelling of 1600. The 1594 version is given in note 7.

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Quarto, 1594; V, iii, 90–9 (*recto*)

But floods of teares will drowne my Oratorie,
And breake my vttrance euen in the time,
When it should moue you to attend me most,
[And force you to] commiseration,
[Her's Romes young] Captaine let him tell the tale,
[While I stand by] and weepe to heare him speake.
Lucius. Then [gratious] auditorie be it knowne to you,
That [*Chiron* and the damn'd] *Demetrius*,
Were they that murdred our Emperours brother,
And they it were that rauished our sister, (*foot of page*)

. . . . .

V, iii, 128–134 (*verso*)

Now you haue heard the truth, what say you Romaines?
Haue we done ought amisse, shew vs wherein,
And from the place where you behold vs [pleading,]
The poore remainder of *Andronicie*
Will hand in hand all headlong [hurle our selues,]
And on the ragged stones beate forth our braines,
And make a mutuall closure of our house. (*foot of page*)

Quarto, 1600

But floods of teares will drowne my Oratorie,
And breake my vttrance euen in the time,
When it should moue you to attend me most,
[Lending your kind] commiseration,
[Heere is a] Captaine, let him tell the tale,
[Your harts will throb] and weepe to heare him speake.
Lucius. Then [noble] auditory be it knowne to you,
That [cursed *Chiron* and] *Demetrius*
Where they that murdred our Emperours brother,
And they it were that rauished our sister,

. . . . .

Now you haue heard the truth, what say you Romaines?
Haue we done ought amisse, shew vs wherein,
And from the place where you behold vs [now,]
The poore remainder of *Andronicie*
Will hand in hand all headlong [cast vs downe,]
And on the ragged stones beate forth our braines,
And make a mutuall closure of our house.

Inasmuch as the third quarto was printed directly from the second, and the First Folio from the third quarto, without reference on

[22] The spelling and punctuation of the earlier version of lines 90–2, 98–9, and 128–134, follow the quarto of 1600.

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either occasion to the first quarto, these four new passages became permanently established in the traditional text.

According to Mr. Ljunggren's list of variants, the stage-directions of the first two quartos differ in two cases alone. One of them has just been pointed out—the *Exeunt* at the conclusion of the 1594 edition that is missing from the version of 1600. The other variant occurs significantly 71 lines—or approximately two pages—earlier than the first of the four passages already discussed. Mr. Ljunggren in giving the text of this stage direction does not indicate the arrangement of the words on the page, but assuming not unreasonably that the lines were divided as I have printed them below, it would suggest the presence of another triangular blot in the printer's copy of the first quarto. Again adjacent to the binding of the book, and near the foot of the page, such a blot in the antepenultimate leaf could have destroyed the three words that I have enclosed in brackets, and would thus have made necessary the reconstruction on the part of the second printer that is otherwise a meaningless variation in a single stage-direction. Although this explanation seems, at first sight, to demand altered words at the ends of two lines on the opposite side of the leaf, the series of short lines occurring between lines 56 and 63 may well explain their absence.

Quarto, 1594; V, iii, 25 (*recto*)
[*Trumpets sounding,*] *Enter Titus like a Cooke, placing the*
[*dishes,*] *and Lauinia with a vaile ouer her face.*

Quarto, 1600
[*Sound trumpets,*] *enter* Titus *like a Cooke, placing the* [*meate on*]
[*the table,*] *and* Lauinia *with a vaile ouer her face.*

In a different category is the one remaining passage to be considered. It appears, in the first quarto, in the middle of the second page, and concerns the elimination by the second editor, and by succeeding editors, of three and a half unintelligible lines from a lengthy speech of Marcus Andronicus. I print it here in its context, indicating by brackets the three and a half lines omitted from all editions subsequent to the first:[23]

Quarto, 1594; I, i, 31–8
Tenne yeeres are spent since first he vndertooke
This cause of Rome, and chastised with Armes

[23] The spelling and punctuation of lines 31–4 and 38 follow the quarto of 1600.

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Our enemies pride: Fiue times he hath returnd
Bleeding to Rome, bearing his valiant sonnes
In Coffins from the field, [and at this day,]
[To the Monument of that *Andronicy*]
[Done sacrifice of expiation,]
[And slaine the Noblest prisoner of the Gothes,]
And now at last laden with honours spoiles,
Returnes the good *Andronicus* to Rome,
Renowned *Titus* flourishing in Armes.

Free-and-easy slashing such as this clears up the obscurity, it is true, but makes no attempt either to rescue the sacrificed lines or to explain their origin. I therefore venture to suggest two alternative restorations, either of which would accomplish these ends. (1) If "day" in the first line of the bracketed passage were "door," and if "that *Andronicy*" in the second line were the more grammatical "the *Andronicy*," the passage could then not only be understood, but would strengthen, by its presence, the first act of the play. It would make clear, as early as line 36, the stage-setting for the scene—the entrance to the tomb of the Andronici—and would prepare for the opening of the tomb a page later and for the subsequent sacrifice of Tamora's oldest son. Five times before would a noble prisoner of the Goths be known to have met death in expiatory sacrifice. Easily, too, might the word "dore" be misread "day" by a printer—although there would have been nothing in the word itself to suggest the loop of the *y*—and the phrase in the succeeding line, if written "y^{e} *Andronicy*," might be misread "y^{t} *Andronicy*" by one not versed in Latin.[24] So numerous indeed are the mistakes in other Latin phrases in the play that one may safely assume the more learned tongue to have been outside the attainments of John Danter and his typesetter.[25]

[24] It is possible, on the other hand, that the original reading of the manuscript may have been "that *Andronicus*," and that the author's use of the 9-shaped mark of abbreviation to indicate a final *-us* misled the printer into concluding his word with a *-y*.

[25] I, i, 98, *manus*, for *manes*; I, i, 242, Pathan* for Pantheon; I, i, 280, *cuiqum* for *cuique*; I, i, 316, *Thebe* for *Phœbe*; II, i, 135, *Stigia* for *Styga*; II, iii, 72, Cymerion for Cimmerian; II, iii, 231, Priamus* for Pyramus; II, iii, 236, *Ocitus* for *Cocytus*'; IV, i, 42, Metamorphosis for Metamorphoses; IV, iii, 44, Acaron for Acheron; IV, iii, 53, *Apollonem* for *Apollinem*; IV, iii, 56, *Saturnine* for *Saturn*; V, ii, 56, *Epeons* for *Hyperion's*. For many of these, it is true, Greek, rather than Latin, characters may have been used in the MS. The two readings marked by asterisks have been obtained from the photographs of the first quarto. In the case of the others, I have followed the second quarto, on the assumption that absence from Mr. Ljunggren's list of variants indicated similarity between the two editions.

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(2) Or the omitted half-line may originally have read "as this day"—a phrase that would likewise be intelligible, and would prepare the audience for the ensuing scene of sacrifice. A confusion of "as" and "at" is, on palæographical grounds, even easier than a confusion between "dore" and "day." But in either case the obscurity given the passage in its earliest printed form would account for its subsequent disappearance. One can picture a testy typesetter of the year 1600 blinking his eyes over three and a half lines of apparent nonsense, until in disgust he scratches his pen four times across the manuscript, and proceeds determinedly to set up the eloquence that follows.

With this I rest my case. In the absence of definite evidence indicating literary revision, I make my plea for a new text of the play that will follow the first quarto when possible and in default of this the second quarto, and that will evaluate the First Folio variants (in all but Act III, scene ii) as the unimportant things that they are—curious indications of the inaccuracy of Jacobean printers. If this paper has succeeded in explaining the variants of the later quartos as due to a careless typesetter who had before him a defective copy of the first quarto, we may hope that scholars will at length restore to their texts the thirty-one readings recovered by Mr. Ljunggren in 1905, even though in so doing they displace the familiar phrases of three centuries.

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APPENDIX

TABLE II.—THIRD QUARTO VARIANTS[26]

		Q_2	Q_3	F_1	Oxford, 1902
I, i,	56	**Eriends**	Friends		
	70	mourning	**mournining**	Mourning	
	94	hast thou of mine	of mine hast thou		
	103	of this	of his	of this	
	154	drugges	**grudgges**	grudges	drugs
	206	thou were	thou wert		
	250	imperious	imperiall		imperious
	261	goodly Lady	**gooly** Lady	goodly Lady	
	280	**cuiqum**	**cuiquam**		*cuique*

[26] To the items in this table should be added the following from Table I: 2, 14, 23, 26, 34, 35, 36, 37, 40, 42.

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	447	supplant you	supplant vs		supplant you
		ingratitude	**ingratude**	ingratitude	
II, i,	18	seruile	idle		
	22	this Nymph	this Queene		this nymph
	55	Thrust those	Thrust these		Thrust those
	59	darst	durst	dar'st	
	80	loue	do loue		love
	90	*Saturninus*	*Saturnine*	**Saturnius**	Saturninus
	127	and eares	of eares		and ears
	134	these fits	**their** fits		these fits
II, ii,	1	**Moone**	morne		
II, iii,	54	quarrels	**quarrell**		quarrels
	56	of her	of **our**		of her
	60	of my	of our		
	64	vpon thy	vpon **his**		upon thy
	78	but with a	with a		but with a
	110	**Lauicious**	Lasciuious		
	120	the poynard	thy ponyard		
	160	deafe **yeares**	deafe eares		
	171	*Bascianus*	**Bussianus**	*Bassianus*	
	201	morning	mornings		
	204	obiect hurt,	**obiect,**		object hurt
	220	who it is	how it is		
	227	this hole	the hole		
	229	earthy	earthly		earthy
	256	I left them	I left him		
II, iv,	38	why she	she		
	41	Cosen hast thou met	**hast thou met**	hast thou met withall	
III, i,	35	(*discussed in footnote 14*)			
	59	aged eyes	noble eyes		aged eyes
	116	knowes them	knowes him		knows them
	214	possibilitie	possibilities		
	238	griefe	griefes		
	260	Rent off	Rent **of**	Rent off	
IV, i,	21	for sorrow	through sorrow		
	38	that there were	that there was		
	64	**finne**	sinne		
	101	let alone	let it alone		
IV, ii,	13	bid	bad		
	27	sendes them	sends the		sends them
	36	**bothers**	brothers		
	52	**God**	Good		

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	69	**fairefast**	fairest		
	73	blowse	blows	blowse	
	78	vndone her,	vndone,		
	119	thy hart	the hart		
	125	your wombe	that wombe		
	164	you see	ye see		you see
IV, iii,	8	catch	finde		
	75	his Lordship	your Lordship		his lordship
	117	to the Emperour	the Emperour		to the emperor
IV, iv,	38	Anchor	Anchor's		
	92	**seede**	feede	foode	feed
	95	aged eares	aged eare		
	102	Euen . . . . *Andronicus.*	*omits line*		*restores line*
V, i,	43	of her	of his		
	64	black night	blacke nights	Blacke-night	
	67	in my death	by my death		
	88	insatiate and	insatiate		insatiate and
V, ii,	32	**yengeane**	vengeance		
	40	offender	offenders		offender
	50	black as	as blacke as		black as
	106	thine own	thy owne		
	144	Dame	Dam		
	150	**Tnt** [*sic*]	**But**	Tut	
V, iii,	7	Empresse	**Emperours**	**Emperous**	empress'
	52	now is done	is now done	*omits entire line*	*restores line as in Q*$_3$
	55	daughter thus	**daughter**		daughter thus
	68	as a	like a		
	91	my vttrance	my very vttrance		
	109	I am the	and I am the	And I am	And I am the
	119	the child	this childe		
	144	**adiudge**	adiudgd		
	196	mourning	mournefull		
			Stage Directions		
I, i,	1	*Drums*	*Drum*		
	291	omits	*He kills him.*		*Stabs* MUTIUS.
II, iii,	245	*Emperour, and Aron*	*Emperour, Aron*		AARON *with* SATURNINUS
III, i,	58	*Marcus with*	*Marcus and*		
V, i,	1	*Drums*	*Drum*		*drums*

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	165	omits	*Exeunt.*		
V, iii,	47	omits	*he kills her.*		*Kills* LAVINIA.
			Speech-Headings		
I, i,	157	omits	*Laui.*		
	459	*Satur.*	*King.*[27]		*Sat.*
	474	indents, but omits speech-heading	*All.*	*Son.*	*Luc.*
III, i,	188	*Aron.*	*Moore.*[28]		*Aar.*
IV, i,	77	omits	*Titus.*		
V, iii,	25	*Empe.*	*Saturn.*		
	30	*King.*	*Satur.*[29]		
	48	*King.*	*Saturn.*		

TABLE III.—FIRST FOLIO VARIANTS[30]

		Q_3	F_1	Oxford, 1902
I, i,	5	I am his	**I was the**	I am his
	6	ware	wore	
	68	From where	From whence	From where
	99	earthy	earthly	earthy
	108	my sonne	my sonnes	my son
	122	their brethren	the Brethren	their brethren
	132	Oppose not	Oppose **me**	Oppose not
	134	looke	lookes	look
	164	fortunes	Fortune	fortunes
	174	are alike	are all alike	are alike
	217	peoples Tribunes	Noble Tribunes	people's tribunes
	223	this sute	this **sure**	this suit
	252	thy feete	my feete	thy feet
	258	are you	are **your**	are you
	259	your honour	**you** Honour	your honour
	269	make you	make **your**	make you
	333	faire Queene	Faire **Qeene**	fair queen
	360	vouch	**vouch'd**	vouch
	368	with himselfe	himselfe	with himself
	380	wise *Laertes*	*Laertes*	wise Laertes'
	391	dririe	sudden	dreary
	398	*omits line*	Yes . . . . remunerate.	
	487	swore	sware	swore

[27] And similarly altered in I, i, 478, 482.

[28] And similarly altered in IV, ii, 24, 39, 44, 48.

[29] And similarly altered in V, iii, 39, 41.

[30] To the items in this table should be added Nos. 20, 29, and 33, from Table I, and all the entries in the third column of Table II.

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II, i,	4	aboue	**about**	above
	62	petty	pretty	petty
	64	iet	set	jet
	70	discords	**discord**	discord's
	81	makes	mak'st	
	101	That both .... speede?	*omits four words*	*restores the four words*
	130	lust	lusts	
	133	*Sit*	**Sij**	*Sit*
		streame	streames	stream
II, ii,	17	broad awake	awake	broad awake
	22	promontary	**Pomontary**	promontory
	24	like swallowes	**likes** Swallowes	like swallows
II, iii,	20	yellowing[31]	yelping	
	55	Who	Whom	Who
	72	swarty	swarth	
	136	womans face	**woman** face	woman's face
	182	grace	**Garace**	grace
	189	**Adronicie**	*Andronici*	
	210	vnhollow	vnhallow'd	
	223	like to a	like to the	like to a
	230	this pit	the pit	
	257	you left them	you left him	
II, iv,	5	scrowle	scowle	scrowl
III, i,	16	befriend	**be friend**	befriend
	28	you not	not	you not
	45	soft as	as soft	soft as
	56	and mine	and **and** mine	and mine
	122	signe	signes	sign
	135	misery	miseries	misery
	192	your strife	**you** strife	your strife
	193	my hand	**me** hand	my hand
	197	As for	As for **for**	As for
	255	hand	**hands**	hand
	256	sonne	**sonnes**	son
	281	Armes	things	
	299	like *Tarquin*	**likes** *Tarquin*	like Tarquin
III, ii,	——	*omits*	*adds entire scene*	
IV, i,	5	thine aunt	thy Aunt	thine aunt
	9	Feare her	Feare	Fear her
	20	*Hecuba*	**Hecubæ**	Hecuba

[31] "Yellowing" is not the error for "yelping" that earlier editors conceived it; *N. E. D.* gives it as an established, but archaic, word meaning "yelling," formed by analogy with "bellowing."

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	36	*omits*	*inserts as separate line after 36:* What booke?	*omits*
	40	for reuenge	to reuenge	for revenge
	63	erst	**ersts**	erst
	72	this shift	that shift	this shift
	77	writ	**writs**	writ
	99	playeth	**palyeth**	playeth
IV, ii,	8	*Puer.* That . . . . newes,	*omits entire line*	*restores line*
	9	villaines	**villanie's**	villains
	21	*eget*	**egit**	*eget*
	32	wast not	**wa's tnot** [*sic*]	was 't not
	44	lacks but your	lack's but **you**	lacks but your
	72	Zounds ye	Out you	'Zounds, ye
	77	*Aron.* Villaine, ... mother.	*omits entire line*	*restores line*
	91	shone	**sh' one**	shone
	116	ignomie	ignominie	ignomy
	140	as *Aron*	**at** *Aaron*	as Aaron
	143	no one	none	no one
	145	the thirds	the **the** third's	the third's
IV, iii,	8	happily	haply	Happily
	48	backs	backe	backs
IV, iv,	18	vniustice	Iniustice	
	47	be Lady	ber Lady	By 'r lady
	77	your Citty	our City	your city
	97	his old **yeares**	his old eares	
	99	before to be	before **to**	before, be
	112	to him	**for** him	to him
V, i,	13	Be bolde	**Behold**	Be bold
	66	performd	**preform'd**	perform'd
	86	sweare to thee	sweare to **to** thee	sweare to thee
	93	hands	hands off	hands
	126	the compasse	**few** compasse	the compass
	134	their teares	**the** teares	their tears
	155	what's	**what**	what's
V, ii,	18	that accord	it action	
	31	thy minde	the mind	thy mind
	32	thy foes	**my** Foes	thy foes
	56	**Epeons**	**Eptons**	Hyperion's
	80	ply	play	ply
	97	I will	Ile	I will
	128	Feast at	Feasts at	Feast at
	162	And stop . . . . cry.	*omits entire line*	*restores line*

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	192	her owne	her	her own
	203	may proue	might proue	may prove
	206	against	gainst	
V, iii,	10	I feare	**If ere**	I fear
	11	mine eare	my eare	mine ear
	48	hast thou	hast	hast thou
	93	kind	kind **hand**	kind
	96	Then noble	This Noble	Then, noble
	171	them . . . . them	him . . . . him	
	198	to prey	of prey	
	199	beastly	Beast-like	
	202	By whome	From whom	By whom
			Speech Headings	
I, i,	64	omits	*Cap.*	
	70	*Titus.*	*Andronicus.*	*Tit.*
	368	*3. Sonne.*	*1. Sonne.*	*Mart.*
II, i,	37	*Moore.*	*Aron.*[32]	
II, iii,	88	*Queene.*	*Tamora.*	
	91	*Queene.*	*Tamo.*	
	192	omits	*Aron.*	
IV, i,	1	*Puer.*	*Boy.*[33]	
V, iii,	17	*King.*	*Sat.*[34]	
	59	*King.*	*Satu.*	
	64	*Empe.*	*Satu.*	
	73	*Roman Lord.*	*Goth.*	omits, with change of the following word
	176	*Romaine.*	*Romans.*	*First Rom.*

[32] And similarly altered in II, i, 60, 75, 90, 95, 97; II, iii, 1, 52; V, iii, 11.
[33] And similarly altered in IV, i, 7, 16, 42, 107, 112, 118; IV, ii, 4; V, iii, 172.
[34] And similarly altered in V, iii, 53.

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XXXIII

RECORDS OF PLAYERS IN THE PARISH OF ST. GILES, CRIPPLEGATE

THE parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate is a most important one in the history of the early English drama. Within its confines and some five minutes walk to the north of the parish church stood the Fortune theatre, whose ancient site is still marked by the Playhouse Yard running between Golden Lane and Whitecross Street.[1] There are Elizabethan aspects to the parish still. One cannot elbow his way through the grimy crowds of Whitecross Street Market and hear the occasional "Buy, buy, buy!" and the commoner "They're love-ly! They're love-ly!" and watch the haggling over fish and peepshows and lace and panaceas without thinking of earlier days.

In the seventeenth century St. Giles was already a large and populous parish. In 1603 according to Stowe,[2] it had more than 1800 householders and above 4,000 communicants. By 1718 it was so crowded that it was found necessary to carve St. Luke's Old-street out of its northern half.[3]

In view of its location and the character and number of the inhabitants it was to be expected that the registers of the church of St. Giles without Cripplegate would contain records of the actors at the Fortune. Moreover, the numerous extracts from the registers of this church made by J. P. Collier in his MS notes for a proposed volume on the actors[4] led me to believe that a systematic examination of these records would yield valuable results. On applying at the fine old parish church,[5] I found an excellent set of registers which have been well cared for. Those I used were all on parchment and more uniformly legible than most.

The limited time at my disposal—the records were accessible for only four hours a day, and the examination of these registers

[1] See J. Q. Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, 1917.

[2] *Survey of London*, Everyman edition, p. 383.

[3] Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivium*, 1803, II, 38.

[4] The Bodleian MS. which Sir Edmund Chambers describes (*Elizabethan Stage*, II, 295) and to which he refers so frequently in his chapter on the actors.

[5] The present church was built after the fire in 1545, though it incorporates a little of the 14th-century building. It is, of course, chiefly famous as the burial place of Milton, though its registers treasure a remarkable list of famous names—John Foxe, Sir Martin Frobisher, John Speed, Oliver Cromwell, Daniel Defoe.

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formed only a small part of the project which I had in hand—made it necessary to restrict the field of my inquiry more narrowly than I could have wished. It was obviously impossible to examine carefully entries extending over a full century. In a parish of this size, the registers are voluminous; in plague months—August 1625, for instance—there are sometimes as many as fifty entries for a single day.[6] Therefore, in consideration of my special field of interest, I limited myself to the period from 1610 to 1653, except for definite dates to which Collier's MS referred me, and incidental finds in the course of verifying these.

I have tried to avoid the piling up of items of very doubtful reference, which could only be confusing in a field where our knowledge is so slight as in that of the biography of 17th-century actors. For this reason I have included among the entries published here only those which definitely state that the man was a player, or which the registers themselves seem to indicate as actors, or which might refer to a more prominent figure, as a dramatist.

From the St. Giles registers I have collected in the following pages 288 entries concerning 80 actors and dramatists.[7] The great majority of these have never been printed before, and in the case of the few which have been pointed out,[8] only five or six have been quoted verbatim from the registers.[9] Collier had the unfortunate habit of simply approximating what the parish clerk had written, and all the St. Giles material published by Sir Edmund Chambers in his *Elizabethan Stage* was derived from Collier's *Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare* and his Bodleian MS.[10]

The seventeenth-century entries in the St. Giles registers are

[6] Fortunately for me, I was not interested in the Restoration. In 1665 the burials alone almost fill a folio volume. On one day in this year they reached 165.

[7] Many of these were not in Collier's MS., but I have made no attempt to distinguish which Collier found and which he missed.

[8] Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivium*, II, 303–4, mentions the names of some of the actors in the St. Giles registers, but he does not give the entry, seldom the date, and so often garbles both name and date that I have generally omitted references to this book.

[9] Exclusive of about a dozen items concerning unknown actors published in my article in *Mod. Lang. Notes*. XLIV, 368–372.

[10] Sir Edmund particularly mentions his reluctance in following Collier instead of the original records. His wisdom in simply mentioning the results of Collier's search, rather than quoting his "quotations" of the registers has been amply demonstrated in the course of my work with Collier's MS. and the St. Giles registers.

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made in double columns, with the day of the month listed at the side. Marriages, baptisms, and burials are listed separately for each month. In transcribing these entries I have copied the text exactly but have rearranged the form of the entry. For example, where the parish clerk wrote:

1623
ffebruary Burials
ffranck Grace Player 2

I give the entry as follows:

"1623/4 2 Feb. (Buried) ffranck Grace Player."

With each actor I have given a brief outline, by no means complete, of what is known about him. In the case of dramatists I have made as little comment as possible and left it to others to settle the value of the entry. For convenience, I have generally followed J. T. Murray's history of the Companies.[11]

The data presented below seem in a number of instances, to alter old conclusions or refute newer theories about play-dates or the history and personnel and conduct of the companies. Except where this could be pointed out very briefly, I have been forced to reserve comment. In some cases I have other new material which links with these facts, but again the bulk of the article has made it necessary to omit most references to it.

WILLIAM ALLEN

1625 28 Oct. (Christened) William sonne of William Allen Player

He is known chiefly as a Queen Henrietta's man and appears in the cast of Shirley's *Wedding*, Davenport's *King John and Matilda*, Massinger's *Renegado*, Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West* and Nabbes' *Hannibal and Scipio*. Wright[12] connects him with the Cockpit and says that he was a major during the wars and quartermaster general at Oxford. However, he was a member of the King's company in January 1640/41,[13] when he was sworn as a groom of

[11] Murray, J. T., *English Dramatic Companies, 1558–1642*, 1910.

[12] *Historia Histrionica* (Dodsley, XV, 406 and 409).

[13] See Mrs. Stopes in *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XLVI, (1910). (L. C. 5/134 p. 431.) In this article, Mrs. Stopes mentions her laborious task of correcting all her references at the Public Record Office. Since she wrote, all the cataloging of the Lord Chamberlain's Papers has again been changed. For this reason I have given the present P. R. O. press mark for each document I have used. I hope that official irony is not lying in wait for me too. Perhaps it should be mentioned here that many of Mrs. Stopes' transcriptions in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* are incomplete and inaccurate.

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the chamber. I think it probable that he had been a member of the King's company for some time at this date, but I must postpone the presentation of evidence. His residence in St. Giles, Cripplegate, in 1625 was at some distance from the Cockpit. One would expect to find him in St. Giles in the Fields, or at least in some parish west of the city. It would not be surprising to discover that he had joined Beeston's new company from the Palsgrave's.

EDWARD ARMIGER

1635	21	Aug.	(Christened) Edward, sonne of Edward Armiger, Player
1635	2	Sep.	(Buried) Edward sonne of Edward Armiger Player
1637	6	May	(Buried) Henry son: of Edward Armiger Player

Not a great deal is known of this player. Dr. Boas thinks (apparently with reason) that he was the "Edw. Armestead" whom Crosfield's diary mentions as one of the chief players at "The Fortune in Golden Lane" in 1634.[14] He was named in the 1629 licence of the Red Bull company which they presented at Reading in that year.[15] The marriage licence granted him in July, 1634 gives his age as 22.[16] Accordingly he was only 17 when he was named with the company at Reading. It appears that the company was unusually small (eight named), or else he was more than a mere apprentice. These are the only known references to him. The above entries at St. Giles make it not improbable that he was till connected with the Red Bull or the Fortune in 1637.

ROGER BARFIELD

1610/11	2	Jan.	(Christened) Isabell daughter of Roger Barfield Player[17]
1614	3	Jul.	(Buried) Susan dau. of Roger Barfield, Gentleman[17]
1616	12	Jul.	(Christened) Anthony sonne of Roger Barfield gentleman

He is mentioned as one of the chief of Queen Anne's players in their licence of 1605.[18] In February, 1609/10, he was living in a tenement of Edward Alleyn in Whitecrosse Street,[19] which was

[14] *Fortnightly Review*, CXVII (1925), 521.

[15] See Murray, *op. cit.*, II, 386.

[16] *Bishop of London, Marriage Licenses* (Harl. Soc. Pubs., XXVI, 218).

[17] Mentioned but not quoted by Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, II, 301.

[18] Murray, *op. cit.*, II, 400.

[19] G. F. Warner, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Muniments of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich*, p. 237.

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quite near the Fortune. It is perhaps more likely his son and namesake who was paid as a Royal Trumpeter in 1625.[20]

JOHN BARRETT

1637	12	Nov.	(Christened) William, son of John Barrett, Player
1639/40	31	Jan.	(Buried) William sonne of John Barrett Player
1640	31	Mar.	(Buried) John Barratt player
1640	8	May	(Buried) Gustavous sonne of John Barratt Player

He is in two of the three known lists of the King's Revels company of Salisbury Court, i.e., the list (almost certainly the King's Revels) which the Town Clerk of Norwich copied 10 March 1634/5,[21] and the cast prefixed to Nathan Richard's *Messalina*. He does not appear in the list in Crosfield's Diary,[22] but Crosfield mentions only the "chiefe" members of the company. In the tragedy he had the title role, which must surely have been played by a boy. Now Mr. Skemp in his introduction to a reprint of the play,[23] agrees with Fleay that *Messalina* was produced after 2 October 1637. The St. Giles registers prove that the boy of the *Messalina* production had at least one son in that year, an annoying fact. Moreover, Thomas Jordan, another of the boys of the *Messalina* production, published a volume of poems (*Poetical Varieties*) in 1637. It seems that *Messalina* needs redating.

ONEZIPHEROUS BARTLE

1607/8	9	Mar.	(Buried) Onezipherus Barton Prayer (sic)

Nothing is known of this player—the 'r' is evidently a slip. Sir Edmund Chambers[24] prints this entry from Collier's MS at the Bodleian, and unfortunately Collier had slightly misread and misdated it. I believe that the player who precedes this one in Sir Edmund's list (another "otherwise unknown") is in reality the same one. Chambers has "Alexander Bartle, son of—a 'player' was baptized at St. Saviour's on 27 February 1603." This also comes from Collier's MS. In the MS., Peter Cunningham, who did some of the copying at St. Saviour's, has written "Onys" as the name of the player. Chambers evidently balked at this, not without reason. On examining the registers at St. Saviour's

[20] *Cal. State Papers Dom.*, 1625–6, p. 543.
[21] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 279.
[22] *Fortnightly Review*, CXVII (1925) 519.
[23] *Materialen zur Kunde des alteren engl. Dramas*, XXX (1910).
[24] *Op. cit.*, II, 301.

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it seemed to me that the clerk had written "Onye." Worse still, until one has compared this with the St. Giles entry. Onye (or Onys) surely represents the harrassed clerk's gallant attack on Onezipherus. The difference between Barton and Bartle is not much of an obstacle, especially when one considers the St. Giles' clerk's pleasant variations of Bourne, Hawley or Cane. (See below)

ROBERT BENFIELD

1627/8	1	Jan.	(Christened) James sonn of Robert Benfield, gent
1628/9	21	Jan.	(Buried) Mary wife of Robert Bennyfield playe[r]
1631	21	July	(Buried) Bartholomew sonne of Robert Benfeild Gentleman[25]
1631	1	Aug.	(Buried) Eliz Dau of Robert Benfield Player[25]
1649	28	July	(Buried) Rob: Bennifeild gentleman

He was a prominent member of the King's company, though his career seems to have begun with the Lady Elizabeth's or perhaps with the Queen's Revels before 1613.[26] Collier's account of him[27] is not altogether satisfactory. He first appears as a King's man in *The Duchess of Malfi* cast of 1613–14, and Chambers conjectures that he joined them on the death of Ostler in December 1614.[28] He is in nearly all lists of the King's from this time to the closing of the theatres. He signed the dedication of the Beaumont and Fletcher folio in 1647 and was involved in some melancholy preparation of the King's company for the expected reopening of the theatres in 1647/8.[29] One of Mr. Hotson's Chancery suits[30] shows that he was dead by 1655, and so makes it probable that he was the 'gentleman' buried at St. Giles in 1649. Mr. Baldwin says[31] that he consistently took dignified parts, such as kings, senators and old men, and ranked third or fourth in the number of lines.

THOMAS BOURNE

1625	1	Sep.	(Buried) Eliz dau: of Thomas Bourne, gent
1627	19	Apr.	(Buried) Susan Dau: of Thomas Boorne Playe[r]

[25] Collier, *Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare*, p. 264, has printed these two entires, though inaccurately.

[26] See Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 251.

[27] Collier, *Mem. Act.*, pp. 262–4.

[28] *Op. cit.*, II, 303.

[29] Leslie Hotson, *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, 1928. p. 32.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[31] T. W. Baldwin, *The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company*, 1927, pp. 183–4.

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1628	14	Dec.	(Christened) Eliz: Dau of Thomas Boarne Player
1628/9	13	Feb.	(Buried) Eliz: Dau: of Tho: Boarne, yoeman
1629/30	17	Jan.	(Christened) ffrancis sonne of Thomas Boarne Player
1630	7	May	(Buried) ffrancis sonne of Thomas Bourne Player
1631	5	June	(Christened) Richard sonne of Thomas Bowrne Player
1634	27	July	(Christened) Mary daughter of Tho: Bourne Player
1636	14	Dec.	(Christened) Temperance daug^{r}: of Tho: Bourne Play^{er}
1636/7	20	Mar.	(Buried) Richard son: of Tho: Bourne Play^{er}
1637	7	Apr.	(Buried) Temperance daug^{r}: of Tho Bourne Play^{er}
1637	8	Apr.	(Buried) Mary daug^{r} of Thomas Bourne Play^{er}
1638	29	Aug.	(Christened) Constance daug^{r} of Thomas Bourne Play^{er}
1642	16	May	(Christened) Edmund sonne of Thomas Bourne player

Such records are startling in their revelation of the paucity of our knowledge about the Caroline stage. Here is a person who was known to his contemporaries as a player for at least 15 years, to whose existence we have heretofore had only one vague clue. Among the members of the anonymous company—but which was surely the King's Revels—whose names were recorded by the industrious Clerk of Norwich in March 1634/5[32] is a Thomas Bourne. He may have been of the same family as William and Theophilus Bourne, whom Collier [33]thought were father and son, but they seem to have been better known by their alias of Birde. If he was a player as long as the St. Giles' registers would indicate, there must be records of him concealed some place about the Public Record Office or the Guildhall.

JOSEPH BROWNE

1636	4	Dec.	(Christened) Lucretia daug^{r} of Joseph Browne Play^{r}
1637	10	June	(Buried) Lucretia daug^{r} of Joseph Browne Play^{er}:
1639/40	9	Feb.	(Christened) William, sonne of Joseph Browne, Play^{er}

This man is another player without a company. I should like to get him attached, but I haven't the faintest idea where he belongs. In my article in *Modern Language Notes* I published the

[32] Murray, *op. cit.*, II, 356.
[33] MS Bodleian.

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first and third of these items but unfortunately overlooked the second.

JOHN BUCKLEY

1652/3 4 Jan. (Buried) Mary Wife of John Buckley player

No player of this name is otherwise known, but Kendall told Crossfield[34] in 1634 that a John Buckle was one of "y^e^ chiefe" at the Fortune. Since this is the parish for players at the Fortune, the two names may indicate the same man.

JOHN BUGGE

1628/9 4 Mar. (Christened) Andrew son of the reputed wife of Andrew Bugge Chirurgeon in bitted (?) and bagg yard in old street bonds taken

1635 24 June (Buried) Mary daughter of John Buggs Gentlem̃

Bugge is another new actor. I first found him among the Lord Chamberlain's papers at the Public Record Office, where the warrant to swear him in 1628 as a servant to the Lady Elizabeth in the capacity of player is preserved.[35] Of course, it is possible that the 'Gentlem̃' was not the player, but players were frequently so honored at St. Giles (see below), and I have found no other Bugges in Caroline London. The first item is another trace of what must be an amusing tale, if we could only get it disinterred. Among the petitions to the Lord Chamberlain for permission to take action against individuals under protection of the Royal Household, I found the following:

A petition of the President & Censors of the Colledge of Phisitions against diuerse Empericks (vizt) Butler A glover, Trigg A lastmaker, Bugges one of the Queene of Bohemias Players sometimes an Apothecary, one Hill, one Blagden, one Blank A pewterer & one S^r^ Saunders duncambe A pentioner with diuerse others for practising of Physique ag^st^ y^e^ Charter of the Colledge. Answered (vizt) None of the persons complayned of in this petition nor any others are admitted to his Ma^te^ service to intitle them to y^e^ practise of Phisique against the Charter of the Colledge & his Ma^te^ Laws. And therfore if the Pet^rs^ conceaue that they haue cause of suite haueing acquainted the parties interested w^th^ this my reference they may freely take the benefitt of his Ma^te^ Lawes for their reliefe Febr. 7. 1630[/1].

John Bugge, like some of his fellows (there are other amusing tales of the sort which I should like to contribute to general enter-

[34] Dr. Boas in *Fortnightly Review*, CXVII. (1925).

[35] See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLIV, 371.

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tainment, if not to general knowledge) seems to have had a shrewd eye for the advantages of his position. Andrew certainly is connected with his claims to surgical skill. It would make the best story if he were John's father, but this is not probable, unless, indeed the parish clerk slandered him.

ANDREW CANE

1628	18	Apr.	(Christened) Hester a fowndlyne the parents unknowne taken up at Andrew Keines stall
1640/41	21	Jan.	(Buried) Richard Swallow servt to Andrew Kayne, Player

He was the well known comedian of the Fortune and the Red Bull. There are numerous testimonials of his popularity with the theatregoers, especially those in the pit.[36] He was a goldsmith as well as a player, and seems to have been active in his craft.[37] The stall in the first item appears to refer to his place of business. Besides his talent as a fool, he must have been a man of some ability. In 1634 Kendall told Crosfield[38] that he was "y^{e} chiefe" of the Prince's men. Several times he received the payment for performances by this company at court.[39] For his varied activities under the Commonwealth, see the first chapter in Hotson's *Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*. A knowledge of the life of Andrew Cane, goldsmith and player, would greatly illuminate the Caroline stage and Caroline London as well.

WILLIAM CARPENTER

1617	30	Sep.	(Christened) Robert, sonne of William Carpenter Player
1618	14	Apr.	(Buried) Robert Sonne of William Carpenter gent.
1619	8	Sep.	(Christened) William sonne of William Carpenter gent
1620/21	25	Feb.	(Christened) Elizabeth daughter of William Carpenter, gent
1621	8	Nov.	(Buried) Elizabeth daghter of William Carpenter, gentle
1637	26	July	(Buried) Anne wife of Wm: Carpenter, gent
1644	29	Nov.	(Christened) ffrancesse dau: of W^{m} Carpenter Gent

[36] See Hotson, *op. cit.*, Chap. 1.

[37] See Dr. Boas, *Fortnightly Review*, CXVII (1925) 519, and Hotson, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 and 53.

[38] *Fortnightly Review* above.

[39] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 226.

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It is possible that these do not all refer to the same man, but the linking of the first two entries indicates that the player was called gentleman. I have my doubts about the last two. The actor was a member of the Lady Elizabeth's company in 1611[40] and of Prince Charles I's in 1619[41] and 1625.[42] If he is the William Carpenter sued with other players by Gervase Markham in 1623, he was then porter of the Marshalsea.[43] This is odd, especially in view of the fact that he was still a Prince's man in 1625.

WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT

1621	19	June	(Buried) Jane wife of William Cartwright yoeman
1636/7	31	Jan.	(Married) William Cartwright and Tomazine Kendall
1637	6	July	(Buried) Tomazine wife of William Cartwright Player
1637	25	July	(Married) Wm: Cartwright and Ellen Collins ('Licent' in margin)
1642	12	May	(Buried) Katherine wife of W^{m} Cartwright Player
1650/51	14	Mar.	(Buried) Ann Wife of Willi Cartright player

There were at least two actors of this name, usually thought to be father and son, and in some instances it is impossible to tell which is meant. The elder was an Admiral's man in 1598[44] and the younger was a player at the Cockpit at the Restoration. The older man was a leader of Alleyn's old company as late as 1634[45] and was still actively connected with them in 1636 when Herbert mentions him[46] as "ould Cartwright." The Restoration actor had been a member of King's Revels in 1634/5 and 1640.[47] Both were friends of Edward Alleyn, whose gallery at Dulwich still has three pictures of a William Cartwright, each marked actor (Nos. 393, 400 and 411). They were bequeathed to Dulwich College by the Restoration actor William Cartwright in 1688. Unfortunately the description of the pictures in the old catalog of the donor serves only to increase the confusion. He seems to indicate that only one of the pictures is of himself; that "Old Mr.

[40] Chambers, op. cit., II, p. 247.
[41] Murray, op. cit., I, p. 236.
[42] Murray, op. cit., I, p. 237.
[43] Wallace in *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, Vol. 46, 1910, pp. 345–50.
[44] See Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 310.
[45] *Fortnightly Review*, CXVII (1925), 519.
[46] J. Q. Adams, *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, 1917, p. 37.
[47] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 279 and 281.

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Cartwright" was not his father, but was the father of the third subject, "Young Mr. Cartwright Actour."[48] The pictures themselves, though not very good ones, seem to my inexpert eye to confirm this.

THOMAS CASTLE

1608 9 Oct. (Christened) Nicholas sonne of Thomas Castle Player
1610 15 Apr. (Christened) Hester daughter of Thomas Castle, Player

This is all that is known of him. Sir Edmund Chambers mentions these entries,[49] though he does not quote the registers.

ROBERT CLARKE

1617 7 Nov. (Buried)Ezekiell sonne of Robert Clarke, Player[50]

On 27 December 1624 Sir Henry Herbert exempted Robert Clarke and twenty others from arrest, as musicians and attendants of the King's company.[51] Whether he was a musician or a minor player is not known. This entry indicates the latter, but it does not prove it. (See Francis Hitchins) The distinction between a player and a musician was not always a very definite one.[52]

RICHARD CLAYTON

1634 7 Apr. (Buried) Richard Clayton, Player

He was one of the Palsgrave's men at the Fortune and resided in "Goulding Lane" in 1623 when Gervase Markham sued him for his subscription for the journey to Berwick.[53] Was he still a Prince's man when he died? I have searched in vain for his will at Somerset House.

HENRY CLEY

1620 8 Nov. (Christened) John sonne of Henry Cley gentleman
1626 27 Aug. (Christened) Susanna Da: of Henry Cley, Player[54]

The only known record of him is in the list of attendants of the King's players whom Sir Henry Herbert exempted from arrest

[48] See *Catalogue of the Pictures in the Gallery of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich*, 1926.
[49] Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 310.
[50] *Ibid.*
[51] Adams, *Dram. Records*, pp. 74 and 75.
[52] See my article, *Times Lit. Suppl.* 15 Nov. 1928.
[53] Wallace in *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XLVI (1910).
[54] Published *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLIV, 371.

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in December 1624.[55] The above indicates that he was a player rather than a musician, though again, not too certainly.

EDWARD COBURNE

1613	3	June	(Christened) Elizabeth daughter of Edward Cobern player
1614	19	June	(Christened) Edward sonne of Edward Coborn yoeman
1616	23	Nov.	(Christened) John sonne of Edward Coborne, Player[56]
1621	17	Dec.	(Christened) Elizabeth daughter of Edward Coborne yoeman
1624	30	Aug.	(Christened) Bartholomew, sonne of Edward: Coborne, gentlemā
1625	6	July	(Buried) Martha dau of Edward Coleborne, gent.
1625	11	July	(Buried) Edward sonne of Edward Coborne gent
1625	17	July	(Buried) Eliz wyfe of Edward Colborne gent
1625	19	July	(Buried) Alice s^{r} to Edward Coborne, gent
1625	20	July	(Buried) Margaret dau of Edward Coborne, gent
1625	21	July	(Buried) John sonne of Edw Coborne, gent.

No player of precisely this name is otherwise known, but an Edward Colbrand appears as a Prince Henry's man in 1610 and 1613.[57] Chambers[58] thinks they may be the same, and I agree. Each of the above entries obviously refers to a single name, probably Colborne, pronounced like Holborn. That they all refer to one man is not so obvious, but the burial of John and Edward from the plague-stricken household in 1625 indicates that it is possible. If these all refer to a single Edward Colborne, what a ghastly experience he must have had in that awful July of 1625!

CHRISTOPHER CRATE

1649	13	May	(Buried) Kathe wife of Christo: Crate player

Crate is new as an actor. He must have been on the stage before the wars, for however much surreptitious playing there was during the Commonwealth,[59] it is unlikely that the profession gained any *new* adherents during these lean years.

[55] Adams, *Dram. Records*, pp. 74 and 75.
[56] Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 310, has mentioned but not copied this entry.
[57] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 209 and 211.
[58] *Op. cit.*, II, 310.
[59] See Hoson, *op. cit.*

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THOMAS DOWNTON[60]

1606	22	June	(Christened) Edward sonne of Thomas Doughton Playe^{r}
1608/9	24	Jan.	(Buried) Jn^{o} Johnson, servante to Thomas Doughton, Plaier
1613	6	Sep.	(Buried) Annes wife of Thomas Doughton gentlman
1617	8	Oct.	(Buried) John Daye svant to Thomas Doughten Playe^{r}
1617	14	Nov.	(Buried) Anne wife of Thomas Doughton Player
1619	11	June	(Buried) Jane daughter of Thomas Downton Vintener
1625	28	July	(Buried) Jeffrey Langworthy sh^{r} to Thomas Downton

He is frequently mentioned in connection with the Admiral's-Palsgrave's company. He was a friend of Ned Alleyn and at least a frequent debtor of Henslowe's.[61] There are records of him at St. Saviour's,[62] but like other Southwark actors (see Anthony and Humphrey Jeffes and William Sly), he seems to have left the Bankside for St. Giles, probably following the Henslowe-Alleyn transfer to the Fortune. Sir Edmund Chambers says, "He apparently married a vintner's widow . . . . and became a vintner." This is verified by one of the St. Giles' entries above and by his will, which I have found at Somerset House and will publish later. In this will, made at St. Giles, Cripplegate, 25 July 1625, he styles himself vintner and mentions the son Edmund, whose birth is recorded above, and Thomas who was baptized at St. Saviour's in 1601. He appoints as executrix his wife Jane, the vintner's widow, and mentions her property concerned in their marriage agreement. In July 1614 he was married to Anne Roye, whose burial is recorded above.[63]

RICHARD FOWLER

1618	16	Sep.	(Christened) Jane daughter of Richard ffowler gentleman
1620/21	17	Feb.	(Christened) Richard sonne of Richard ffowler Player

[60] Chambers (*op. cit.*, II, 313) gives the spellings Downton, Dowton, Douton, Douten, Dowghton, Denygten and Doubton.

[61] See Chambers, op. cit., II, 313, and Henslowe's *Diary*, ed. Greg. II, 262 and 265, and Warner, op. cit., p. 193

[62] See my article, *Times Lit. Suppl.* 15 Nov. 1928.

[63] *Harleian Soc. Pub.*, XXVI, 27.

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1622/3	26	Feb.	(Christened) Addam sonne of Richard ffowler Player
1623	2	Jul.	(Buried) Adam sonne of Rihcard ffowler
1624	15	Dec.	(Christened) Thomas sonne of Richard ffowler Player
1625	8	Aug.	(Buried) Richard sonne of Richard ffowler gent
1634	20	June	(Buried) Thomas sonne of Richard Fowler Player
1643	11	Sep.	(Buried) Richard ffowler Stage Player[64]

He was a Palsgrave's-Prince's man, at least from 1618, when he was one of those to sign the lease of the Fortune from Edward Alleyn,[65] until 1632, when he was sworn as a groom of the chamber to attend the Prince in the quality of player.[66] There are several records of his activities with the company between these dates. The date of his death is helpful in tracing the history of his company, but I have searched in vain for his will.

Thomas Fulcis

1594	15	Aug.	(Buried) Thomas Fulcis late player, gent.[67]

Thomas Fulcis is another unknown.

Robert Gibbs

1648	16	Nov.	(Buried) Ailce: (sic) wife of Rob: Gibbs player

No other references to a player of precisely this name are known, but "Gibbs" took part in the procession at the end of the Admiral's performance of I *Tamar Cam* in 1602.[68] An Antony Gibes is named in the licence which Sir Henry Herbert granted to Ellis Guest's company in 1628,[69] and Kendall told Crosfield in 1634[70] that "Edw Gibbs a fencer" was one of "The chiefe" of those at the Salisbury Court (King's Revels). If Robert must be indentified with one of these, I should choose the fencer, because the date is the latest. Several of that company lived in St. Giles, and Crosfield, who was repeating a conversation about unfamiliar people, cannot be expected to be too accurate. This conjecture receives some encouragement from the burial of Richard Gunnel's servant

[64] Mentioned but not quoted, *Londinium Redivivium*, II, 304.
[65] *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, pp. 27–8.
[66] Mrs. Stopes in *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XLVI (1910). (L. C. 5/132, p. 297.)
[67] See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLIV, 370.
[68] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 133.
[69] *Ibid.*, II, 103.
[70] Dr. Boas, *Fortnightly Review*, CXVII (1925).

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in January 1622/3 (see Richard Gunnell) from the house of Robert Gibbs. It seemingly indicates some connection between Gibbs and Gunnell, who was a prominent Palsgrave's man in 1623, but built the Salisbury Court in 1629 and became leader there. All of which is interesting, but a bit too shaky for serious building purposes.

CHRISTOPHER GOAD

1623	13	May	(Buried) Daughter of Christopher Good Player
1626	20	Aug.	(Christened) Michael son of X pofer Goade Player
1628	31	Jul.	(Buried) Eliz: Dau: of Christopher Goad, gent
1636	3	Oct.	(Christened) Ruth dau. of Xpofer Goade Playe[r]
1639	28	Apr.	(Christened) Timothy sonne of Christopher Goad Player
1640	16	Sep.	(Buried) Symon sonne of Xpofer Goad Player
1640	23	Sep.	(Christened) Eliza daug[r] of Xpofer Goad Player

He first appears with a company in Queen Henrietta's cast for *King John and Matilda* about 1629.[71] The St. Giles' registers show that he had been a player for at least six years before this. Where? By 1634[72] he had joined the King's Revels at the Salisbury Court. He played Silius in *Messalina*.[73] Such names as Ruth, Timothy, Simon and Michael make me curious to know what happened to Goad in the Civil war, and how he happened to become a player at all.

FRANK GRACE

1623/4	2	Feb.	(Buried) ffranck Grace Player

He was a Palsgrave's man in 1610[74] and seems never to have left them, as Sir Henry Herbert mentions him first in his list of Palsgrave's men in 1622.[75] He was a friend of Edward Alleyn[76] and probably the father of Richard Grace.

RICHARD GRACE

1619	26	May	(Buried) Sara daughter of Richard Grace yoeman
1619	30	Aug.	(Christened) Margaret daughter of Richard Grace yoeman
1621/2	16	Jan.	(Christened) John sonne of Richard Grace yoeman
1625	12	Aug.	(Buried) Eliz dau of Richard Grace yoman
1627	4	May	(Christened) Charles son of Ric: Grace Player
1628/9	16	Jan.	(Christened) Elizabeth Dau. of Richard Grace Player

[71] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 266.
[72] *Fortnightly Review*, CXVII, 519.
[73] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 281.
[74] *Ibid.*, I, 209.
[75] *Variorum*, III, 59.
[76] Warner, *op. cit.*, pp. 169, 181 and 188.

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1630	18	May	(Christened) Phillip & James sonnes of the reputed ffather James Bolland Seifringman in the house of Richard Grace Player
1630	19	May	(Buried) Elizabeth Daughter of Rich: Grace Player
1630	21	May	(Buried) Philip & James sonnes of James Bolland Seifringman in the house of Rich Grace Player
1630	4	Aug.	(Christened) Increase dau of Richard Grace Player
1630	26	Oct.	(Buried) Increase Daugh of Richard Grace Player
1631/2	5	Mar.	(Christened) Richard sonne of Richard Grace Player
1632	26	May	(Buried) Richard sonne of Richard Grace player
1634	22	Apr.	(Buried) Richard Grace Plaier

Not much is known of him. That he was once a Palsgrave's man is proved by Markham's suit, which describes him as an actor at the Fortune residing in Golding Lane in 1623.[77] He is another player concerning whom there must be more records *someplace*. I should assume the twin sons of James Bolland were the illegitimate children of a servant of Richard Grace by an absent sailor, except that in such cases the clerk usually made it a special point to make doleful mention of the mother. This sounds rather as if it were Bolland who was connected with the Grace's.

RICHARD GRADWELL

1630/31	19	Jan.	(Christened) Eliz Dau of Richard Gradell Gentleman
1632	5	Aug.	(Christened) Anne dau. of Richard Gradwell Player[78]
1633/4	16	Mar.	(Christened) Richard son: of Richard Gradwell Play[r78] .

This man is unknown as a player.

CURTIS GREVILLE

1621/2	16	Jan.	(Christened) Elizabeth daughter of Bridget the reputed wife of Robert Birredge from Curtyse Grevills howse
1621/2	21	Feb.	(Buried) Elizabeth daughter of Bridget, the reputed wife of Robert Birredge from Curtyce Grevills

Greville is rather a problem and indicative of the confusion of the Caroline companies. In 1622 Sir Henry Herbert mentions

[77] Wallace, *Shakespeare Jahrb.* XLVI, (1910).
[78] See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLIV, 372.

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him as one of the Palsgrave's men and also as "the chiefe of them at the Phoenix."[79] Murray[80] thinks he had just joined the Palsgrave's from the Lady Elizabeth's, but his argument is weak. In 1626, 1628 and 1631 he is in casts of plays of the King's men,[81] and in 1634 Kendall told Crosfield he was one of the King's Revels at the Salisbury Court.[82] These entries do not help much. One wonders if Robert Birredge was a Burbage; the actors' name was sometimes so spelt and at least one of them lived in the adjoining parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, about this time. (See Nicholas Tooley.)

RICHARD GUNNELL

1613/14	15	Jan.	(Christened) Martyne dau of Richard Gunnell Player
1615	9	Sep.	(Christened) Margaret daughter of Richard Gunnell Playr
1620	20	Apr.	(Christened) Edward sonne of Richard Gunnell gentle
1621/2	17	Jan.	(Christened) Anne daughter of Richard Gunnell gentleman
1622/3	30	Jan.	(Buried) Thomas Willington seruant to Richard Gunnell from the house of Robert Gibbes
1623	21	June	(Buried) Daughter of Richard Gunnell Player
1624	10	July	(Christened) Ellenor daughter of Richard Gunnell player
1624/5	1	Feb.	(Buried) Hellen daughter of Richard Gunnell gentleman
1630	14	Apr.	(Buried) Penelope Dau of Richard Gunnell Player
1630	2	Dec.	(Buried) Edward sonne of Richard Gunnell Player
1630/31	7	Feb.	(Christened) John sonne of Barbara the reputed wife Dermiere gentleman from Richard Gunnell Player in Redcrostreete

He was a Palsgrave's man and appears to have been manager of the Fortune.[83] In 1629 he and William Blagrave built the Salisbury Court,[84] and he was thenceforward connected with that house. He was a friend of Ned Alleyn, and from his various ventures one would think him a man of some means. He wrote at least two

[79] *Variorum*, III, 59.
[80] *Op. cit.*, I, 215–16.
[81] *Ibid.*, I, 172.
[82] *Fortnightly Review*, CXVII (1925).
[83] Warner, *op. cit.*, *Variorum*, III, 66, Hotson, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
[84] Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, pp. 368–74.

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plays himself, *The Hungarian Lion* and *The Way to Please all Women*, and perhaps *The Masque.*[85] He died about 1634,[86] and a fellow actor, Thomas Jordan,[87] published an elegy on him in his *Poeticall Varieties*, 1637.

WILLIAM HALL

1640	19	Oct.	(Married) William Hall and Jone Harredye
1641	25	Sep.	(Christened) William sonne of Wm Hall, Player
1644	12	June	(Christened) Ann dau: Willm Hall player
1645	20	Aug.	(Christened) ffrances dau: of Willi Hall Player
1648	1	Sep.	(Christened) Afrika Dau: of Willi Hall player
1651/2	25	Feb.	(Buried) ffran Dau of Willi Hall player
1651/2	20	Mar.	(Buried) Sarah Dau of Willi Hall plaier

He was sworn a Prince's man in 1632,[88] but at the time of the production of *Messalina* (see John Barrett) he was playing with the King's Revels and took the part of Mela, Senecca's brother, in that play. I know nothing more of him.

BERNARD HALSEY

1622/3	3	Feb.	(Buried) Daughter of Bernard Halsey Tumbler

It may be that he was never a player, but he is pretty sure to have performed on the stage of the Red Bull and perhaps of the Fortune. I have sometimes wondered if some of these tumblers and tight rope walkers were not permanently attached to the Red Bull or Fortune. If they were, they are pretty sure to have been some times drafted for less spectacular performances when a large cast was needed.

HENRY HAMMERSLEY

1626	16	Apr.	(Christened) Affryca, Da of Henry Hammersley Player[89]

A Henry Hamerton was sworn as a Prince's servant in 1635,[90] but is found nowhere else. I am inclined to think that he is the same as the above. This is the second mention of a child christened Africa in these records. It probably would be interesting to find how the name was selected.

[85] Adams, *Dramatic Records*, pp. 26, 28 and 30.
[86] Hotson, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
[87] See *D. N. B.*
[88] Mrs. Stopes in *Shakespeare Jahrb.* XLVI (1910). (L. C. 5/132, p. 297.)
[89] Published *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLIV, 371.
[90] Mrs. Stopes in *Shakes. Jahrb.* XLVI, (1910). (L. C. 5/134, p. 88).

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NICHOLAS HAMMERTON

1634/5 3 Jan. (Buried) Richard sonne of Nicholas Hammerton, Play[r][91]

I know of no other record of a Nicholas Hammerton. A Stephen Hammerton was connected with the King's company 1631–47, and Wright says[92] he was famous in his youth for his female roles. There may have been some connection between these two.

WILLIAM HARTE

1638 29 July (Christened) Winifred dau. of William Harte, Weaver als Player
1639 19 July (Buried) Winifred daug[r] of William Harte, weaver (In margin, 'als Player')
1639 23 Nov. (Buried) Mary daug[r]: of William Harte Player

This "Weaver als Player"[93] seems to indicate the evolution of an actor. It is decidedly not the way the clerk would refer to a man who had been bred a player. It rouses one's curiosity as to the cause and method of the change.

A William Harte is named in the licence issued by Sir Henry Herbert 28 November 1634 which the clerk at Norwich has mentioned.[94] Murray[95] argues on rather scant evidence that they were a new King's Revels company. He is listed as a King's man in May 1636 and January 1636/7.[96] Malone says[97] that he was the eldest son of Shakespeare's sister Joane and the father of Charles Harte, the Restoration actor.

RICHARD HAWLEY

1632 16 Dec. (Christened) Roger sonne of Richard Halley player
1633/4 5 Jan. (Christened) Joanna Da: of Richard Haley, Player
1634 22 Aug. (Buried) Jone daug[r] of Richard Hawley Player
1635 8 Apr. (Christened) ffrancis sonn of Richard Hawley, Player
1636 27 July (Christened) Thomazine daug[r]: of Richard Hawley Play[er]

[91] Published *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLIV, 372.

[92] Dodsley, XV, 404.

[93] This, of course, is not the only example of a player who had another craft as well. Other prominent ones at St. Giles were John Shank and Andrew Cane.

[94] Murray, *op. cit.*, II, 357.

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[96] Murray, *op. cit.* I, 172 and Mrs. Stopes in *Shakes. Jahrb.*, XLVI, (1910). (L. C. 5/134, pp. 124 and 142.)

[97] *Variorum*, III, 167.

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1636 2 Aug. (Buried) Frances dau. of Richard Hawley Player
1636 1 Sep. (Buried) Thomazine daugr: of Rich: Hawley Player
1636 4 Oct. (Buried) Roger son: of Richard Hawley, Player
1638 1 Apr. (Christened) Joyce daugr: of Richard Hawley, Player
1639 21 July (Buried) Sara wife of Richard Hawley Player

Richard Hawley is also in the list of King's men for the pass of 1636 and the ticket of privilege of 1636/7. This family had long been resident in St. Giles. Another of them is called tumbler in 1623. Richard had evidently been a player for several years before he appears as a King's man.

FRANCIS HITCHENS

1624 17 Nov. (Buried) Katherine daughter of Frances Hitchens Playor[98]
1627/8 3 Feb. (Buried) ffrancis Hitchens, Drummer

Francis Hitchens is another new player. From the second item it would appear that his rank in his company was not the highest, which may account for his obscurity. He raises again the problem of just what was the relation between the actors and their musicians.[99] I had hoped that his will might tell something more of him, but I have searched for it in vain.

THOMAS HOLCOMB

1624 24 July (Christened) George sonne of Thomas Holcome Plaier
1625 1 Sep. (Buried) Thomas Holcome, Player[100]

All known references to him are from the casts of the King's men's plays, the first *The Queen of Corinth* (c. 1617) and the last *The Prophetess* (1622). Mr. Baldwin from his analysis of the plays and parts of the King's players declares that he was Shank's apprentice[101] and speculates about his parts in other plays of the King's men.

JOHN HONEYMAN

1636 13 Apr. (Buried) John Honnyman, Player[100]

[98] Published *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLIV, 371.

[99] He is not, of course, the only man to be known both as an actor and a musician. See Edward Minshaw below and Thomas Heywood, Thomas Downton and Thomas Marbeck in *Times Literary Supplement*, 15 November 1928.

[100] Mentioned but not quoted *Londinium Redivivium*, II, 304.

[101] *Op. cit.*, p. 151.

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He was a King's man and appears in various parts (chiefly female) in their plays. Mr. Baldwin[102] thinks he was the John Honeyman baptized at St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, in 1612 and discusses his parts. His will, which was made 7 April 1636 and mentions his mother, father and brother, his fellows the players, and the poor of the parish as legatees, seems to be that of a young man. I must defer the publication of this will to some later date. Elegiac poems on him appear in Jordan's *Poetical Varieties*, 1637, and in Sir Antony Cokain's *Small Poems of Divers Sorts*, 1658.

ANTHONY JEFFES

1602	11	June	(Christened) Edward son of Anthony Jeffe, yeõa
1605	16	Sep.	(Christened) Elizabeth daughter of Anthony Jeffe, player
1606	22	Oct.	(Christened) Jane daughter of Anthony Jeffes, Player
1607/8	16	Mar.	(Christened) David sonne of Anthony Jeffes, Player
1609	1	May	(Christened) Richard sonne of Anthony Jeffes, Player
1610	30	May	(Buried) Jane daughter of Anthony Jeffes, brewer
1610	8	Aug.	(Buried) sonne of Anthony Jeffes, Brewer
1610	21	Oct.	(Christened) Anthony sonne of Anthony Jeffes, Brewer
1616	30	Oct.	(Christened) Richard sonne of Anthony Jeffes, Brewer
1619	23	May	(Christened) William sonne of Anthony Jeffs Brewer
1620	20	May	(Buried) William Andrewes servant to Anthony Jeffs brewer
1620/21	23	Mar.	(Christened) Sara daughter of Anthony Jeffes Brewer

He is known chiefly as an Admiral's-Prince Henry's man, and appears in various records in connection with them.[103] He is probably the Anthony son of Richard Jeffes who was christened at St. Saviour's 14 December 1578.[104] He is last mentioned in the list in Prince Henry's Book of the Household in 1610.[105] This coincides with the date at which the St. Giles clerk begins calling him Brewer. Moreover, Charles Massey in his letter to Edward Alleyn in 1613(?) refers to him as having given over his quality of player.[106]

[102] *Ibid.*, p. 222.
[103] See Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 324.
[104] Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 324.
[105] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 209.
[106] Warner, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–7.

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These facts and the uncommon name suggest that these entries all refer to the same man and that the player had become a brewer, perhaps for reasons similar to those of Thomas Downton.

Humphry Jeffes

1618 21 Aug. (Buried) Humphrie Jeffes, Plaier[107]

He was also an Admiral's-Prince Henry's man, but his connection with the company was longer than that of Anthony, who, it seems, was not his brother.[108] Humphrey had childern baptized at St. Saviour's in 1599 and 1601.[109] His appearance in St. Giles probably indicates his attempt to keep near his company's theatre. In June 1617 Pembroke wrote to Norwich asking that he be sent back to London with the duplicate licence for the Palsgrave's with which he was travelling.[110] It seems that he was actively playing up to the time of his death.

William Johnson

1586/7 10 Feb. (Christened) Comedia, the daught[r] of Willm Johnson, one of her ma[te] players, Base borne of Alyce Booker

1592/3 3 Mar. (Buried) Comedia daught[r] of Willim Johnson, Playe[r] ('base' in margin)[111]

He was in Leicester's company at least as early as 1572, when he was one of the players to sign the letter to Leicester requesting to be appointed as household servants.[112] He appears again in their licence of 10 May 1574.[113] Later (1583 and 1588),[114] he appears as a Queen's man. Chambers wonders if he were the vintner who was trustee of Shakespeare's Blackfriar's property 1613–18.[115]

George Jolly

1629/30 8 Jan. (Christened) Mary daughter of George Jolley Barber Chirurgion of St Martins Aldersgate in the house of William Perkins in Morelane

[107] Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 324, mentions.

[108] Collier, *Mem. Act.*, says that Humphrey son of John Jeffes was baptized at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, 16 June 1583.

[109] See *Times Lit. Suppl.*, 15 November, 1928.

[110] Murray, *op. cit.*, II, 343.

[111] Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 324, following Collier, has grossly misquoted these entries.

[112] *Ibid*, II, 86.

[113] *Ibid*, II, 87.

[114] *Ibid*, II, 107.

[115] *Ibid*, II, 324.

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1640 9 July (Christened) John sonne of George Jolly Player in y• house of Mathew Smith Player in Whitcrostrt
1640 13 July (Buried) John sonne of George Jolly Player

He was a well known Restoration actor, and Mr. Hotson has recently compiled a very interesting account of his continental career during the Commonwealth.[116] So far as I know, this is the first proof that he was an actor before the Civil Wars. Since Matthew Smith was a Prince's man (see below), the normal assumption is that George Jolly was too. It may be that in 1640 he was or had been Smith's apprentice.[117] I do not think it likely that the Barber Chirurgion and the player are the same. Possibly father and son.

JEREMY KITE

1627 4 Apr. (Christened) Wm son of Jerymie Kite Player
1632/3 20 Feb. (Christened) ffrancis da: of Jeremy Kite Player[118]

Kite is another player whose activity before the closing of the theatres has heretofore been unknown. In 1644 and 1645 he was with a company of English players on the continent.[119]

NICHOLAS LONGE

1621/2 21 Jan. (Buried) Nicholas Longe, Player[120]

He seems to have had a varied career, chiefly as a leader of provincial companies. In May 1612 he appeared at Norwich at the head of a company of boys of rather uncertain identity.[121] In March 1613/14 he was at the same place as a leader of the Lady Elizabeth's.[122] In October 1617 he appears as manager in the new patent for the Children of the Queen's Revels,[123] and in August 1618, and February and May, 1620, he is with unnamed companies.[124] He may be the Nicholas Longe whom I found in the St. Saviour tokenbooks[125] at the Bankside in 1600 and the Clink in 1620, and

[116] *Op. cit.*, pp. 167–76. For his career after the Restoration, see Mr. Hotson's pamphlet *George Jolley, Actor-Manager* and Allardyce Nicoll's *Restoration Stage*, pp. 270–79.
[117] See Baldwin, *op. cit.*, chap. I.
[118] Published *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLIV, 371.
[119] Hotson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
[120] Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 328, mentions.
[121] See H. N. Hillebrand, *The Child Actors*, 1926, p. 240.
[122] Murray, *op. cit.* II, 239.
[123] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 361.
[124] Murray, *op. cit.*, II, 345, and *Malone Society Collections*, 1910, p. 284.
[125] See *Times Lit. Suppl.*, 15 November, 1928.

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who, according to the St. Saviour register, married Prudence Pellitour there 3 June 1610. If the St. Saviour Nicholas Longe were the player, he had moved to St. Giles only shortly before his death. I failed to find a will by which I had hoped to settle a little of this uncertainty.

JOHN LOWEN

1576 9 Dec. (Christened) John, the sonne of Richard Lowen

Collier printed this,[126] though inexactly. It is reproduced here for the sake of completeness. His picture in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (Canvas A. 1640) gives his age at 64 in 1640, thus verifying the above. The portrait shows a man of a serious rather than a "blustering"or "aggressive" or "peppery" type.[127] He was, of course, one of the most important Jacobean and Caroline actors. His career began with Worcester's [128]but he soon (1603) became a King's man and played with them until the closing of the theatres.[129] From 1630 on he and Joseph Taylor seem to have been the managers of the King's company. He was still actively interested in theatrical affairs as late as January 1647/8.[130] The date of his death has heretofore been a matter of some debate, but the following entry in the parish registers of St. Clement Danes seems conclusive.[131]

1653 24 Aug. (Buried) John Lowen the player bur.

The use of the definite article seems reminiscent of Lowen's fame.

CHARLES MASSEY

1610 30 Dec. (Christened) Jane, daughter of Charles Marcy, Player
1612 8 Sep. (Christened) Charles the sonne of Charles Masey gent
1620/21 21 Jan. (Buried) John sonne of Charles Mercy, gentleman
1621 24 Apr. (Christened) Margaret daughter of Charles Mercy, yeoman

[126] *Mem. Act.*, p. 165.

[127] See Baldwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–81 and 184.

[128] Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 328.

[129] For his long residence in Southwark, see Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 328, and *Times Lit. Suppl.*, 15 November, 1928.

[130] See Hotson, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[131] I first found this record in Collier's Bodleian MS and then checked it from the registers at St. Clement Danes.

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1621	24	Dec.	(Buried) Margaret daughter of Charles Mercy Playeʳ
1625	20	July	(Buried) John sonne of Charles Mercy gent
1625	3	Aug.	(Buried) Charles Mercy gẽt

He seems to have been connected with the Admiral's-Henry's-Palsgrave's company throughout his career. His first appearance with them is in the cast of *Frederick and Basilea* in 1597,[132] and his last as one of the five members to sign the bond with Richard Gunnell in April 1624.[133] He must have had some sort of theatrical experience before 1597, for he appears as a shareholder in March 1597/8.[134] He was a friend of Edward Alleyn[135] and a shareholder in the Fortune.[136] An interesting letter which he wrote to Edward Alleyn in 1613 (?) is an important source for information concerning the practices of the dramatic companies. An entry in Alleyn's Diary 19 November 1621[137] appears to indicate that he had written a play. It is unknown.

Edward Minshaw

1647	30	June	(Christened) Jane Daughtʳ of Edw Minshaw gentl
1649	5	Aug.	(Christened) John sonne of Edw. Minshaw gentleman
1650	14	Sep.	(Buried) John sonne of Edw. Minshaw player
1651	6	Apr.	(Christened) Willi sonne of Edw: Minshaw gentle
1652	26	Aug.	(Buried) Edw. sonne of Edw Minshaw musitian

I know of no reference to him before the outbreak of the wars. He must have been on the stage before the closing of the theatres, but the proof of it is still lacking. Again there is the coupling of player and musician.

Anthony Munday

1585	17	Oct.	(Christened) Roase, the Daughtʳ of Anthony Monday gent
1585/6	19	Jan.	(Buried) Rose the Daughter of Anthony Monday gent.
1586/7	9	Jan.	(Christened) Prycilla the Daughter of Anthony Munday gent

[132] Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 150.
[133] Hotson, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
[134] Henslowe's *Diary*, ed. Greg, I, 84.
[135] Warner, *op. cit.*, pp. 189, 192.
[136] *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, pp. 28–30 and 112.
[137] Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

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1587/8	27	Jan.	(Christened) Richard, the sonne of Anthony Munday, gent
1589	5	Sep.	(Christened) Anne the Daught[r] of Anthony Munday, gent.
1621	7	Oct.	(Buried) Elizabeth wife of Anthony Mondaye gentleman

The first five items are not new, though I do not know that they have been quoted before. I should think that the 1621 entry referred to the player-dramatist as well, but this must be left to those who know more of Munday than I do.

WILLIAM NEWTON

1625	3	Aug.	(Buried) William Newton Player

There are no records of a player of this name. A John Newton appears several times as a Prince Henry's-Palsgrave's man.[138] His last appearance is in the cloak allowance of 27 March 1625.[139] This burial of William four months later makes the obvious conjecture tempting. I hoped to get light from his will, but it was not to be found.

ROGER NORE

1640	18	Oct.	(Christened) Roger sonne of Roger Nore, Player
1640	7	Nov.	(Buried) Roger sonne of Roger Nore Player
1642	10	Oct.	(Buried) Eliz: dau of Roger Noer playe[r]
1648	18	Oct.	(Buried) John: sonne of Roger Noare player
1648	31	Oct.	(Buried) Amellicoe: (Ancellicoe?) Dau: of Roger Noare play
1648/9	19	Mar.	(Buried) Roger Noare player
1649	27	Sep.	(Christened) John: sonne: of: Roger Noar gentleman Deceased

On 25 April 1640 a Roger Nore is found in a list of the "hired men of the Princes players."[140] Mrs. Stopes has copied the name as More, but an examination of the Lord Chamberlain's papers leaves no doubt that it is Nore. The name is so odd that until I had found it for the second time at St. Giles I thought myself it must be a careless spelling of More. I am still curious about it and have looked for Nore and Noar and Noer and Noor in Bardsley's

[138] Patent 1610, Agreement with Alleyn and Meade 1615/16, summoned before Privy Council 1616, Palsgrave's letter to Alleyn 1616(?) *Inner Temple Mask* 1618/19, Cloak order 1625.

[139] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 237.

[140] Mrs. Stopes in *Shakespeare Jahrb.*, XLVI, (1910). (L. C. 5/134, p. 394).

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English and Welsh Surnames and in various directories and year books, but I have failed to find it anyplace. Surely there must be other occurrences of the name some place.

THOMAS ORTON

1641/2 17 Mar. (Christened) Mary dau: of Tho: Orton Player
1642/3 5 Jan. (Buried) Tho: sonne of Robert Horton Gentle from the house of Suzan Grey widd in the Playhouse Yard in Goldinglane

No player of this name is otherwise known. It would be difficult to prove the relationship of the second entry to the first, however little an H more or less meant to Caroline parish clerks. Still, the note is interesting, and this is as good a place for it as any.

WILLIAM PENN

1635/6 6 Jan. (Christened) John sonne of William Penn Player
1636 18 Oct. (Buried) Wm: son: of Wm: Penn Playe^{r}:
1636 2 Nov. (Buried) Anne daug^{r}: of William Pen Playe^{r}

Penn first appears in the company of the Queen's Revels in 1609, when he had a part in *Epicene*.[141] Sometime between 1609 and 1616 he became attached to the Henslowe-Alleyn interests.[142] In 1616 he was living in St. Leonard's, Shoreditch; in 1617 and 1619 in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldgate,[143] but by 1623 he had moved to George Alley, Golding Lane, in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate.[144] Before November 1628 he had joined the King's men, for in that year he appeared in *The Lovers' Melancholy*.[145] His last appearance as a King's man is in the Players' Pass in May 1636.[146] For a discussion of his parts, assigned and conjectured, see Mr. Baldwin's book, pp. 187–8.

RICHARD PRICE

1620 24 Apr. (Christened) Richard sonne of Richard Price Gentleman
1620 24 Apr. (Buried) Richard sonne of Richard Price, Gentleman
1621 23 Nov. (Christened) Richard, sonne of Richard Price, gentleman

[141] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 358.
[142] Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 245.
[143] Miss Denkinger in *PMLA*, XLI, 104.
[144] Wallace in *Shakes. Jahrb.*, XLVI, (1910).
[145] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 172.
[146] Mrs. Stopes in *Shakes. Jahrb.*, XLVI, (1910). (L. C. 5/134, p. 124.)

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1624	15	May	(Buried) Mary daughter of Richard Price, yeomã
1625	19	Apr.	(Buried) Henry son of Richard Price, gentleman
1625	12	July	(Christened) Morgan sonne of Richard Price, Player
1625	16	July	(Buried) Morgan sonne of Rich: Price Player
1625	23	Aug.	(Buried) Martin Swayne s[r] to Richard Price, gent
1627	25	Apr.	(Christened) Mary dau of Richard Price, Player
1627	23	July	(Buried) Richard Price Player
1628	16	Apr.	(Buried) Richard and Mary son and Dau: of Rich: Price Player deceased

Price was another of the Admiral's-Henry's-Palsgrave's company. He first appears in the dubious MS. notes to Dekker's *Shoemakers' Holiday* (1600),[147] but he was certainly a member by 1610, when he appears in the Book of the Household Establishment of Prince Henry.[148] He appears as a member of this company in other documents of 1613, 1618, 1620, 1622 and 1624.

In the Middlesex Gaol Delivery Rolls,[149] under the date of 4 December 1622 is a True bill against "Richard Price late of Golding Lane" and his wife Mary for counterfeiting eight Queen Elizabeth shillings. They were acquitted, but Richard was required to find surety for his good behaviour. Now the player lived in Whitecross Street, which runs parallel to Golding Lane in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in 1623.[150] Does the "late of Golding Lane" indicate a removal of the player to Whitecross Street, or does it prove the existence of two men of the name in St. Giles, Cripplegate? I am inclined to think the latter, though I am not yet prepared to be very positive about it.

Arnold Pynckney

1609	23	Nov.	(Buried) Arnold Pynckney Drummer

I have no other records of a name anything like this one. Was he just a musician, or was he associated with the stage like Francis Hitchins?

Timothy Reade

1644/5	7	Mar.	(Buried) Edward sonne of Timothy Read
1646	28	July	(Buried) Pennella da: of Tymothy Read player

[147] *Shakes. Soc. Papers*, IV, 110.

[148] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 209.

[149] Jeaffreson, *Middlesex County Records*, II, 170.

[150] Wallace, *Shakes. Jahrb.*, XLVI, (1910).

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He first appears in Queen Henrietta's cast for Shirley's *Wedding*, 1626, when he was probably a boy.[151] By 1634 he was connected with the King's Revels,[152] but he seems later to have become a King's man. *The Stage-Players Complaint* of 1641 is between Cane of the Fortune and Reed of the Friers. Another record of 1647[153] which tells of his participation in a play belonging to the King's men leaves the same implication. Mr. Baldwin[154] says he was never a King's man, but it seems to me that his grounds for rejecting the obvious meaning of the Complaint are rather flimsy.

JOHN ROADS

1635/6 22 Feb. (Buried) John Roads musitian

Far be it from me to intrude into the vexed discussion of the identity of John Rhodes, the Restoration manager and alledged bookkeeper of the King's company under Charles I. But may I suggest that the above *could be* the John Roads, who with twenty others appears as "imployed by the Kinges Maiesties servantes in theire quallitie of Playinge as Musitions and other necessary attendantes" in Sir Henry Herbert's *Office Book* 27 December 1624?[155]

JOHN ROBINSON

1641 27 Apr. (Buried) John Robinson Player[156]

He was a member of the King's Revels company, and as such appears in Crosfield's Diary,[157] the Norwich list[158] and the cast for *Messalina*.[159] Mr. Hotson suggests that he may have been the John Robinson who married Richard Gunnell's widow.[160]

SAMUEL ROWLEY

1620 23 Nov. (Buried) Samuel Rowley Merchantaylor buryed at Christes Church.

I think this entry has not been known before. Herbert's licensing of his plays for the Palsgrave's in 1623 and 1624[161]—particularly since one is called "a new Comedy"—make it seem unlikely that this is the dramatist, but so little is known of him after 1613

[151] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 266.
[152] *Ibid*, I, 277 and *Fortnightly Review*. CXVII, (1925).
[153] Hotson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
[154] *Op. cit.*, pp. 65 and 66.
[155] Adams, *Dram. Records*, p. 74.
[156] Published Collier, *Mem. Act.*, p. 272.
[157] *Fortnightly Review*, CXVII, 519.
[158] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 279.
[159] *Ibid*, I, 281.
[160] *Op. cit.*, p. 52.
[161] Adams, *Dram. Records*, pp. 24–7.

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that one cannot feel certain. No Samuel Rowley is to be found in Clode's *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors* or his *Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*. I can recall no other burial entry at St. Giles which records a burial in another parish. It is rather puzzling. I suppose the church referred to is the one in the City on Newgate street, about eight minutes walk to the south and west of St. Giles church.

WILLIAM ROWLEY

1637 27 Nov. (Married) William Rowley and Isabell Tooley[162]

This is an interesting association of players' names, whoever the possessors were. Mr. Baldwin thinks[163] that William Rowley took Nicholas Tooley's place with the King's men at the latter's death in 1623. Tooley was buried at St. Giles (see below), but his will does not mention an Isabell Tooley. Collier[164] assumes that this entry refers to the actor-dramatist. Chambers[165] thinks it does not. The weight of authority appears to be against it, and I am not competent to enter the discussion.

GEORGE SCARLETT

1605 1 Sep. (Christened) Richard sonne of George Scarlett, Playe[r]

This is the only record of a George Scarlett, player. Collier's MS at the Bodleian has copied this entry as son of John Scarlett, instead of George, and the first entry under Richard Scarlett has been "misread" the same way, thus raising another "ghost name." Chambers,[166] following Collier, has perpetuated the mistake. I am tempted to think that this George Scarlett is a parish clerk's mistake for Richard; that this child is the one who was buried on the 19th; and that George Scarlett is another "ghost name." But perhaps my presumption is nearly as great as Collier's.

RICHARD SCARLETT

1605 19 Sep. (Buried) Richard sonne of Richard Scarlett, Player
1606/7 11 Feb. (Christened) Susan daughter of Richard Scarlett, player[167]
1606/7 12 Feb. (Buried) Marie wife of Richard Scarlett, Player[167]

[162] Published by Collier, *Mem. Act.*, p. 223.
[163] *Op. cit.*, p. 58.
[164] *Mem. Act.*, p. 233.
[165] *Op. cit.*, III, 473.
[166] *Ibid.*, II, 337.
[167] Mentioned but not quoted in Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 337.

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1609 23 Apr. (Buried) Richard Scarlet, player[167]
1616 27 Nov. (Christened) Henry sonne of Rober (sic) Wilson Taylor from Mr[s] Scarletts in Goldinglane

He is another unknown. The last entry may refer to his widow.

EDWARD SHAKESPEARE

1607 12 Aug. (Buried) Edward sonne of Edward Shackspeere, Player, base-borne

This entry has been quoted and discussed before.[168] There is nothing to indicate that Edward Shakespeare was a resident of the parish. Edmond Shakespeare was buried at St. Saviour's 13 December of the same year.

JOHN SHANBROOKE

1610 10 June (Christened) William, sonne of John Shanbrooke, Player[169]
1612 26 July (Christened) Rachell, Dau. of John Shanbrooke, Plaier
1618 4 June (Buried) Elizabeth daughter to John Shambrooke, gent
1618 17 Sep. (Buried) John Shambrooke, Player[169]

Shanbrooke is another player known only through the parish registers. I thought that the Sara Dambrooke buried from the house of John Shank in 1624 might be his widow, but her will uses the same spelling as her burial entry and tells nothing of her husband.

JOHN SHANK

1610 31 Dec. (Buried) A sonne John Shanckes Player (sic)
1611/12 10 Feb. (Christened) Elizabeth Daughter of John Shanck, Plaier
1614/15 22 Mar. (Buried) A dau. of John Shancke, Gentleman
1615/16 16 Mar. (Christened) John Sonne of John Shanck yoman
1617 7 Oct. (Buried) Robert sonne of Robert Petchey from John Shanck in Golding Lane
1618 16 Oct. (Buried) Susan Rodes svant to John Shanckes, player
1619 1 Aug. (Christened) James sonne of John Shancks, gentleman
1620/21 2 Feb. (Christened) John Sonne of John Shanks, Chandler

[168] Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 338, Collier, *Mem. Act.*, xiv.
[169] Mentioned in Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 338.

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1621	18	Nov.	(Christened) Thomas sonne of John Shancks Gentleman
1621	1	Dec.	(Buried) Thomas sonne of John Shanck Gentleman
1622	1	June	(Buried) Grace wife of Blacknall of Oxford from the howse of John Shancks
1623	3	Aug.	(Christened) Wynefred d. of John Shancks, playe[r]
1624	11	Sep.	(Buried) Mrs. Sara Dambroake widow from the house of John Shanck, gentleman
1624	12	Nov.	(Buried) Maryan Porter, widow from y[e] house of John Shanck gentleman
1625	27	July	(Buried) Anne dau of John Shanke Cutler
1626	14	May	(Christened) Wynefred Da: of John Shankes, player
1628	11	May	(Christened) William sonn of John Shanks grocer
1629	16	June	(Buried) Wynefred Dau: of John Shanck Player
1630/31	26	Jan.	(Married) John Shankes And Eliz Martin
1635/6	27	Jan.	(Buried) John Shanke, Player[170]

Shank said in 1635 that his career began with Pembroke's and Queen Elizabeth's companies,[171] but our first record of him is as a Prince Henry's-Palsgrave's man in the Household list of 1610,[172] and he is still a member of this company at the time of the patent of January 1612/13.[173] He is known chiefly as a King's man, with which company he is first mentioned in the patent of March 1619. He was still an active member in this organization in 1635.[174] He seems to have been the clown of the company,[175] and it is probably in this capacity that he wrote *Shank's Ordinary*, which was licensed by Sir Henry Herbert 16 March 1623/4.[176] He was an important shareholder in the company and must have been a man of some means.[177] Another John Shank was sworn player to the Prince in 1640.[178]

It is not easy to disentangle the King's player from among these entries at St. Giles. We are helped some by his will (unfortunately too long to print now) of 30 December 1635, in which he styles himself "John Shanks one of his Mats servants the Play-

[170] Collier, *Mem. Act.*, has listed about half of these entries, generally inexactly.
[171] Halliwell-Phillipp's *Outlines*, I, 314.
[172] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 209.
[173] *Ibid*, p. 211.
[174] Halliwell Phillipp's *Outlines*, I, 312;Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 277.
[175] Collier, *Mem. Act.*, p. 275; Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 339; Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 188.
[176] Adams, *Dram. Records*, p. 27.
[177] Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 338.
[178] Stopes, *Shakes. Jahrb.* XLVI, (1910). (L.C. 5/134, p. 426).

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ers, and Cittizen and weaver of London." It mentions his wife Winifred, his sons John and James, and his daughter Elizabeth Bowen. This is enough to eliminate the chandler, the cutler, and the grocer, though one may be his son, who seems to have been grown in 1635. It also eliminates the marriage with Elizabeth Martin in 1630, as the player had a daughter Wynefred in 1623, apparently named after the woman who was still his wife in 1635. But which refer to the other player John Shanks and which to other men of the same name? Sara Dambrooke's will is signed by John and Winifred Shanks, which indicates that the King's player was called gentleman in 1624. Is it always the player who is referred to as gentleman, and if so why are all these people buried from his house? I must leave the riddle for the present.

RICHARD SHARP

1631 6 Sep. (Christened) Richard sonne of the reputed father Richard Sharpe Player base born of the body of Margaret Smith singlewoman in the house of Wm Jones Taylor three herring Courte

1631 17 Sep. (Buried) Richard sonne of Richard Sharpe Player

Richard Sharpe appears in the King's men's cast of *The Loyal Subject* in 1618[179] and is found in nearly all the plays of the King's company from then until 1630. His parts indicate that he was a rather important actor in the company.[180]

It will be noticed that the above does not prove that he was a resident of St. Giles. He is said to have been buried at St. Anne Blackfriars in January 1632.[181]

WILLIAM SLY

1606 24 Sep. (Christened) John, son of Wyllm Sly (player) baseborn of the body of Margaret Chambers[182]

1606 4 Oct. (Buried) John sonne of Wm Sly player (base)[183]

I can add nothing to the notes on him given by Chambers.[182] He was a player at least as early as 1590–1 and a member of Shakespeare's company, presumably from 1598 until his death in 1608. Baldwin discusses his parts.[184]

[179] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 172.

[180] For a discussion of his roles see Baldwin, *op. cit.*, 184–5 and 219–21.

[181] *Londinium Redivivium*, II, 376. But this book is so inaccuarte about parish registers that its entries do not mean a great deal until checked.

[182] Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 340.

[183] Both parenthetical items appear thus in the registers themselves.

[184] *Op. cit.*, pp. 251–3.

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ANTHONY SMITH

1627 29 Apr. (Christened) Anthony son of Anthony Smith gent

An Anthony Smith appears in four casts of the King's company 1626–29,[185] but he had been a member of Prince Charles I's company in 1616.[186] There is a bare chance that he may be the "gent" above.

MATTHEW SMITH

1639 28 Sep. (Buried) Joyce wife of Mathew Smith Player
1640 9 July (Christened) John sonne of George Jolly Player in y^e^ house of Mathew Smith Player in Whitcrostrt
1641 6 July (Christened) Judith daugh^r^: of Mathew Smith, Player

He first appears as a player in the cast of *Holland's Leaguer*, which in January 1631/2 is described as "lately and often" acted by the Prince's men.[187] He is again mentioned as a Prince's man in 1631,[188] 1632,[189] 1634[190] and probably as a Prince's man in 1637/8.[191] The second item gives a faint hint that George Jolly may have been his apprentice in this company.[192]

WILLIAM STRATFORD

1619/20 22 Mar. (Christened) Mary daughter of William Stratford yoeman
1622/23 8 Jan. (Buried) Mary, daughter of William Stratford, player
1622/3 16 Mar. (Christened) Judith daughter of William Stratford, Player
1625 27 Aug. (Buried) William Stratford Player[193]

He appears in various records as a member of the Prince Henry's-Palsgrave's company from 1610–1624. According to Gervase Markham, to whose journey to Berwick he had subscribed, he

[185] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 172.

[186] Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 245; Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 234.

[187] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 218.

[188] Warrant of this date shown at Norwich in 1637/8; Murray, *op. cit.*, II, 358 and 372.

[189] Warrant to swear servants to Prince Charles; Stopes, *Shakes. Jahrb.* XLVI (1910). (L.C. 5/132, p. 297).

[190] Crosfield's Diary, Boas in *Fortnightly Review*, CXVII (1925).

[191] 1631 warrant of unnamed company shown at Norwich; Murray, *op. cit.*, II, 358.

[192] See Baldwin, *op. cit.*, Chap. I.

[193] Mentioned *Londinium Redivivium*, II, 304.

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lived at the upper end of Whitecross street in 1623.[194] By 1624 he seems to have become one of the chief members of the Palsgrave's.[195] The plague of 1625 must have been a great blow to the players at the Fortune.

JOHN SUMNER

1649 10 Aug (Buried) John Sumner gentleman

An actor of this name was a prominent member of Queen Henrietta's company from 1626[196] until the company was broken in 1636 or 1637,[197] when he went to the Salisbury Court. Wright's note that after the wars "Perkins and Sumner of the Cockpit kept house together at Clerkenwell and were there buried"[198] indicates that this may be the actor, as Clerkenwell was on the northwest edge of St. Giles. However, I should like to have more evidence.

THOMAS TAYLOR

1624/5 10 Jan. (Buried) Sonne of Thomas Taylor Player
1625 4 Aug. (Buried) Thomas Taylor gent.
1625 21 Aug. (Buried) Roger sonne of Thomas Taylor Player[199]

He is unknown except for these records. It is possible that he is the "stageTaylor" of the Cockpit company's *Captives* in 1624.[200]

JOHN THOMPSON

1632 16 July (Christened) Anne dau: of John Thomson, Player in the house of Henry Hore, Carpenter in W^tcrss street
1632 1 Oct. (Buried) Lettice dau: of John Thomson player
1634 13 Dec. (Buried) John Thomson Player[201]

Thompson appears in a number of King's plays from 1619 to 1629,[202] where his casting in women's parts indicates his youth. Since he does not appear in the casts of the King's plays of 1631, it appears that he had joined another company, as he surely would not have deserted the stage so early. His connection with the carpenter is another matter for speculation. If it indicates an illegitimate child, the restraint of the parish clerk is heroic, not to say phenomenal.

[194] Wallace, *Shakes. Jahrb.* XLVI (1910).
[195] Hotson, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
[196] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 266.
[197] *Variorum*, III, 240.
[198] *Dodsley*, XV, 411.
[199] Published *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLIV.
[200] See Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 259.
[201] This disproves Mr. Baldwin's contention, *op. cit.*, p. 60, that his disappearance from the King's casts after 1629 was due to his death from the plague in 1630.
[202] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 172.

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NICHOLAS TOOLEY

1623 5 June (Buried) Nicholas Tooley Gentleman from the house of Cuthbert Burbidge gentleman

This item is well known[203] and is included here merely for the sake of completeness. From his will[204] in which there are legacies to the poor of St. Giles, it would appear that Tooley resided at some time in the parish. As he seems to have been a bachelor, it is not surprising that this is his only mention in the registers. Cuthbert Burbadge lived in the adjoining parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch.

WILLIAM VINCENT

1630 1 June (Buried) Eliz: Thorpe sut to Willm Vincent Jugler
1631 26 June (Christened) Margaret dau. of Wm Vincent Tumbler
1632 12 May (Buried) Margaret dau: of Wm Vincent Jugler
1632 24 May (Buried) James sonne of Wm Vincent Jugler

Another entertainer who had probably used the stages of the Red Bull and the Fortune.

JOHN WEBSTER

1593 22 July (Buried) Sara daughr of John Webster mynstrell

He may be the same as the actor who was in Germany in 1596.[205] It seems most unlikely that either of them should be identified with the dramatist.

THOMAS WHETSTONE

1630/31 9 Jan. (Christened) Roger sonne of Thomas Whetstone, Player[206]

I know of no other record of a player of this name.

GEORGE WILLIAMS

1630 30 May (Christened) Eliz Dau. of George Williams, Player

He is named in a licence granted to William Perry, Richard Weekes, and the players of the Red Bull in November 1629, and was with the company when they presented this licence at Reading later in the same month.[207] In March 1634/5 he was at Nor-

[203] See Collier, *Mem. Act.*, p. 238.
[204] *Ibid.*
[205] See Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 348.
[206] Published *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLIV, 372.
[207] Murray, *op. cit.*, II, 386.

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wich with a company which seems to be the King's Revels.[208] These are the only known references to him.

ROBERT WILSON

1600 20 Nov. (Buried) Robert Wylson, yoman (a player)[209]

It may be that he was Robert Wilson, the Leicester's and Queen's man and the dramatist.[210] It is unusual for the parish clerk to call a man both yoeman and player in this way. It certainly did not mean that he used the terms synonymously, and if this is the Queen's man it cannot mean that he was new to his quality of player.

WILLIAM WOOD

1623 14 Dec. (Buried) Alice daughter of William Wood Player
1624 18 Sep. (Buried) William sonne of William Wood yeomã
1624/5 25 Mar. (Christened) John sonne of William Wood yoeman

In August 1623 "William Wood a player of the Revells" was paid 2/6 by the clerk of Coventry.[211] The Revel's company is last mentioned in London 10 May 1623, [212] and it may be that after their break-up Wood went to the provinces with the remnants. He was living in Houndsditch in 1615.[213] So far as I know, he occurs in no other records. It is not impossible that two entries refer to another man.

ELLIS WORTH

1613 19 July (Christened) Jane daughter of Ellys Worthe gentlman[214]
1628/9 10 Mar. (Christened) Elizeus son of Ellis Worth Player[214]
1629/30 15 Mar. (Buried) Elizabeth Commens ste to Ellis Worth gentle

He was a member of Queen Anne's as early as 1615[215] and remained with this company until its dissolution. He then became a leader of the new Revel's company,[216] but in 1631/2 he appears

[208] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 279; *Fortnightly Review*, CXVII, 314–24.

[209] Published Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 350. The parenthetical note occurs in the registers.

[210] The identity and number of Robert Wilson's is somewhat involved; see the discussion by Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 349, 350.

[211] Murray, *op. cit.*, II, 249.

[212] Adams, *Dram. Records*, p. 23.

[213] *PMLA*, XLI, 107.

[214] Mentioned Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 350.

[215] *Ibid*, p. 237.

[216] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 192; Adams, *Dram. Records*, p. 63.

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as a Prince's man.[217] The last record of him is as payee of a company at Norwich in February 1637/8.[218]

He seems to have married the wife of Thomas Holcombe, the King's man (see above), in 1626,[219] when he gave his parish as St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. Perhaps the above indicates that Holcombe left property enough to make St. Giles a more desirable residence for the couple.

G. E. Bentley

London, England

[217] Murray, *op. cit.*, I, 218.
[218] *Ibid.*, II, 358.
[219] *Harleian Soc. Pub.*, XXVI, 160.

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XXXIV

NEW ALLUSIONS TO *A GAME AT CHESSE*

IT IS well known that the performance in August, 1624 of Thomas Middleton's allegorical play *A Game at Chesse*, dealing with the Spanish marriage, caused a furore in London theatrical circles, and that the king (then on a progress), learning of it through the Spanish ambassador, ordered its suppression. No attempt, however, has been made to collect the references which this public satire would naturally occasion in the news-letters and private correspondence of the day. Of the allusions given below from these sources, five (nos. 1, 5, 8, 13, 14) have not been noticed before by students of the drama and two (nos. 3, 7), although previously known, are given accurately for the first time. Nos. 2, 6, 9–12, although they have already been correctly printed, are here summarized (within brackets) for the convenience of the reader and included in the series, in proper chronological sequence.

1. George Lowe to Sir Arthur Ingram at York, in a letter dated at London, 7 August, 1624.[1]

There is a new play called the Game at [Chestes] acted today and yesterday, which describes Gondomar and all the Spanish proceedings very boldly and broadly, so that it is thought it will be called in and the parties punished.

2. [Sir Edward Conway, Secretary of State, to the Privy Council Letter dated at "Rufford August. 12. 1624."[2]

The king, receiving information from the Spanish ambassador "of a very scandalous Comedie acted publickly by the Kings Players, Wherein they take the boldnes, and p^rsumption in a rudê, and dishonorable fashion to represent on the Stage the persons of his Ma^tie., the Kinge of Spaine, the Conde de Gondomar, the Bishop of Spalato &c.," and remembering there was a "restraint giuen against the rep^rsentinge of anie

[1] Among the MSS. of the Hon. Frederick Lindley Wood, preserved at Temple Newsam, Leeds. *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, VIII (London, 1913), 27.

[2] State Papers, Domestic Series, James I, vol. CLXXI, 39. Printed in George Chalmers, *An Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers* (London, 1797), 497 note; J. P. Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry* (London, 1831), I, 449 note, 2d ed. (London, 1879), I, 428 note; Alexander Dyce, *Works of Thomas Middleton* (London, 1840), I, xxviii; A. H. Bullen, *Works of Thomas Middleton* (London, 1885), I, lxxviii. The quotations in this, and the following summaries are from the original documents.

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moderne Christian Kings in those Stage playes," commands "that yor LLps. prsently call before you, as well the Poett, that made the comedie, as the Comedians that acted it," that the "most faultie" be committed to prison or security taken for their future appearance, and "then certefie his Matie what you find that Comodie to bee, in what points it is most offensiue, by whom it was made, by whom Lycenced, and what course you thinke fittest to bee held for the exemplarie, and severe punishment of the prsent offenders"].

3. Sir Francis Nethersole to Sir Dudley Carleton, English Ambassador in Holland, in a letter dated at "London this 14th Aug: 1624."[3]

Yet we haue now these ten dayes a new play here, the plot whereof js a game of Chesse, vnder wch the whole Spanish busines js ripped vp to the quicke, and Gondomar brought on ye Stage in his chayre, wch fitteth skorners so well that the players haue gotten 100l the day euer since, for they play no thing els, knowing there time cannot be long.

4. [Notice of a warrant in the Privy Council Register, 18 August, 1624.[4]

A warrant directed to Ralphe Robinson one of the Messengers of his ma:tes Chamber to bring [*blank*] Middleton before theire LLo:pps to answer &c].

5. Sir Francis Nethersole to Sir Dudley Carleton, English Ambassador in Holland, in a letter dated at "Essex house [London] this 19th Aug. 1624."[5]

The Players were yesterday called before some of the LL. of ye Counsell who met here for that purpose, by whom they are forbjdden to play any more at all till they may be licensed agayne by his Matv, and must appeare agayne at his returne from his Progresse, for wch they haue putt in bondes.

[3] S. P. Dom., CLXXI, 49. Abstract in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of James I*, XI (London, 1859), 327. For "the players haue gotten 100l the day," the abstract gives the erroneous paraphrase "the players gain 100l. a night," which is quoted by E. C. Morris in "The Allegory in Middleton's *A Game at Chesse*," *Engl. Stud.*, XXXVIII (1907), 45 note 2, and John Tucker Murray, *English Dramatic Companies, 1558–1642* (London, 1910), I, 159 note 4. This letter is also noted by Sir E. K. Chambers in "Dramatic Records from the Privy Council Registers, 1603–1642," in the Malone Society's *Collections*, IV and V (Oxford, 1911), 379.

[4] Privy Council Register, James I, VI, 424. First noted by T. Hornby in *The Shakespeare Society's Papers*, II (London, 1845), 106. Printed in Chambers, *op. cit.*, 380.

[5] S. P. Dom., CLXXI, 60.

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6. [The Lords of the Privy Council to Sir Edward Conway, Secretary of State. Letter dated at "Whitehall the 21th of August 1624."[6]

In accordance with the instructions in Conway's letter of 12 August, "some of the principall Actors" were called before the Council and were asked by what authority they had acted the play, "in answer wherevnto they produced a booke being an orriginall and pfect coppie thereof (as they affirmed) seene and allowed by Sr Henry Herbert knight Mr of the Reuells, vnder his owne hand, and subscribed in the last Page of the said booke." They also affirmed that in acting "they added or varied from the same nothing at all." "The Poett," "one Midleton," did not attend the meeting with the rest and a warrant was issued for his apprehension. Reproving those who were there, the Council gave them "strict charge and cõmannd, that they presume not to Act the said Cõmedie any more nor that they suffer any other Play or Enterlude what soeuer to be Acted by them, or any of their Company vntill his Mats. pleasure be further knowne," and bonds were taken for their attendance "whensoeuer they shalbe called." As for the offensive parts in the play, the Council deemed it best "for his Mats clearer informacõn to send herewthall the booke it self subscribed as aforesaid by the Mr of the Reuells, that so either yor self or some other whom his Matie shall appoint to pervse the same, may see the passages themselues out of the orriginall and call Sr Henry Herbert before yoᵘ to know a reason of his Lycenceing thereof, who (as we are giuen to vnderstand) is now attending at Court"].

7. John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, English Ambassador in Holland, in a letter dated at "London this 21th of August," 1624.[7]

[6] S. P. Dom., CLXXI, 64. This communication is signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Grandison, Arundel, Calvert, and Chichester. Printed in Chalmers, 498 note; Dyce, I, xxx; Collier, I, 450 note, 2d ed., I, 429 note 1. A copy of the letter is also in the P. C. Register, VI, 425, from which source it is printed by Chambers, 380, and Mrs. C. C. Stopes, "Dramatic Records from the Privy Council Register," *Shakes. Jahrb.*, XLVIII (1912), 107. Bullen (I, lxxix) gives readings from both copies. The quotations in the present summary are from the first.

[7] S. P. Dom., CLXXI, 66. Printed, with several inaccurate readings, by Thomas Birch, *The Court and Times of James the First* (London, 1848), II, 470 (cited as B. in list of variants). Reprinted from Birch by Bullen (I, lxxxiv), with the omission of one word in the first sentence. This sentence, in turn, is quoted from Bullen by E. V. Gildersleeve, *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama* (New York, 1908), 122, and Thorndike, *Shakespeare's Theatre* (New York, 1916), 219. E. P. Stratham in *A Jacobean Letter-Writer. The Life and Times of John Chamberlain* (London, *n. d.* [1920?] 224, quotes one sentence, with an erroneous reading, from the original.

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I doubt not but you haue heard of our famous play of Gondomar, w^ch^ hath ben followed w^th^ extraordinarie concourse,[8] and frequented by all sorts of people old and younge, rich and poore, masters and seruants, papists and puritans,[9] wisemen et kt [*etc.*] churchmen and Statesmen[10] as S^r^ Henry Wotton, S^r^ Albert Morton,[11] S^r^ Beniamin Ruddier [*Rudyard*] S^r^ Thomas Lake, and a world besides; the Lady Smith wold haue gon yf she could haue persuaded me to go w^th^ her,[12] I am not so sowre nor seuere[13] but that I wold willingly haue attended her, but I could not sit so long, for we must haue ben there before one a clocke at farthest to find any roome. they counterfeited[14] his person to the Life, w^th^ all his graces and faces, and had gotten (they say) a cast sute of his apparell for the purpose, w^th^ his Lytter,[15] wherin the world sayes lackt[16] nothing but a couple of asses to carrie yt, and S^r^. G. Peter, or S^r^. T. Mathew to beare him companie. but the worst is in playeng[17] him, they played sombody els, for w^ch^ they are forbidden to play that or any other play til the K^s^ pleasur be further knowne;[18] and they may be glad yf they can so scape scot-free: the wonder lasted but nine dayes, for so long they played yt.

8. Amerigo Salvetti, Florentine Ambassador in England, to Signor Picchena, in a letter dated at London, 23 August, 1624.[19]

Da otto giorni in qua, si recita in questa città da questi comedianti publici, quasi ogni giorno una comedia, che loro chiamano il giuoco degli scacche; nella quale rappresentano al vivo tutte le azioni del Conte di Gondemare, durante il tempo che fu qui Ambasciatore, non lasciando nulla adietro, che in loro oppinione gli paia di scuoprire, come dicono suoi machinazioni et falzità con tanto applauso et concorso di questo popolo, che si crede, che ogni volta che l'hanno recitata habbino i comedianti guadagnato da 300 scudi di oro. Vi introducono ancora l'Arcivescovo di Spalatro, et in somma e'una cosa molto satirica, et che da'grandissimo

[8] B. curiosity.

[9] Bullen omits.

[10] B. Scotsmen.

[11] Either Chamberlain is mistaken as to the presence of Morton at the play or Nethersole is misinformed, for the latter wrote in his letter of 14 August, "S^r^ Albertus Morton .... js gone to Court 14 dayes since, but not yet returned." He had still "not yet come backe" when Nethersole wrote on 19 August.

[12] B. thither.

[13] B. so severe.

[14] Stratham reads *counterfeit*.

[15] B. and his letter.

[16] B. there lacked.

[17] B. is, playing.

[18] B. further pleasure be known.

[19] B.M. MS Addit. 27962, vol. C, f. 189^r^ (transcripts of the correspondence of the Florentine ambassadors in England, 1616–1657, preserved in the archives at Florence).

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gusto. Si crede nondimeno che sarà prohibita subito che il Re n'habbia notiza; perché non possono tanto lacerare il Conte di Gondemar nel scuoprire la sua maniera di trattare, che non dipinghino contro lor voglia per huomo di valore, et consequentemente, che non rifletta fiacchezza sopra di quelli che gli davano credenza, et che giornalmente trattavano seco etc.

9. [Sir Edward Conway, Secretary of State, to the Privy Council. Letter dated at "Woodstock August. 27. 1624."[20]

The king is satisfied with the Council's report of 21 August, and commands further that they "examine by whose direccõn, and applicacõn the personnatinge of Gondamar, and others was done. And that beinge found out, that partie, or parties to bee severely punished. His Ma^{tie}. beinge vnwilling for ones sake, and only fault to punish the innocent, or vtterly to ruine the Companie. The discovery on what partie his Ma^{te} Iustice is properly, and duly to fall, and yo^{r} execucõn of it, and the accompt to bee retorned thereof, his Ma^{tie}. leaues to yo^{r} LL^{ps}. wisdomes, and care"].

10. [William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain, to Viscount Mandeville, President of the Privy Council. Letter dated at the "Court at Woodstock this 27th of August 1624."[21]

The Council having forbidden the King's company to act further ("And for their obedience herevnto they weare bound in 300^{li} bondes"), upon the latter's "peticõn delivered heere vnto" the king, "his Ma:^{ty} nowe conceives y^{e} punishment if not satisfactory for that their Insolency, yet such, as since it stopps y^{e} current of their poore livelyhood and maintãnce without much prejudice they cannot longer vndergoe. In cõmiseracõn therefore of those his poore servants, his Ma:^{ty} would have their LL:^{ps} connive at any comõn play lycenced by authority, that they shall act as before; As for this of y^{e} Game at Chesse, that it bee not onely antiquated and sylenced, but y^{e} Players bound as formerly they weare, and in that poynt onely never to Act it agayne; Yet notwithstanding that my LL proceed in their disquisicõn to fynd out y^{e} originall roote of this offence, whether it sprang from y^{e} Poet, Players, or both, and to certefy his Ma:^{ty} accordingly"].

[20] S. P. Dom., CLXXI, 75. Printed in Chalmers, 499 note; Dyce, I, xxxii; Collier, I, 452 note, 2d. ed., I, 430 note 2; Bullen, I, lxxx.

[21] B.M., MS Egerton 2623, f. 28^{r}. Noticed in J. P. Collier's *New Particulars Regarding the Works of Shakespeare* (London, 1836), 49 note. Printed in Dyce, I, xxxii; Collier, *Hist. of English Dramatic Poetry*, 2d ed., I, 431 note 1; Bullen, I, lxxxi; Gildersleeve, 119; Mary Sullivan, *Court Masques of James I* (New York, 1913), 135; *Shakespeare's England* (Oxford, 1916), I, 296, with (facing p. 296) a reproduction of the MS.

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11. [Notice of a warrant in the Privy Council Register, 30 August, 1624.[22]

A warrant directed to Robert Goffe one of the Messengers of his Ma:^{ts} Chamber to bring one Midleton sonne to Midleton the Poet before theire Llo:^{ps} to answer &c].

12. [Notice in the Privy Council Register, 30 August, 1624.[23]

This daie Edw: Middleton of London gent, being formerly sent for by warrant from the Board tendred his Apparaunce, w^{ch} for his Indempnitie is here entred into the Register of Councell Causes nevertheless he is enioyned to attend the Board, till he be discharged by Order from their lo^{pps}].

13. Alvise Valaresso, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Venetian Doge and Senate, in a letter (Italian) dated at London, 30 August, 1624.[24]

In one of the public mercenary theatres here they have recently given several representations under different names of many of the circumstances about the marriage with the Infanta. The work is of no great merit from what they say, but it drew great crowds from curiosity at the subject. The Spaniards are touched from their tricks being discovered, but the king's reputation is affected much more deeply by representing the case with which he was deceived. The Spanish ambassador has made a remonstrance, and it is thought they will at least punish the author.

14. Amerigo Salvetti, Florentine Ambassador in England, to the Secretary at Florence, in a letter dated at London, 30 August, 1624.[25]

La comedia, che rappresentava il Conte di Gondemar e'stata dipoi prohibita da questi Signori consiglieri di stato, per ordine venuto di Corte, dove si crede, che l'Ambasciatore di Spagna si fusse fatto sentire.

From the information contained in these allusions, two points call for brief discussion, namely the acting dates of the play and the emolument of the actors.

[22] P. C. Register, VI, 428. Mentioned by Hornby, *The Shakesp. Soc. Papers*, II, 106. Printed in Bullen, I, lxxxiii; Chambers, 381; Mrs. Stopes, 107.

[23] P. C. Register, VI, 429. Printed in Chambers, 500 note; Collier, I, 451 note, 2d ed., 430 note 1; Dyce, I, xxxv; Hornby, *op. cit.*, 106; Bullen, I, lxxxii; Chambers, 381; Mrs. Stopes, 108.

[24] *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in other Libraries of Northern Italy*, ed. Allen B. Hinds. Vol. XVIII (London, 1912), 425.

[25] B.M., MS Addit. 27962, vol. C, f. 191^{v}.

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For the first, it is well established that the play "was Acted nine days to gether at the Globe on the banks side," according to the title-pages of the London quartos,[26] with which Chamberlain and an anonymous note, to be quoted later, agree. Unfortunately the evidence will not allow us to be entirely certain as to the exact limits of the "run." The two sets of dates that may be deduced from the present references are as follows.

(I) Lowe, writing on 7 August, seems to indicate that the initial performance took place on the preceding day, *i. e.* Friday the 6th. Accordingly the last performance—with the omission of the two Sundays, 8 and 15 August—would have been on Monday the 16th. Although Conway's letter of the 12th containing the order for the play's suppression had to come from Rufford in Nottinghamshire to London, a distance of well over a hundred miles, it would scarcely have required five days for the arrival and execution of the message.

(II) Nethersole, however, on 14 August declares that the play had been running "these ten dayes." Ten days is, of course, one too many; but reduced to nine the play would then have opened on 5 August.[27] In passing, it may be noticed, that if a performance be assumed for Sunday, 8 August, this latter day of opening would give place to Lowe's date—the 6th. But the proclamation against playing on the Sabbath of 7 May, 1603, a reiteration of previous Elizabethan orders, was apparently universally observed at this time and we are hardly warranted in supposing this took place. Of the alternative dates which have been suggested, the second is perhaps to be preferred, according to which the players would have given their first performance on 5 August, omitted the play on Sunday, reached their ninth presentation on Saturday the 14th and been forbidden to act further sometime before the following Monday afternoon.[28]

The well-attested popularity of the King's Players' venture in political satire argues unusual profits and speculation as to the amount received is not lacking. The statement hitherto known is found written" in an old hand" in a copy of the play formerly in the possession of Major Pearson, now in the Dyce collection in the South Kensington Museum, and reads in part: "After nyne dayse wherein I haue heard some of the acters say they tooke fiueteene

[26] I quote from the impression with the engraved title-page. The Leyden edition reads: "A/Game at Chesse/as/It hath bine sundry times Acted/at/The Globe on the Banck side/."

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hundred Pounde the spanish faction being preualent gott it supprest."[29] This amount has almost universally been conceded as fabulous, and was explained away by Malone as an error for £150. It is therefore instructive to compare the contemporary estimates as given by Nethersole and Salvetti. According to them the receipts amounted, respectively, to £100 and "300 scudi di oro" for each performance. If the latter has reference to English currency, the gold crown may be equated with five shillings and thus make a sum £25 less than Nethersole's or £ 75. The total for the nine days would then be £900 (Nethersole) or £675 (Salvetti).

These figures, while disposing of the reputed "fiueteene hundred Pounde," are themselves only popular estimates founded on the large size of the audiences and perhaps the extra prices charged. It is interesting, however to observe that to the contemporary imagination such a profit appeared possible. · That the earnings were phenomenal there can be no doubt; but how much these sums should be reduced to approximate the actual amount must remain a question.[30]

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[27] As Nethersole was writing sometime before the evening of the 14th (he says earlier "Mons Phiat [*d'Effiat*] returneth not hither from Court till this night"), it might be argued that the play could have been stopped that afternoon after the letter was penned, and so give the dates 4–7, 9–13 August. However, Conway's letter may have been delayed beyond the afternoon of the 14th by the difficulty of finding one of the lords of the Privy Council, who were generally absent from the city during a progress. Also we should expect Lowe, although he may have mistaken the opening by a day, to have known if the play had begun this early.

[28] Fleay's suggestion (*A Chronicle History of the London Stage* [London, 1890], 266) that the play opened "c. 3rd August" has nothing to recommend it.

[29] Printed in Edward Capell, *The School of Shakespeare* (London, 1783), 31; Edmund Malone [ed. James Boswell], *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare* (London, 1821), III, 176 note 3; Dyce, I, xxxv; Bullen, I, lxxxiii.

[30] Since the materials for this paper were collected, Miss E. M. Albright in her *Dramatic Publication in England, 1580–1640* (New York, 1927) has referred to, but not quoted nos. 8 and 13 (p. 166 note 180, 182), besides adding (p. 168) a later allusion by the Venetian ambassador, Alvise Valaresso, in a letter to the doge dated 6 Sept., 1624 (*S. P. Venetian*, XVIII, p. 432), as follows: "The comedians who presented what I reported [see no. 13], have been condemned not to perform until further order. The Council pronounced this sentence, the king having referred the case to them. He willingly refers such cases to them, in order to give them some employment and rid himself of the odium of such decisions."

It may be noted that the quotation from Chamberlain's letter (no. 7) given in this volume (p. 165), includes by inadvertance part of a paraphrase by the author and not the text from which the quotation is made.

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XXXV

LOOK ABOUT YOU AND *THE DISGUISES*

FLEAY'S suggestion that *Look About You*,[1] acted by the Admiral's Men at the Rose, was written in 1599, April 17—May 26, must be rejected.[2] He advances but two plausible arguments: (1) the title-page (1600) states that the play was "lately" acted; (2) Wadeson's comedy of *The Honourable Life of the Humorous Earl of Gloucester* (1601)—possibly but not necessarily a sequel to *Look About You*—would seem to indicate a date of 1599 or 1600 for the latter play. But "lately acted" on a title-page means little; and even if in this case it was correctly used, it may indicate only a revival of the play. Fleay's opinion must be discounted on much weightier evidence.

That *Look About You* was written before 1598 seems to be beyond serious doubt. Ronald Bayne thought so when he wrote: "chronologically . . . . our play would seem to come between *John a Kent* [1594][3] and *The Downfall* [1598]. We are in exactly the same atmosphere of mixed history and folklore."[4] But we have stronger evidence than a mere similarity of atmosphere. There is indeed an obvious relationship between *Look About You* and the Robin Hood plays[5] of 1598. Each of the three plays has these characters, (King) John, Queen Elinor, and Robin Hood. If we assume, as I think we may, that the dramatist's conception of character is progressive rather than retrogressive, and then compare the Robin Hood of *Look About You* with the Robin Hood of the 1598 plays, we are obliged to conclude that the former is the earlier play. In *Look About You*, Robin Hood is identified with the Earl of Huntington, an identification new on the stage and repeated in the plays of

[1] It should be understood that I regard *Look About You* as a Chettle play. It was first attributed to Chettle by H. Dugdale Sykes; see *Notes & Queries*, 12 S, XII, April 28, 1923.

[2] Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, II, 267. See also Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 204. In another place (I, 125) Fleay likewise suggests that *Bear a Brain*, 1599, was another title for *Look About You*. See Greg, *Diary*, II, 204.

[3] Schelling (*Elizabethan Drama*, I, 176) gives 1595; Fleay (*Biographical Chronicle*, II, 144) gives 1594.

[4] *Cambridge History of English Literature*, V, 356.

[5] *The Downfall* and *The Death of Robert Earl of Huntington*, the first by Munday, the latter by Munday and Chettle.

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1598.[6] He is a handsome, mischievous boy, and plays a subordinate rôle as Prince Richard's ward. When we have said that he is good-natured and mischievous, we have analyzed his most elementary character. Quite a different Robin Hood makes his appearance in 1598. He has grown to manhood and is an embodiment of the well-rounded personality of the famous outlaw of legend. It is virtually inconceivable that Chettle could have created so flimsy a character as the Robin Hood of *Look About You* after having portrayed this same character so completely and vividly in 1598.

When writing *Look About You*, Chettle identified Robin Hood as the Earl of Huntington with no intention of using him seriously; he therefore gave but slight attention to his character, without attempting to make it correspond with the character of the Robin Hood of folklore. When Henslowe engaged Munday to write *The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington*, that author, as the title shows, preserved the identification already established in *Look About You;*—but he did much more: he made a thorough review of the old ballads and gave his hero a character in full accord with that of the legendary outlaw. Munday's play proving popular, he and Chettle were delegated to produce a second piece called *The Death*, and Chettle took over Robin Hood as already portrayed by Munday. When these plays were chosen for presentation at Court during Christmas, Chettle revised them (in November, 1598), but more particularly *The Downfall*, changing the speeches of Robin Hood and Marian so much that now this play is almost as much his as Munday's.

It is possible to present a similar argument with respect to the characters of Richard, John, and Queen Elinor, all of whom appear in these plays. Especially effective would be the study of John. The John of *Look About You* bears much resemblance to the John of the Robin Hood plays, but what appears in him as ludicrous outbursts of temper and amusing rant shows up in the later John as passionate desire and gloomy but imposing dignity. The first

[6] It is quite possible that Robin Hood had already appeared on the stage as the Earl of Huntington before Chettle wrote his play. The non-extant *Pleasant Pastoral Comedy of Robin Hood and Little John* was entered upon the Stationers' Register in 1594, and *The Downfall* (IV, 2, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, VIII, 184–5) alludes to earlier Robin Hood plays. As far as the argument is concerned, it makes no difference whether Chettle or another dramatist (following Grafton, *Chronicle*, 1569) first introduced the outlaw to the playgoers as the Earl of Huntington.

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John is a potentially tragic figure; the second John is a tragic figure, —witness the closing scene of *The Death*, where he bends over the dead Matilda, whom he had unjustly pursued with all the fury of a maddened beast. We might say with equal conviction that Chettle could not have created so poor a John as that in *Look About You* after having portrayed the royal John of *The Death*.

Having concluded with reasonable assurance that *Look About You* is to be dated prior to 1598, we may endeavor to fix the date more definitely. Some light on the problem may be gained by studying the relationship of this play to other dramas of its kind, and by glimpsing at the dramatic history of the period.

There was no time during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries when people were not fond of disguises. Beginning as permanent features of the ancient Disguises and Italian masques, the disguise first became the passion of the Court in the time of Henry VIII, and as the century advanced worked itself into the public drama and entertainments of the citizens. The most noticeable feature of *Look About You* is the elaborate use of disguises. Creizenach[7] says, "the use of disguises is carried to extremes"; and Schelling[8] speaks of an "over-ingenuity in the comedy—it might be called the farce—of disguise and mystification"; while Ward[9] asserts: "I hardly know of any older play in which so many persons assume so many disguises . . . . a more strangely, and in a sense, 'artfully' managed action than that of this play it would be difficult to imagine." Of all the chief persons of the drama,[10] only young Henry and Sir Richard Fauconbridge do not at one time or another assume some disguise. Skink opens the play in the make-up of a hermit. He and Gloucester, as the principal mischief-doers, employ one disguise after another; Skink uses six and Gloucester four. And Richard, John, Lady Fauconbridge, Robin Hood, Redcap and Isabel (John's wife) are disguised, voluntarily or involuntarily. There are, then, in all sixteen disguises.

Look About You is a multi-disguise play. This type of play was very popular between 1594 and 1600, having been introduced

[7] Wm. Creizenach, *The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare*, p. 221.

[8] Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, II, 405.

[9] Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, II, 611.

[10] In the sense of importance in the action and of frequency of appearance. Accordingly we would not call old King Henry, Elinor, Leicester, and Lancaster chief characters.

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by Munday's *John a Kent*, first acted by the Admiral's Men at the Rose on December 2, 1594.[11] *John a Kent*, performed thirty-two times before April 1597, held the stage without a rival until October 2, 1595, when the Admiral's company performed a play called *The Disguises*, which was acted six times by November 10, and then apparently taken off the boards.[12] It was quickly followed by Chapman's *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, brought forth by the same company as a new play on February 12, 1596. Munday's and Chapman's pieces continued to win plaudits till April 1597, the latter going through twenty-two performances. *Look About You* also belonged to the Admiral's Men. Freeburg advances the theory that these four dramas were written to feature a particular actor who could shift disguises with the skill of a sleight-of-hand artist.[13]

John a Kent, *The Disguises*, and *The Blind Beggar*, all multi-disguise plays, are obviously connected, as is seen by the following entries in Henslowe's Diary, which are printed by Freeburg.[14] "*The Wiseman*" is another designation of *John a Kent*.

The Wiseman, New, Dec. 2, 1594.
Wiseman, Dec. 6, 29; Jan. 16, 23, 1594–5; Feb. 4, 12, 19, 28; April 25, 26; May 6, 15, 26; June 4, 11; Aug. 26; Sept. 9, 29.
Disguises, New, Oct. 2, 1595.
Wiseman, Oct. 6.
Disguises, Oct. 10, 16.
Wiseman, Oct. 19.
Disguises, Oct. 27, 30.
Wiseman, Nov. 7 (?)
Disguises, Nov. 10.
Wiseman, Dec. 30; Jan. 17, 1595–6; Feb. 4.
Blind Beg., New, Feb. 12, 1595–6.
Beggar, Feb. 16, 19, 22, 26; April 15.
Wiseman, April 17.
Beggar, April 26.
Wiseman, April 30.
Beggar, May 3, 13, 18; June 3.
Wiseman, June 8.
Beggar, June 25, July 5.
Wiseman, July 7.
Beggar, Nov. 6, 12; Dec. 2, 10, 23; Jan. 15, 1597 (sic) 25; March 14; April 1.
Wiseman, July 8, 12, 18.

There is also a very close relationship between *John a Kent*, *The Blind Beggar*, and *Look About You*. My study, in connection

[11] V. O. Freeburg, *Disguise Plots in Elizabethan Drama*, pp. 121–2, 133.

[12] Perhaps the title was merely changed. Fleay (*B. C. E. D.*, I, 57; II, 304) thinks *The Disguises* the original version of Chapman's *May Day*. Sir Sidney Lee (*French Renaissance in England*, 420 n) points out Jean Godard's French metrical version of Ariosto's *I Suppositi*, published in 1594 with the title *Les Disguisez*, and asserts that *The Disguises* "translates, there can be no doubt, the new French recension" of Ariosto's comedy. He gives no reasons to support his conclusion. See Freeburg, *Disguise Plots in Elizabethan Drama*, p. 122.

[13] Freeburg, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[14] Freeburg, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

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with Henslowe's records, of this relationship and of the vogue of the multi-disguise play, has led me to believe that *Look About You* and *The Disguises* are one and the same. *Look About You*, I have long been convinced, is one of Chettle's earliest plays, and it could be shown how radically it differs in poetic merit, in plot organization, and in character development from *The Death* of 1598 and all his later productions.

Assuredly "The Disguises" would be a fitting title for *Look About You*. The critics already quoted have implied as much. Freeburg also remarks that this play "was the acme of multi-disguise. One might almost say that it is disguise gone mad."[15] Of even more significance is the fact that nearly all scholars discuss *John a Kent, Look About You*, and *The Blind Beggar* together, pointing out their similarities and differences. Freeburg selects them for detailed analysis, and writes: *John a Kent* "resembles the three [plays] which followed, not only in structure but in details of action and scene. The scene where the magician, disguised as a hermit, tells fortunes is imitated in the openings of both *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria* and *Look About You*."[16] I shall enlarge upon this statement, and attempt to show that *Look About You* resembles *John a Kent* and differs from Chapman's play so much as to make reasonable the theory that it is an imitation of *John a Kent* and must follow it closely in time.

As we have seen, all three plays use the hermit disguise: the rogue poses as a wise holy-man and gives astonishingly accurate information to those who seek his advice. His knowledge is gained, of course, through his relations in other disguises with these very people.[17] The principal resemblance between *John a Kent* and *Look About You*, however, lies in the fact that in both of these plays there are two chief users of disguises who are rivals, and who, in the last analysis, enter upon a sort of contest to see who can cause the most mischief and produce the most fun. John a Kent and John a Cumber try to outdo each other by means of magic and disguise. Skink and Gloucester, both fugitives from justice, have great sport in deceiving one another, their enemies and friends. The final test comes when, both appearing together disguised as the same hermit, each tries to prove himself the genuine

[15] Freeburg, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

[17] This device had already been employed in the earlier *George a Green*, and Chettle uses it again in *The Blind Beggar of Bednal-Green* and in *Hoffman*.

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anchorite. Nothing of the kind is evident in Chapman's play, for though there are two people (and only two) using disguises, one of them is not in the least prominent; there is no suggestion of rivalry, Pego being the servant and colleague of Irus, the chief rogue. It would seem as if Chettle were trying to outdo Munday at his own game and that Chapman sought to vary the type as already so thoroughly worked out in the two preceding plays.[18] Perhaps the too great similarity between *John a Kent* and *The Disguises* (*Look About You*) accounts for the failure of the latter to hold its place on the stage after six performances.

Look About You likewise resembles *John a Kent* in spirit more than does *The Blind Beggar*. They are redolent of the open air and of the countryside; they have a buoyancy and grace which are foreign to Chapman's play. They lack the weightiness, the sublety of wit, the swaggering, leering vanity of the hero-rogue which are part and parcel of Chapman's comedy. They have immeasurably more of the flavor of Arcadian setting and romance.

Munday seems to have had much influence on Chettle. Certain it is, at any rate, that they were intimately associated for many years. In 1592 Chettle wrote an Epistle which was printed with Munday's translation of the Second Part of Bordelio's *Gerileon of England*.[19] During February 20—March 8, 1598, they wrote together *The Death;* in June 1598 they, with Wilson, were collaborators in the composition of *The Funeral of Richard Cœur-de-Lion;*[20] and in August of the same year they, in conjunction with Wilson and Drayton, wrote *Chance Medley*.[21] There are yet other indications of their continued intimacy.

Freeburg does not, he says, "know the origin of the plot of *Look About You*, but," he adds, "it sounds like folklore."[22] Undoubtedly folklore does influence the play, as the presence of Robin Hood sufficiently proves. In this respect, then, *Look About*

[18] Freeburg, perceiving no connection between *The Disguises* and *Look About You*, suggests 1597 as the earliest date for the latter. If the two titles do not belong to the same play, he is correct, for it is unreasonable to suppose that the Admiral's company would add a fourth multi-disguise play to their repertory while they had three such plays which held the public favor. See Freeburg, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[19] See Chettle's "Address to the Gentlemen Readers," prefixed to *Kind Heart's Dream*, 1592.

[20] Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 193–4.

[21] *Ibid.*, II, 196.

[22] Freeburg, *op. cit.*, p. 131. Ronald Bayne is of like opinion; see the quotation from him on p. 835.

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You also resembles *John a Kent;* and it is well to remember that in the Robin Hood plays of 1598 Chettle and Munday drew largely upon folklore.

For the reasons which I summarize here it appears quite likely that *Look About You* and *The Disguises* of October 2, 1595, are one and the same play. (1) *Look About You* must come between 1594 and 1600, when the multi-disguise play was in the full swing of its popularity. (2) Its relationship with the Robin Hood plays of 1598 forces us to date it prior to 1598. (3) It is closely connected with Munday's and Chapman's plays of 1594 and 1596. (4) It is clearly an imitation of *John a Kent* and bears all evidences of preceding *The Blind Beggar*. (5) Munday and Chettle had been intimate friends since 1592 and continued to be so through at least 1601.[23] (6) *Look About You* and *John a Kent* both draw upon folklore, and Chettle and Munday are found doing just this thing together in 1598. (7) The title "Look About You" (a proverbial expression) is in no way especially indicative of this play; it is used only twice or thrice in the general sense of "be careful." It is employed in other plays as well.[24] "The Disguises" would be an altogether appropriate name for the most elaborate disguise play in Elizabethan drama.

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[23] They were both still writing for the Admiral's Men in 1601. See *Diary*, II, 218.

[24] Ward writes: "the 'Pleasant Commodie called *Looke About You*' . . . . which by any other name might have equally diverted the groundlings."—*History of English Dramatic Literature* (1899), II, 611.

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XXXVI

ELIZABETHAN DRAMA AND THE WORKS OF SMOLLETT

"IF FIELDING had superior taste," declared Sir Walter Scott, "the palm of more brilliancy of genius, more inexhaustible riches of invention, must in justice be awarded to Smollett. In comparison with his sphere, that in which Fielding walked was limited; and compared with the wealthy profusion of varied character and incident which Smollett has scattered through his works, there is a poverty of composition about his rival. . . . It is chiefly in his profusion, which amounts almost to prodigality, that we recognize the superior richness of Smollett's fancy. He never shows the least desire to make the most either of a character, or a situation, or an adventure, but throws them together with a carelessness which argues unlimited confidence in his own powers."[1] Few critical verdicts have been received with more general dissent. Apart from what most readers feel to be the injustice done to Fielding, the affirmations respecting Smollett have not gone unchallenged. Thackeray, although perhaps without having Scott in mind, has expressed an opinion almost diametrically opposite:

> His [Smollett's] novels are recollections of his own adventures, his characters drawn, as I should think, from personages with whom he became acquainted in his own career of life. Strange companions he must have had; queer acquaintances he made in the Glasgow college, in the country apothecary's shop, in the gun-room of the man-of-war where he served as a surgeon, and in the hard life on shore where the sturdy adventurer struggled for fortune. He did not invent much, as I fancy, but had the keenest perceptive faculty, and described what he saw with wonderful relish and delightful broad humor.[2]

The two opinions here presented, it will be observed, virtually agree as to the opulence of Smollett's material, whether of scene, incident, or character. Divergence comes with respect to the source of this material. Scott holds that Smollett is distinguished among the novelists by the power and fecundity of the creative imagination; and "the profusion of varied incident and character which Smollett has scattered through his works" is cited as evi-

[1] *Works of Tobias Smollet*, with a memoir of His Life and Writings, by Sir Walter Scott, Prefatory memoir.

[2] *English Humorists of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. H. A. Watt, Chicago, p. 173.

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dence of his "inexhaustible riches of invention." Thackeray, on the other hand, affirms that Smollett "did not invent much;" that his novels are "recollections of his own adventures," with his characters mostly copied from life. As between these two opinions, there is certainly much evidence to recommend Thackeray's rather than Scott's. Smollett himself, in the preface of his first novel, makes the following statement as to the materials in his story: "I have not deviated from nature in the facts, which are all true in the main, although the circumstances are altered and disguised, to avoid personal satire."[3] Thus assured, it is not strange that his readers should have assumed with Thackeray that his novels are largely the recollection of his own experiences, especially as it was easy to trace a rather close resemblance between the career of Roderick Random and the adventures of the novelist's own early manhood. The same conclusion is easily drawn by the reader in following the fortunes of Peregrine Pickle and even the gouty perambulations of Matthew Bramble. According to this view, then, the wealth of material which Smollett, according to Scott, dispenses so lavishly is largely the adventurer's recompense for hardships which he has himself undergone.

It is not true, however, that Smollett was ignorant of or indifferent to the purely literary tradition. In the preface from which I have just quoted he declares that in purpose and structural plan he has modelled his work upon Cervantes and LeSage. Nor would it be correct to suppose that his literary indebtedness is confined to the writers of picaresque and burlesque adventure. Besides his obligations to Aleman and Cervantes, to Scarron, LeSage, and Furetière, he has, in strict truth, to come to a reckoning with more than one of his own countrymen: with Defoe for the model of his style, with Swift for the manner of grotesque exaggeration that marks much of his satire, and with the writers of Elizabethan drama for a diffused obligation, which extends from the turn of a phrase to the outlines of a character and the motivation of an incident.

Upon first thought, one would hardly expect to find Shakespeare in the list of Smollett's creditors. Few contrasts, it would seem, could be sharper than that between the serenity, the sweetness, the unfailing human charity of the one and the truculent and challenging spirit of the other. But both men were humorists, though

[3] See *Roderick Random*, Preface.

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of a very different order, and each had that relish for life which is the mark of strong and hearty natures everywhere. Shakespeare himself did not revolt at humanity in the raw, though it was not, with him, the daily fare. He probably would have felt himself no alien in that "strange company" in which Thackeray imagines Smollett to have habitually moved.

The point at which Shakespeare comes closest to the rugged life of the actual world is precisely the point at which Smollett comes closest to Shakespeare. Though references to the plays are frequent in Smollett, it is evidently the group of realistic comedies —plays in which Falstaff and his companions constitute the major interest—that have made the deepest impression upon the novelist. Nearly all borrowings are from these; and when, as happens once or twice, Smollett avails himself of a suggestion from the romantic plays, the matter is shorn of its grace, of its poetry, and made to serve the rough purposes of farce and satire. Nor, indeed, if we regard the spirit of comedy and the uses to which it is put, is the resemblance much closer in the case of the realistic plays. The true spirit of Shakespearean humor Smollett never achieves. Perhaps it was incomprehensible to him. At any rate, he seems to have little conception of humor apart from a comic victim, whom he is likely to assault with ridicule and scorn. The double function which the comic subject may perform,—that of "inventing" as well as being "invented on"—of promoting the general hilarity by joining in the fun—does not appear in Smollett. His comic figures usually "suffer" in a double sense—the physical as well as the logical. His most successful humorous figures, to be sure—Commodore Trunnion, Hatchway, Lieutenant Bowling, Morgan, Pipes and Strap—are conceived in a kindly spirit. But they have no part in the mirth which they inspire. They are not "witty in themselves" nor "the cause of wit in other men."[4]

The difference in quality, as well as in spirit, between the humor of Shakespeare and that of Smollett may be briefly illustrated by the following quotations. Falstaff, in one of his engaging moods of pious self-pity, declares that under the Prince's influence he has become "little better than one of the wicked," and announces his determined purpose to reform:

> I must give over this life, and I will give it over . . . . . I'll be damned for never a King's son in Christendom.

[4] *I Henry IV*, I, ii.

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Prince. Where shall we take a purse tomorrow, Jack?

Fal. 'Zounds, where thou wilt, lad; I'll make one. And I do not, call me villain and baffle me.

Prince. I see a good amendment of life in thee; from praying to purse taking.

Fal. Why, Hal, 'tis my vocation, Hal. 'Tis no sin for a man to labor in his vocation.[5]

Again, Falstaff has just been taking the measure of Justice Shallow, and determines that after his military campaigns are completed, he will make that magistrate's garrulous stupidity serve his own ends:

I do see the bottom of Justice Shallow. Lord, Lord, how subject we old men are to this vice of lying! . . . . . Well, I'll be acquainted with him if I return; and it shall go hard, but I will make him a philosopher's two stones to me. If the young dace be a bait for the old pike, I see no reason in the law of nature but I may snap at him.[6]

Falstaff's justification of himself for robbery and for victimizing ignorance may be compared to the defense set up by Mr. Ferret for bearing false testimony and for bringing embarrassment upon another magistrate—Justice Gobble, who, by the way possesses Shallow's stupidity without his amusing garrulity:

'I perceive,' said he, 'you are preparing to expostulate, and upbraid me for having given a false information against you to the country justice. I look upon mankind to be in a state of nature; a truth, which Hobbs hath stumbled upon by accident. I think every man hath a right to avail himself of his talents, even at the expense of his fellow-creatures; just as we see the fish, and other animals of the creation, devouring one another. I found the justice but one degree removed from idiotism, and knowing that he would commit some blunder in the execution of his office, which would lay him at your mercy, I contrived to make his folly the instrument of my escape.'[7]

The humorous appeal of the foregoing passages lies, of course, in the perverted logic and the resultant grotesque ethical principle which appears. Ferret's assertion of the right to employ his talents even at the expense of his fellow-creatures is on par with Falstaff's reasoning that purse-taking is no sin, provided that robbery be one's vocation. Both employ the same analogy—indeed, almost the same language—in arriving at the Nietzchean conclu-

[5] *I Henry IV*, I, ii.

[6] *II Henry IV*, III, ii.

[7] *The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*, Chap XXV.

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sion that man's predatory instincts point him in the way of his highest good. The difference lies in the mental attitude of each speaker. Ferret delivers himself with profound seriousness, assured that his principle rests upon unassailable logic. Falstaff, on the other hand, is frankly jocose—not as regards his intended rascality, indeed, but the reasons therefor. The enormous absurdity of the defense offered appeals to his—and our—sense of the ludicrous; and while we laugh with him in enjoyment of the joke, we almost forget to reprobate the crime because of our delight in the roguish old criminal. We feel that he is the prince of good fellows, even while he is repudiating the principle upon which all fellowship rests. But there is no good humor in Ferret—none of the hearty laughter at himself which would humanize him and arrest the whip of the satirist. Smollett drew him in order to indulge one of his numerous and bitter personal animosities,[8] and so he is intent upon making him ridiculous and contemptible. This is Smollett's method as a humorist almost everywhere. The comic weaknesses of his characters excite, not sympathy and compassion, but scorn. They are fools or rogues or villains, who overreach themselves and are soon overtaken by a just retribution.

Smollett's close reading of the Falstaff comedies is further attested by the occasional appropriation of a phrase or an epithet and, in one or two instances, by fairly extended parallelisms in language. For example, Commodore Trunnion, who lives in a queer domicile known as the "garrison" and who maintains there the strict discipline of life aboard ship, is frequently referred to as "the old lad of the castle," in recollection, no doubt, of the appellation given Falstaff by the Prince[9]—a play, of course, upon the name Oldcastle.

Again, Falstaff's explanation of the mysterious affection which he feels for Poins in spite of the latter's abuse of him ("If the rascal have not given me medicines to make me love him, I'll be hanged. I could not be else; I have drunk medicines.")[10] is the same as that offered by Jack Hatchway for his otherwise inexplicable fondness for young Peregrine:

Such was Hatchway's reluctance to leave Peregrine, that he is said, for the first time in his life, to have looked misty at parting; certain I am,

[8] His quarrel with Dr. John Shebbeare, the novelist and Tory political writer. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[9] See *I Henry IV*, I, ii.

[10] *I Henry IV*, II, ii.

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that on the road homewards, after a long pause of silence . . . . he exclaimed all of a sudden, 'I'll be damn'd if the dog han't given me some stuff to make me love him.'[11]

The lurid colloquy between Pistol and Doll Tearsheet, in the famous scene at the Boar's-Head Tavern in Eastcheap, supplied Smollett with several suggestions for a similar passage-at-arms between Tom Pipes and the "hedge inamorata" whom Pickle had purchased from her mother and consigned to the care of Pipes. Incensed at what she regarded as an affront to her dignity, this young lady "held forth with such a flow of eloquence, as would have entitled her to a considerable share of reputation, even among the nymphs of Billingsgate." The following will perhaps suggest the general tenor of the whole:

'D— you, I've a good mind to box your jaws . . . . I'll let you know as how I am meat for your master, you saucy blackguard. You are worse than a dog, you old flinty-faced, flea-bitten scrub: a dog wears his own coat, but you wear your master's.'[12]

As the reader will recall, Doll's gentle repulsion of the friendly advances of Pistol begins in this manner:

Pist. Then to you, Mistress Dorothy; I will charge you.
Dol. Charge me! I scorn you, scurvy companion. What! you poor, base, rascally, cheating, lack-linen mate! Away, you mouldy rogue, away! I am meat for your master.[13]

Lineally descended, too, from the indomitable Doll is Smollett's Miss Jenny, co-farer, for a time, of young Random upon the high road of adventure. The exchange of civilities between Doll and Captain Pistol apparently suggested similar amenities between Miss Jenny and another captain, the redoubtable Weazel. The way in which Doll's vituperative exuberance has been utilized to provide Miss Jenny with an adequate vocabulary may be illustrated as follows:

Dol (addressing Pistol). Captain! thou abominable damn'd cheater, art thou not ashamed to be called captain? And captains were of my mind, they would truncheon you out, for taking their names upon you before you earned them. You a captain! You slave, for what? . . . . He a captain! Hang him, rogue! He lives upon mouldy stewed prunes and dried cakes.

[11] *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle*, Chap. XV.
[12] *Peregrine Pickle*, Chap. LXXXVII.
[13] *II Henry IV*, II, iv.

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A captain! God's light, these villains will make the word as odious as the word 'occupy!'[14]

Jenny to Weazel:

D—— you, sir, who are you? Who made you a captain, you pitiful, trencher-scraping, pimping curler?—'S death! The army is come to a fine pass, when such fellows as you get commissions—What, I suppose you think I don't know you? Egad, you and your helpmate are well met—a cast-off mistress and a bald valet-de-chambre are well yoked together.[15]

Another member of the jolly gathering at the Boar's-Head on this occasion has left the impress of her personality upon the pages of Smollett—the mistress herself, Dame Quickly. The naïve psychology which manifests itself in complete subservience to a single law of mind and which is incapable of any activity higher than that of merely recalling, was never more triumphantly exhibited than it is in Mistress Quickly. No idea ever struggles upward into consciousness without bringing with it every other idea with which it bears the most remote association. And all struggle—successfully—for the right to be heard. Hence the extreme volubility of this much abused person. Everyone remembers the overwhelming array of subsidiary fact with which she endeavors to make Sir John remember his promise to marry her:

'Thou didst swear to me upon a parcel-gilt goblet, sitting in my dolphin chamber, at the round table, by a sea-coal fire, upon Wednesday in Wheeson week, when the Prince broke thy head for liking his father to a singing-man of Windsor, thou didst swear to me then, as I was washing thy wound, to marry me and make me my lady thy wife. Canst thou deny it? Did not goodwife Keech, the butcher's wife, come in then and call me gossip Quickly? coming in to borrow a mess of vinegar, telling us she had a good dish of prawns; whereby thou then didst desire to eat some; whereby I told thee they were ill for a green wound? And didst thou not, when she was gone down stairs, desire me to be no more so familiarity with such poor people, saying that ere long they should call me madam? And didst thou not kiss me and bid me fetch thee thirty shillings? I put thee now to thy book-oath. Deny it, if thou canst.'[16]

Surely Smollett must have remembered this heroic effort to aid a treacherous memory when Mrs. Weazel comes to the support of her husband, the captain, in his effort to establish a reputation for unparalleled courage. The lady remembers every detail, as well as all the attendant circumstances:

[14] *II Henry IV*, II, iv.
[15] *Random*, Chap. XI.
[16] *II Henry IV*, II, i.

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'The last affair happened on that very day on which I received a love-letter from squire Gobble; and don't you remember, my dear, I was prodigiously sick that very night with eating ortolans, when my lord Diddle took notice of my complexion's being altered, and my lady was so alarmed that she had well nigh fainted. 'Yes, my dear,' replied the captain, 'you know, my lord said to me with a sneer,' Billy, Mrs. Weazel is certainly breeding." And I answered cavalierly—'My lord, I wish I could return the compliment.' Upon which the whole company broke out into an immoderate fit of laughter; and my lord, who loves a repartee dearly, came round and bussed me."[17]

The largest direct obligation which Smollett owes to Shakespeare is perhaps that of his character Morgan, surgeon's mate on board the *Thunder* and fellow-sufferer with Roderick Random under the brutal tyranny of Captain Oakum and Dr. Mackshane. The original of Morgan is none other than the valiant and choleric Welshman, Captain Fluellen, friend and compatriot of Henry V., and veteran of Agincourt. The resemblance here is too close to be accidental. All the essential elements of character are common to both—the fiery Celtic temper, the personal and racial pride, the self-assertiveness, the courage, the sturdy independence, the the fatuous devotion of each to every idea that originates with himself, and, above all, the ludicrous, naïve obstinacy, which endears the character and accentuates his native honesty and honor. The portraiture is not less kindly and sympathetic in the novel than in the drama; and

> Though it appear a little out of fashion,
> There is much care and valor in this Welshman.[18]

Morgan combines in about the same proportion as his original the humor growing out of the mild burlesque of national characteristics with the humor of personal idiosyncrasy; and, while he bears some marks of the conventionality that soon encrusted this comic type, the unique environment in which he is placed serves to make him substantially individual.

All the small tricks of dialect Smollett repeats to the letter. The larger matters of sentence-accent and rhythm—details which differentiate the speech of individuals—are reproduced exactly. The verbal copiousness, the predilection for the more sonorous and dignified vocables, the trick of arranging words and phrases in series, are some of the linguistic habits which Morgan owes to

[17] *Roderick Random,* Chap XII.
[18] *Henry V,* IV, i.

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Fluellen. The following will serve to illustrate the way in which Smollett has acted upon suggestions from Shakespeare:

Fluellen . . . . Captain Macmorris, peradventure I shall think you do use me with that affability as in discretion you ought to use me, look you, being as good a man as yourself, both in the disciplines of war, and in the derivation of my birth, and in other particularities.

Macmorris. I do not know you so good a man as myself. So Chrish save me, I will cut off your head.

Gower. Gentlemen both, you will mistake each other. etc.[19]

Mr. Morgan, protesting against ill usage, declares:

'Mr. Thomson, perhaps you do not use me with all the good manners, and complaisance, and respect, look you, that becomes you. . . . . I have, in my time, look you, been a man of some weight and substance, and consideration. . . . . And moreover, also, I am your senior, and your elder, and your petter, Mr. Thomson.' 'My elder I'll allow you to be, but not my better,' cried Thomson with some heat. 'Cot is my Saviour and witness too,' said Morgan, with great vehemence, 'that I am more elder, and therefore more petter by many years than you.'[20]

Further illustrations of the virtual identity of accent in the speech of these two characters could be produced indefinitely. One more will suffice.

Fluellen: I will tell you asse my friend, Captain Gower, the rascally, scold, beggarly, lousy, pragging knave, which you and yourself and all the world know to be no petter than a fellow, look you, now, of no merits, he is come to me and prings me pread and salt yesterday, look you, and bid me eat my leek . . . .

Enter *Pistol*

. . . . God pless you, Aunchient Pistol! You scurfy, lousy knave, God pless you! . . . . I peseech you heartily, scurvy, lousy knave, at my desires, and my requests, and my petitions to eat, look you, this leek."[21] etc.

Morgan discovers that his private stock of cheese and onions has been visited by thieves.

'As Cot is my judge,' he cried, 'and my salfation, and my witness, whosoever has pilfered my provisions is a lousy, peggarly, rascally knave! and by the soul of my grandsire, I will impeach, and accuse, and indict him of a roppery, if I did but know who he is.'[22]

It is abundantly evident, then, that Smollett read closely and admired the realistic London comedy of Shakespeare. Its bustling,

[19] *Henry V*, III, iii. [20] *Roderick Random*, Chap. XXV.
[21] *Henry V*, V, i. [22] *Roderick Random*, Chap. XXXI.

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boisterous life would naturally appeal to him, and would evoke comparison with what he had himself seen and heard while mingling with the London throngs of his own day. It cannot be said, however, that the characters for which these plays are best known —Falstaff, Poins, Bardolf, Pistol, and Nym—exercised more than a trace of influence upon Smollett in the matter of characterization.* The swaggerers, braggarts, dupes, and fools that move in procession through his novels are not of the Shakespearean breed. Smollett's hand was too heavy and his temper too hot for that fine shading of comic character which wins indulgent sympathy even for the follies of men.

II

Far stronger ties unite Smollett with Elizabethan drama, however, than the somewhat tenuous threads that lead through Shakespearean realistic comedy. If the rugged *milieu* in which the greater part of his life was passed made him readily responsive to the more extravagant and brutal phases of Falstaffian humor, the same influence, acting upon a natural basis of character, developed the combative instinct in him and taught him some measure of dexterity in using the weapons of travesty and satire. In the Elizabethan comedy of humors Smollett found not only congenial subject-matter, but a method of offensive warfare which he was destined to turn to practical account.

Between him and the consummate master of that comedy there were, to be sure, differences antipodean; but there was also enough in common to draw Smollett to the great Elizabethan *censor morum* with a strong if imperfect sympathy. Jonson's massiveness of intellect he, of course, did not possess; nor his vast learning, although his own classical scholarship was eminently respectable. But for native energy, for clarity and precision of mind, he is scarcely Jonson's inferior. The representations of both, whether of scene, incident or character, are sharp and clear in outline, exacting little of the reader's constructive imagination. Intellectual refinements and subtleties appealed to the one as little as to the other, and neither ever turned away from the rationalized facts of observation and experience to sound "the abysmal depths of personality." Sturdy common sense, a prevailingly ironic view of the world, and a keen eye for the outward show of character and manners, mark indelibly the entire work of both.

* In one passage (*Roderick Random*, Chap. XLVI) Ranter gives an accurate imitation of "the looks, swagger, and phrase of Pistol"—*Editor.*

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In character, too, though the general outlines are the same, Smollett is less Titanic than Jonson. His nature is not less robust and masculine, to be sure, but he sometimes falls into Hotspur's "wasp-stung woman's mood" and expends himself in ineffectual bluster and noise. The potent rule of the Celt in his blood decrees the impulsive temperament which leads to hasty and ill-considered action. His intrepidity in the thick of battle frequently becomes a blind fury, in which he fairly hurls himself upon his enemy. His feelings were, doubtless, no stronger than Jonson's, but they were far less perfectly controlled. The "*systema nervosum maxime irritable*" was not simply a pathological condition resulting from ill health and over-work. The powerful emotions of anger and resentment in him had been unregulated from boyhood. In striking contrast to the vehemence of Smollett is the superb self-possession of Jonson, all of whose actions seem deliberate, whose powers are ever at his command, and who is able to fight better the more hotly he is pressed. But if they fought differently, each was essentially a fighter, defiant, arrogant, aggressive; the one with the fury of the Celt, the other with the doggedness of the Saxon. Each loved the realities of life, and hated sham, pretense, and affectation; and neither was troubled in the slightest degree with that delicacy of taste which finds the more pungent flavors of life too strong. They were critics and censors, who often judged harshly and denounced bitterly, but they were both sincere in their desire to make the world better by rendering ignorance, injustice, and cruelty hateful.

Jonson seized every opportunity to set forth the principles of his art and to explain the ideals and purposes which guided him. Upon these subjects Smollett said comparatively little. "He managed his delightful puppet show," as Scott says, "without thrusting his head beyond the curtain to explain what he was doing."[23] But when he did discuss the theory of his art, he spoke with much assurance and vigor; and Jonson himself could hardly have made a stronger deliverance in support of the theory that the function of the comic writer is to mirror life and manners, through satire, to expose hypocrisy and make affectations absurd and ridiculous. In practice he certainly did not fall far short of the program set forth in Jonson's well-known lines:

> Deeds, and language, such as men do use,
> And persons, such as comedy would choose,

[23] *Introductory Memoir*, p. 25.

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> When she would show an image of the times,
> And sport with human follies not with crimes.[24]

Cicero's ideal of comedy, quoted approvingly by Jonson, "*imitatio vitae, speculum consuitudinis, imago veritatis*,"[25] Smollett virtually transfers to the novel of humorous adventure. Romance, he thinks, "owes its origin to ignorance, vanity, and superstition." "When the minds of men were debauched by the imposition of priestcraft to the most absurd pitch of credulity," he continues, in language strikingly familiar to readers of Roger Ascham, "the authors of romance arose, and, losing sight of probability, filled their performances with the most monstrous hyperboles." It was Cervantes who recalled men to their senses, and converted romance to "purposes far more useful and entertaining, by making it assume the sock, and point out the follies of ordinary life." Thus, while the scope of the narrative of adventure is limited, its functions are enlarged and its utility greatly increased. As Smollett writes in the preface of *Roderick Random*,

> Of all kinds of satire there is none so entertaining and universally improving, as that which is introduced, as it were, occasionally in the course of an interesting story, which brings every incident home to life; and, by representing familiar scenes in an uncommon and amusing point of view, invests them with all the graces of novelty, while nature is appealed to in every particular.

Smollett's defense of his work against the anticipated attacks of the romantically inclined critics rests upon precisely the same grounds as Jonson's, made under the same circumstances. Both assert the ancient prerogative of comedy to correct and reform, and deplore the current taste for the insipidities of the "genteel" cult.

In opposition, they set up what has more recently been termed the "red-blooded" cult, and declare, in effect, that too much refinement destroys vitality and makes the comic spirit a wraith. The friendly critics, Mitis and Cordatus, in the induction of *Every Man Out of his Humor*, are Jonson's spokesmen:

> *Mitis.* I travail with another objective, signior, which I fear will be enforced against the author, ere I can be delivered of it.
>
> *Cordatus.* What's that, sir?
>
> *Mit.* That the argument of his comedy might have been of some other nature, as of a duke to be in love with a countess, and the son to love the

[24] *Every Man in his Humor*, Prologue.

[25] *Every Man Out of his Humor*, III, ii, Induction.

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lady's waiting-maid; some such cross wooing, with a clown to their serving-man, better than to be thus near, and familiarly allied to the time.

Cor. You say well, but I would fain hear one of these autumn-judgments define once, *Quid sit Comedia?* if he cannot, let him content himself with Cicero's definition, till he have strength to propose to himself a better, who would have a comedy be *imita-tio vitae, speculum consuetudinis, imago veritatis;* a thing throughout pleasant and ridiculous, and accommodated to the correction of manners.[26]

Smollett, answering his critics in his own person, is heated and sarcastic, treating with characteristic contempt the delicate sensibilities of the genteel school.

'Good Heaven! [he imagines some objector exclaiming] will these authors never reform their imaginations, and lift their ideas from the obscene objects of low life? . . . . Will no writer of genius draw his pen in the vindication of taste, and entertain us with the agreeable characters, the dignified conversation, the poignant repartee, in short, the genteel comedy of the polite world?'

Have a little patience, gentle, delicate, sublime critic; you, I doubt not, are one of those consummate connoisseurs, who, in their purifications, let humour evaporate, while they endeavor to preserve decorum, and polish wit until the edge of it is quite worn off; or, perhaps, of that class, who, in the sapience of taste, are disgusted with those very flavors in the productions of their own country, which have yielded infinite delectation to their faculties when imparted from another clime. . . . .

Yes, refined reader, we are hastening to that goal of perfection, where satire dares not show her face; where nature is castigated almost even to still life; where humour turns changeling, and slavers in an insipid grin; where wit is volatilized into a mere vapour; where decency, divested of all substance, hovers about like a fantastic shadow; where the salt of genius, escaping, leaves nothing . . . . and the inoffensive pen forever drops the mild manna of soul-sweetening praise.[27]

With substantially the same ideals and aims in literature, and with strong ties of intellectual sympathy uniting him with Jonson, it is scarcely surprising that Smollett should endeavor to employ Jonson's methods as well, in so far as those methods were applicable to the novel. And to the novel as Smollett conceived and practiced it, they were applicable in no small degree. On the side of structure, to be sure, his narratives are the reverse of dramatic; their loose, epical design is an expressly acknowledged obligation

[26] *Every Man Out of his Humor*, III, i, Induction.

[27] *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*, Chap. I.

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to his picaresque forbears.[28] But his conception of character, as well as his method of representing it, is precisely that which is universally associated with the name of Ben Jonson; and Smollett's novels are the direct agency through which the Elizabethan 'humor' comedy was transmitted to Dickens and the lesser humorists of the nineteenth century. Smollett's predilection for representing his characters as the embodiment of a single dominant trait or ruling passion was primarily due, no doubt, as it is in Jonson, to the native quality of his mind. The faculty of imaginative sympathy, which enables its possessor to identify himself with a character and reveal the complexities of the inner life consistently and adequately in speech and action—in short, the dramatic sense —was not his. On the other hand, his eye for the more salient and external phases of character was extraordinarily acute. And so, with no taste for the subtleties of introspective analysis, and small power to irradiate character from within, he seizes upon the generic and the more sharply defined traits of personality, and represents his personages as under the exclusive dominance of these.

> As when some one peculiar quality
> Doth so possess a man, that it doth draw
> All his effects, his spirit, and his powers,
> In their confluctions, all to run one way.[29]

The method is equally serviceable, whether the aim be to represent the abnormalities of character and manners for humorous effect, or the vices and follies of men for reproof and correction. With Smollett it serves both of these ends. Almost without exception his well known comic figures are drawn with some powerful bias of disposition, some violent wrenching of personality out of the plane of the normal, which sets them off from the common run of men like a physical deformity. The constant emphasis and reiteration which are inseparable from such a method result in the accretion of external idiosyncrasies, and end in caricature. The comic seamen for whom Smollett is famous—Commodore Trunnion, Jack Hatchway, Lieutenant Bowling, and Tom Pipes—live in the reader's imagination primarily as accumulations of the outward marks of manner and speech. Of all the major humorous characters that Smollett has drawn, only Matthew Bramble has the sharp outlines of the humor successfully obscured beneath

[28] *Roderick Random*, Preface.
[29] *Every Man Out of his Humor*, Induction.

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the sinuous apparelings of nature. It is to be suspected, however, that Smollett's predilection for the humor convention is to be explained mainly by its utility in the service of satire. The representation of character under a single aspect, the ease with which the master passion becomes the master folly, and the emphasis and exaggeration inherent in the device itself, all invite its employment, not only against "the sordid and vicious dispositions of the world," but also in the promotion of one's own personal quarrels and animosities. Of the latter, Smollett certainly acquired his share; and, like Jonson, though far more openly and savagely, he assaulted his enemies in the persons of his imaginary characters. Many of his satirical portraits are readily identified.[30] The identity of others has become uncertain or unrecognizable with the passing of time, but the *animus* with which they are drawn clearly suggests their origin.

The usual assumption that all Smollett's satire is inspired by personal animosity is, however, unwarranted. Though he sometimes seems indifferent to the baseness of his characters, he nevertheless makes it abundantly clear that he hates meanness and cruelty, and that he has compassion for the innocent victims of injustice. He can laugh also with Juvenalian bitterness at the stupid mismanagement of public affairs. The savageness which is so often mentioned in disparagement of his work does not all proceed from resentment of real or fancied personal injury. The good-natured comedy of *Gil Blas* he deliberately rejected, because it "prevents that generous indignation which ought to animate the reader against the sordid and vicious disposition of the world."

Classified as to function, the figures that crowd the novels of Smollett fall into three groups: first, characters bearing an organic and necessary relation to the succeeding episodes of adventure; second characters introduced primarily for the sake of humorous portraiture; and, third, characters serving no other end than that of satire. In the last group a distinction doubtless exists between those figures intended by Smollett to represent his personal enemies and those through which he attacks social follies and vices in general, but it is not always possible to make the distinction with certainty. It is in the figures of the second and third groups that one observes the strong family resemblance to the characters of Elizabethan 'humor' comedy. Particularly is this true of the satirical figures. In the novels of Smollett one meets with whole troops of

[30] See Buck, *A Study in Smollett* (Yale University Press).

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Jonsonian gulls, gallants, malcontents, and boastful cowards, all adjusted to the manners of the eighteenth century, to be sure, but repeating in a new idiom very much the same follies and absurdities as of old.

A typical aggregation of such humors is the company of coffee-house gallants into which Random is introduced upon his return to London in the borrowed finery of Strap. His social mentor for the occasion is Dr. Wagtail.

'Gentlemen, your most obedient—give me leave to introduce my friend Mr. Random to your society.' Then turning to me, 'Mr. Random, this is Mr. Bragwell—Mr. Banter, sir—Mr. Chatter—my friend Mr. Slyboot, and Mr. Ranter, sir'[31]

Every member of this vivacious group represents the generalized quality suggested by his name. Bragwell is the "roaring boy" of Elizabethan drama brought down to date. He proposes that the company, by way of diversion, "scour the hundreds, sweat the constable, maul the watch, and then reel soberly to bed." It is decided to transfer the revelry to Moll King's coffee-house, "where after he had kicked half a dozen hungry w————, he is left asleep on a bench."

Banter incarnates the humor of buffoonery. He is a "public, scurrilous, and prophane jester" of the family of Carlo Buffone. He has "spent his fortune, but retained his appetites, and fallen out with the world because he could not enjoy it to his wish." Hence he is turned misanthrope and traducer. Most of the conventional elements of the character are repeated in him; he is a parasite, sensualist, low jester, a corrupter of youth and a tutor in evil, if the report of those whom he has maligned is to be credited. Random is warned that he "was one of the most graceless rakes about town, and had already wasted a good estate and constitution upon harlots; that he had been the ruin of many a young man, by introducing them into debauched company, and setting a lewd example of all manner of wickedness."[32] It will be recalled that his is exactly the function of Carlo for the country gull and would-be gallant, Sogliardo.[33] Like Carlo, too, who, "with absurd similies, will transform any person into a deformity," Banter gives vent to his misanthropical temper by uncouth jesting and waggery. He

[31] *Roderick Random*, Chap. XLVI.

[32] *Roderick Random*, Chap. XLVIII.

[33] See *Every Man Out of his Humor*, II, i. Note the correspondence with conspicuous elements in the character of Falstaff.

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invents a preposterous slander upon an acquaintance who refused to lend him money,[34] and humiliates a proud beauty by foisting a barber upon her as a gentleman of rank and fashion.[35]

A still closer parallel in the representation of humors is seen in Smollett's Dr. Wagtail and Jonson's Fastidious Brisk. Brisk, it will be remembered, is a "spruce, affecting courtier, one that wears clothes well, and in fashion: practices by his glass how to salute,"[36] etc. As a modish young gallant, he is the pattern of all elegance for the citizen's wife Fallace. Now Wagtail is not a courtier, but an absurdly affected and ceremonious young physician; and in this gratuitous addition Smollett probably meant to fit the portrait to some dandified, effeminate member of his own profession who had incurred his displeasure. But even so, the correspondence with Jonson's humor of affected elegance and simpering asininity is close throughout. Either Wagtail or Brisk would be an appropriate title for the following portrait:

> . . . a young man entered, dressed in black velvet, and an enormous tie-wig, with an air in which natural levity and affected solemnity were so jumbled together, that, on the whole, he appeared a burlesque on all decorum. This ridiculous oddity danced up to the table at which we sat, and after a thousand grimaces, asked my friend, Mr. Medlar, if we were not engaged upon business. My companion put on a surly countenance, and replied,—"No great business, doctor—but however"—"O! then," cried the physician, "I must beg your indulgence a little,—pray pardon me, gentlemen. Sir," said he, addressing himself to me, "your most humble servant, I hope you will forgive me, sir,—I must beg the favour to sit, sir—Sir, I have something of consequence to impart to my friend Mr. Medlar—Sir, I hope you will excuse my freedom in whispering, sir."[37]

Both Wagtail and Brisk are much given to boasting of their familiarity with the great. Says Fastidious,

> "By this hand, I protest you, signior . . . . there's he (Count Gratiato), and the Count Frugale, Signior Illustre, Signior Luculento, and a sort of 'em, that when I am at court, they do share me amongst them; happy is he that can enjoy me most private."[38]

And again:

[34] *Random*, Chap. XLVIII.

[35] *Ibid.* Chap. L. This episode may have been suggested by Shadwell's *Bury Fair*.

[36] *Every Man out, Dramatis Personae.*

[37] *Random*, XLV.

[38] *Every Man out*, II, i.

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"There was a countess gave me her hand to kiss today, i' the presence: did me more good, by that light, than—and yesternight sent her coach twice to my lodging, to intreat me accompany her and my sweet mistress, with some two or three nameless ladies more: O, I have been graced by them beyond all aim of affection."[39]

Dr. Wagtail's social triumphs are no less impressive.

"You must know, sir, I am just come from dinner at my lady Flareit's (then addressing himself to me), a lady of quality, sir, at whose table I have the honour of dining sometimes. There was Lady Stately, and my Lady Larum, and Mrs. Dainty and Miss Biddie Gigler. . . . . There were also my Lord Straddle, Sir John Shrug, and Mr. Billy Chatter. . . . . So, sir, her ladyship seeing me excessively. fatigued . . . . insisted upon my staying dinner."[40]

In credulous simplicity, however, Wagtail goes beyond Brisk, and approximates rather to the simpler type of gull as seen in Mathew of *Every Man in His Humor*. His function is usually that of victim and butt. No hoax is palpable enough for his apprehension, while his egregious vanity relishes the flood of ironical compliment which his associates shower upon him. He is the victim of a conspiracy entered into between his friends and a London grisette, and swallows an absurd story about a marvellous specific against all human ills, known as "tinder water." At least one suggestion for the representation of Wagtail seems to have been supplied by Captain Bobadil. The Captain's famous panegyric upon tobacco ——in which he expatiates upon "the vertue of it, for the expulsion of rhewmes, raw humours, crudities, obstructions, with a thousand of this kind"[41]——has its counterpart in a similar encomium paid by Wagtail to coffee:

"He then called for some coffee, and launched out into the virtues of that berry, which, he said, in cold phlegmatic constitutions, like his, dried up the superfluous moisture, and braced the relaxed nerves."[42] etc.

A very clear appropriation by Smollett of an Elizabethan dramatic convention is the elaborate study in the humor of malcontent presented by the character, Cadwallader Crabtree, of *Peregrine Pickle*. Crabtree is of the family of "humorous" cynics and railers that multiplied upon the Elizabethan stage early in the seventeenth century. His function, too, is precisely theirs. They were offsprings of the union between the humor convention and the rising

[39] *Every Man out*, II, ii.
[40] *Random*, XLV.
[41] *Every Man in*, III, v.
[42] *Random*, Chap. XLV.

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spirit of satire; and the splenetic Crabtree is merely an elaborate device for registering attacks upon the conventionalized vices and follies of the time. It is this identity of function and complete embodiment of the generalized qualities of railer and cynic, rather than specific resemblance to any particular character, that determine Crabtree's affiliation. In the apparent disinterestedness of his satire, that is, as a scourger pure and simple, he seems at first to suggest Asper. But he is inspired by none of Asper's zeal for righteousness. Neither is he impelled by an understandable motive such as the envy of Macilente, the deep sense of personal wrong of Marston's Malevole, or the moral chaos which everwhelms the world for Hamlet. He seems rather to be fired with a Swift-like passion for degrading human nature, for rendering it disgusting by exhibiting the loathesomeness of its moral ulcers. And in the shocking coarseness of his abuse he leaves even Marston behind. One dissimulation he practises, which suggests the disguise sometimes assumed by the malcontent, and the pretended madness of some of them. He takes his victims off their guard by pretending to be "utterly bereft of the sense of hearing," and he is admitted into company "for the entertainment he affords by his sarcastic observations and the pleasant mistakes to which he is subject from his infirmity."

By means of this strategy the old satirist was able to thread the most secret passages in the temple of Scandal:

> As I am considered (while silent) in no other light than that of footstool or elbow-chair, they divest their conversation of all restraint before me, and gratify my sense of hearing with strange things, which, (if I could prevail upon myself to give the world that satisfaction) would compose a curious piece of secret history, and exhibit a quite different idea of characters from what is commonly entertained.[43]

Soon a plan is conceived of turning this invaluable information to practical account. It is determined that Crabtree shall assume the character of an oriental magician and undertake to answer all questions touching the past, present,and future of such as consult him. By clever maneuvering only those whose most intimate personal affairs are known to him are permitted to consult this oracle of destiny. Every response made by the disguised cynic is a bitter and crushing rebuke of some vicious act or intention of the questioner, who flees in terror from such omniscience.

[43] *Pickle*, Chap. LXXII.

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It is impossible to follow out the details of this huge imposture without being reminded of *The Alchemist* at almost every point. Jonson's design, to be sure, is as much more intricate than Smollett's as his art is superior. With consummate skill he contrives a double-acting satire which exposes both the intriguer and his victim. The relation of the conspirators to the central situation is also different. Subtle, Face, and Doll Common have other ends in view than the exposure and humiliation of a group of vicious men and women; yet the exposure is impressively affected, and the plotters are seen to be as deep in rascality as the worst of their dupes. In details, however, the two intrigues are closely parallel. One finds in both the same cant, professional jargon, and atmosphere of bogus mystery. The same array of hypocrisy, greed, and sensuality passes in review. Feeble imitations of Dapper, Sir Epicure, and Tribulation Wholesome move amid the throng. Finally, the select *clientele* that seeks to avail itself of the clairvoyant powers of the great Hadgi is presented in mass as follows:

> It would be an endless task to recount every individual response which our magician delivered in the course of his conjuration. He was consulted in all cases of law, physic, and trade, over and above the ordinary subjects of marriage and fornication; his advice and assistance were solicited by sharpers, who desired to possess an infallible method of cheating unperceived; by fortune-hunters, who wanted to make prize of widows and heiresses; by debauchees, who were disposed to lie with other men's wives,[44] etc.

Other parallels in language, incident and character between the novels of Smollett and Elizabethan drama could be pointed out, but enough have been given, doubtless, to prove that neither Scott's assertion that the novels are constructed of "the inexhaustible riches of invention," nor Thackeray's, that they are "the recollection of his own adventures," is strictly true. Of the two statements, however, Thackeray's is much nearer the truth than Scott's. It would be idle to contend that in writing the novels Smollett had not drawn heavily upon his "own career of life." The very "profusion" and "prodigality" which Scott marks are to be thus explained. Wide observation and varied experience are important elements in the equipment of all novelists. To none are they more nearly indispensable than to the writer of the realistic novel of adventure. Without them his vein soon runs thin, his invention grows jaded,

[44] *Pickle*, Chap. LXXXIII.

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and his devices become hackneyed and stale. But, even so, his fiction is almost never merely a "recollection"of what he has seen and heard. The facts of experience are the raw materials with which the novelist works, and they are often so transformed as to be scarcely recognizable in the finished product. Thackeray's assertion that Smollett invented little, needs qualification. Strictly speaking, he perhaps exercised the creative imagination in a very moderate degree. But this is not equivalent to saying that the actual facts of his life passed unmodified into his novels. Except in its most rigorous exercise, observation is quite as largely a subjective as an objective matter. What we see is determined in considerable measure by the media, material and spiritual, through which our vision acts. The "strange companions" and "queer acquaintances" which Thackeray assigns to Smollett as the originals of the figures in *Random*, *Pickle*, and *Clinker* were perhaps not abnormal at all. In passing from actual life to the pages of the novels they were considerably distorted by the medium of traditional caricature and satire through which Smollett regarded them.

Nevertheless, in Smollett's adherence to actual experience lie both his strength and his weakness. By means of it he was able to give freshness and comparative veracity to a type of fiction that tends strongly to conventional extravagance; but because of it he limited his imagination, neglected to perceive and to point out the philosophical significance of experience, and remained very much of the reporter and the chronicler to the end. He was too heated as an eager participant in life for the calm reflection which leads to an apprehension of its laws.

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XXXVII

THE NUREMBERG SCHEMBART MANUSCRIPTS[1]

THE chief difficulty in tracing the origin of the secular drama in Germany is the lack of texts to prove the performance of other than religious plays. Nevertheless a sufficient number of secular texts have been brought to light[2] to contradict the old belief that expansion of the comic scenes [3]in the religious dramas resulted in the early Carnival play. M. J. Rudwin, in his notable study,[4]proved the Carnival play to have been "the natural outgrowth of the Carnival customs themselves." Modern historians of literature agree with him on this point but discuss the development of the *Fastnachtspiel* in Nuremberg no further than to declare its origin to have been in the most important masque of the time, the *Schembartlauf*.[5] Yet in the recent special work on the history of the German drama, *Das deutsche Drama*,[6] F. Michael disclaims any immediate connection between the *Schembartlauf* and the plays.[7] Up to the present no detailed examination of the manuscripts in which the *Schembartlauf* was recorded, the so-called *Schembartbücher*, has appeared. It will be of advantage to study the actual content of the manuscripts in order to estimate their importance for the history of German literature. Conclusions may then be drawn as to the possible relation of the *Schembartlauf* to the *Fastnachtspiele*.

In all there are about fifty *Schembartbücher* extant, most of which are to be found in the libraries of Nuremberg and Munich. Many

[1] The writer is deeply indebted to Professor Max Herrmann of the University of Berlin for his valuable advice and assistance in the preparation of this study of the *Schembartbücher*. Grateful acknowledgment is also due to Professor R. H. Fife of Columbia University for his interest and suggestions.

[2] For a complete bibliography of this material cf. M. J. Rudwin, *The Origin of the German Carnival Comedy*, New York, 1920, pp. 67–68.

[3] Such are the episode of the *Krämerszene* and the scenes about the mouth of hell, in which the devils (or clowns) appear.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

[5] Cf., for example, Golther, *Die deutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1912, p. 543: "Das Fastnachtspiel ist eine Gelegenheitsdichtung, die aus den Maskeraden und Umzügen sich herausbildete. . . . . In Nürnberg war das Schembartlaufen besonders üblich, Schembart bedeutet bärtige Maske usw."

[6] *Das deutsche Drama*, hrsg. v. R. Arnold, München, 1925.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 41: "Für Nürnberg ist ein unmittelbarer Zusammenhang zwischen Schembartlauf und dramatischem Spiel nicht bezeugt."

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are in private hands and difficult of access. After examining thirty of these manuscripts, I find that they present likenesses which establish the essential components of the record of the *Schembartlauf* itself. In addition to this record the manuscripts contain diverse chronicles of varying length, which do not need to be considered here.[8]

[8] The libraries with the largest collections of *Schembartbücher* are the Nürnbergisches Stadtarchiv, the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, and the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Several Schembart costumes and masks are on view at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg and at the Baierisches Nationalmuseum in Munich. The Lipperheidische Kostümsammlung in the Staatliche Kunstbibliothek, Berlin, contains two MSS. With the kind advice of Professor Fritz Brüggemann (Aachen) three MSS were selected for special study as being most representative; they are two from the Nürnbergisches Stadtarchiv, listed as 'Norica 444' and 'Amberger 54' (the so-called Bernhaupt' sche Chronik), and one from the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, listed as Gs. 2196. Reproductions of the text and drawings of the MSS have been made as fllowos: New paragraph, as in case of M. M. Mayer Flögel, etc.

G. A. Will, *Die kleine Geschichte des Nürnbergischen Schönbartlaufens.* Altdorf, 1671, includes the whole text and drawings of a *Schembartbuch.* The text has been added to by Will, and the drawings are very small and not in colors, though true copies.

M. M. Mayer, *Des alten Nürnbergs Sitten und Gebräuche in Freud und Leid.* Erste Abteilung. Das Schembartbuch, I Heft, Nuremberg, 1831. 20 drawings are here reproduced in colors, and the text of the MS is reprinted.

Flögel's *Geschichte des Groteskkomischen,* hrsg. v. F. W. Eberling, Leipsic, 1862. Contains colored reproductions of 3 costumes (for the years 1459, 1460, 1463) on Plate XVII.

R. Koenig, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte,* Leipsic, 1879, contains (I, 212–13) drawings of 3 *Schembartläufer* and of 2 wooden masks used by them.

Alwin Schultz, *Deutsches Leben im XIV. u. XV. Jahrhundert,* Vienna, 1892. Fig. 479 is a reproduction of the dance of the butchers, Fig. 480, 481, 547 are drawings of the *Höllen* for the years 1506, 1518, and 1521 respectively. On Plates XXXI and XXXII are given the costumes for the years 1459, 1482, 1506, 1513, 1519, 1520, in colors.

Vogt and Koch, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur,* Leipsic, 1897, p. 243 (1926, 260) contains one plate of colored reproductions from the *Schembartbücher:* 2 *Schembartläufer,* the *Wilder Mann,* and the *Hölle* for the year 1522.

Karl Drescher, in 1908, published for the *Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen* in Weimar the complete Hamburg Schembart MS in the original size and colors, though not in the original arrangement. The preface includes a discussion of the *Schembartlauf.*

In addition to the histories of literature, the following works offer clarifying information regarding the content of the *Schembartbücher: Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte,* Nürnberg, Vols. 1, 2, 3, 10, 11; Wilhelm Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus der Germanen,* etc. Berlin 1875; *Antike Wald-und Feldkulte,* Berlin, 1877; Karl Weinhold, *Ueber das Komische im altdeutschen Schauspiel,* in Gösches *Lehrbuch für Litteraturgeschichte,* 1865; *Zur Geschichte des heidnischen Ritus,* Berlin, 1896; Karl Simrock, *Handbuch der deutschen Mythologie,* Bonn, 1874; Seb-

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The description that follows is not based on any one *Schembartbuch*, but is a representative arrangement of the text referring to the *Schembartlauf* in all the MSS studied.

The manuscripts are bound in boards, usually brown in color, and in some cases decorated with a stamped design. The title page bears a short description of the purpose and content of the book:

Schemparth/Buch/Jn Welchem wm/1449 Jar an biss auff das 1539: /mit Fleiss abgerissen und mit Farbe aigentlichen ausgestrichen/sein, Was Jn Jedem Jar fur Schem/parthem und mit was Fation ge-/loffen, wieuil der Mennlein, und/wer Jedesmals Jre Hauptleuth ge-/West, und/ Wo sie ausgeloffen sein.

The next three pages contain a poem in the style of the *Spruch* or *Schwankgedicht* of the *Meistersinger*:

Alls man zält dreyzehenhundter Jar/und Acht und Viertzig Jar fürwahr/ Als Kayser Carrlus der Viert/Das Heilig Römisch Reich Regiert/Da machten Jn Nürn berg der Statt/Die Zunfft ein Bundtnuss widern Rath.

This poem, consisting of seventy-eight *Knüttelverse*, is for the most part a rimed transcription of an account in the chronicle of Sigmund Meisterlin of Nuremberg, relating the origin of the annual festival of the butchers.[9] There seems to have been an uprising of the guilds in the year 1348, in which the *Metzger* did not participate, for which they were rewarded with the permission to celebrate the *Fastnacht* every year with a dance. The author here adds a description of the costumes and the celebration:

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astian Brant, *Das Narrenschiff*, hrsg. v. Zarncke, Leipsic, 1854; *The Ship of Fools*, translated by Alexander Barclay, Edinburgh, 1874, containing reproductions of the original wood-cuts by Brant and others; Karl Theodor Hampe, *Die Entwicklung des Theaterwesens in Nürnberg*, Nuremberg, 1900; Max Herrmann, *Forschungen zur deutschen Theatergeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1914; Julius Petersen, *Das deutsche Nationaltheater*, Berlin, 1919; M. J. Rudwin, *op. cit.*

Further: Sigmund Heldt's *Trachtenbuch in the Lipperheidische Sammlung* (Berlin), a manuscript of the 16th century, containing some thousand colored costume drawings; H. Doege, Die Trachtenbücher des 16, Jahrhunderts, in *Beiträge zur Bücherkunde und Philologie*, Leipzig, 1903; W. Quinke, *Katechismus der Kostümkunde*, Leipsic, 1889; Max v. Boehn, *Das Bühnenkostüm*, Berlin, 1921; *Der Tanz*, Berlin, 1926; Fr. M. Böhme, *Die Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland*, Leipsic, 1886. The following journals: *Zts. des Vereins für Volkskunde*, hrsg. v. Karl Weinhold u. a., especially vols. 1895, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1904, 1907, 1911; *Mitteilungen des Vereins der Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, hrsg. v. Mummenhoff; *Mitteilungen des germanischen Nationalmuseums in Nürnberg* (1898, 1901).

[9] Cf. Chroniken, *op. cit.*, 3, 276. This account was written in the year 1488.

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Wurfen auch viel fliegendes Feuer/Verbrannten auch allemal ein Höll/ Mit grosser Kurzweil und Geschell./

The words 'Höll' and 'Kurzweil' are reminiscent of the plays of the Middle Ages, and point to theatrical presentations for which there might be texts. There is no 'Höll' to be seen, however, on the colored drawing of the *Metzgertanz* which covers the next two pages. About 35 figures drawn on a gray background are shown executing a round-dance led by two dancers carrying staffs decorated with the figure of a goat and an ox, the emblems of the gild. In three corners of the drawing stand disguised figures,bearing about the waist a horse or goat made of painted cloth and a false head, so that the men appear to be riding on the animals. In the fourth corner are three musicians playing the fife and the trumpet, for the dance, and near them stands a man holding up a small tree hung with round mirrors. The tree is apparently meant to personify the Spring which the dancers are celebrating and the mirrors reflect the sun's rays to bring the light closer to its worshippers. This old custom, which we know in the Christmas tree and the May tree, is connected with the folk conception of the *Baumseele* as the spirit of vegetation.[10] The 'mounted' figures were no doubt meant as a popular satire of the tournaments, where the knights who waited their turn also stood at the corners of the court.[11] The clowning of these pseudo-knights would provide a kind of theatrical improvisation at the *Reigen* of the *Metzger*.

The first *Schembartlauf* is represented on the next two pages; on the first of these is a colored drawing of the *Schembart* costume of the year 1449, and on the second a short text:

ANNO 1449 war Cuntz Eschenlorr hauptmann Jm Schemparthe Liefenn auss Jnn des Cristian weissenn hauss. bey der Lanngen-/pruckenn und warn der Mennlein in hierob steennder Klaid/ung vier uund zweinzig nemblich zwolf vonn den Erbern/uund zwölf auss der Gemain. Uund warteten auf die Metzger/Kaufften den Schempart von Jnen umb ein Gulden.

The *Schembartläufer* on the first page is represented in a running position on a little hill; beside him is drawn his coat of arms with the name Cuntz Eschenlor written above it. In one hand he holds

[10] Cf. Mannhardt, *Der Baumkultus der Germanen*, p. 181 ff.

[11] This satire was common enough, and tournaments were held among the citizens on sleds instead of horses and with clubs for spears. The masks at the *Metzgertanz* have nothing to do with the traditionary demoniacal mask, as they do not cover the face, i.e. they do not change the man into a demon.

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a long pike, the red staff topped by a point. In the other hand he has a bundle of green leaves from which shoots a red flame. The costume is very simple. On his head and about his face the *Läufer* wears a green hood, his face is covered by a simple mask, on his hands are large red gloves, and about his waist he has a girdle of red bells. He wears a white doublet with long sleeves, one of which is green and the other white, and from the waist to his long, red, pointed shoes, he wears closely-fitting white hose. At his feet stands a wooden tub filled with water in which fish are swimming. An additional line in the text explains this tub:

Samelten am Aschermitwog Fisch/assen dieselben danach miteinander.

The text also adds: "Jn diesem Jar was den Nürnberger Krieg mit Marggraf Albrechten. Es war auch diss mal ein grosser sterb zu Nurnberg. Anno 1450 Luff keyn Schempart." The text is thus given in the form usual in the chronicles of the period. The celebration of the *Schembartläufer*, with a procession, the collection of gifts, and the final carousal at the end of the day, is characteristic of the festival of Spring.[12] A comparison of the *Schembart* costume with the costumes depicted in the rich pictorial matter preserved from the Middle Ages shows that it conformed to the fashion of the time in every particular but one,[13] namely, the very short doublet, which does not reach below the waist, doubtless in order to leave the masker free to run unhindered.[14] Such a comparison also

[12] Cf. Weinhold *Zur Geschichte des heidnischen Ritus*, p. 26; *Zts. d. Vereins für Volkskunde*, 1898, p. 441, Weinhold, *Ueber das Faschingsrennen zu Murau*, 1904, p. 423, R. Steig, *Ueber Fastnachtsbräuche in Bärwalde.* Two festivals similar to the *Schembartlauf* and still preserved in Bavaria, are the *Perchtellauf* and the *Huttlerlauf.* For these cf. *ibid.* 1899, p. 109, and Rudwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

[13] Groups of men celebrating any event (*e.g.* a marriage) might wear the same costume, cf. Schultz, *op. cit.*, p. 322 (a quotation from Bernhard Rohrbach's *Liber gestorum*, 1464); colored costumes, especially costumes in mi-parti, were very popular at that time, cf. *ibid.*, p. 380; pointed shoes came into fashion just about 1450, cf. *ibid.* 377; gloves were always worn by ladies and gentlemen, cf. Böhme, *op. cit.*, p. 88; bells had been a regular article of apparel since 1350, cf. Quincke, *op. cit.*, p. 126, cf. also Schultz, *op. cit.*, Figs. 321, 315, and Plate XXIII.

[14] In the latter half of the 15th century edicts were issued against the "schaurlichen kurzen Kleidung," cf. Schultz, *op. cit.*, 328 ff., but the doublet always reached "eyner hand breyt under dem gürtel." The doublet without a skirt is found in the illustrations to the performances of Terence' Eunuchus in Ulm and Strassburg, 1486–96, cf. Herrmann, *op. cit.*, Figs. 22–30, and 44–46; also on an illustration (Plate 18) in the *Mittelalterliches Hausbuch* (composed after 1450) published by H. Th. Bossert and W. F. Storck, Leipsic, 1912), depicting a sleight-

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makes it clear that the bundle of leaves and the pike were carried by the *Schembartläufer* were the well-known theatrical requisites of the professional actors,[15] though originally the leaves were used as the 'Lebensrute' with which to assist the growth of life.[16] The patch of grass on which the *Läufer* is pictured as standing is a regular feature of costume drawings in the 16th century.[17] Finally the captain under whose leadership the company ran thru the city, finds his counterpart in the captains of every group of Carnival players.[18]

The twenty-one drawings and texts that follow in the *Schembartbuch* for the processions of the next twenty-five years (in four cases war prevented all festivites), show no marked difference from the first *Schembartlauf*. There occur the fashionable changes of style in the costumes[19] and additional comments in the texts regarding current events, and the names of the captains are given for each year. It will not be necessary to describe the costumes of the remaining *Schembartläufer* in the book, as they simply follow the mode, showing the rich variety of ornamentation popular in the Middle Ages.[20]

A new element in the *Schembartbuch* now claims our attention. For the year 1475 the first illustration of a *Hölle* is given.[21] Under the text, "Hetten auch ein Hell war ein grosser Drach uff eine Schlaiff," there is a drawing of a green fire-spitting serpent, with its claw-shaped feet resting on the crosspieces of a simple sled, its red wings spread wide, its long tail circling, and its red tongue

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of-hand trickster performing before a crowd. The very same costume as the *Schembartläufer* wears appears in another illustration of this MS (Plate 2), representing 8 'Gaukler' performing their tricks before the king and his court.

[15] The 'Gaukler' in the *Mittelalterliches Hausbuch* (cf. note 14) also carry these same requisites, the leaves hiding a firework of some sort as in the *Schembartbuch*. The devils in the *Passionsspiel* also used the pike and a bellows which emitted a flame, cf. Herrmann, *op. cit.*, Figs. 113, 122. Poles were also carried by the *Fastnachtspieler*, cf. Hampe, *op. cit.*, *Ratsverlässe* Nos. 10 and 11.

[16] Cf. Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 151, 299, 303.

[17] Cf. the reproductions from Sigmund Heldt's MS (*op. cit.*) in Herrmann, *op. cit.*, Figs. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13.

[18] Cf. Hampe, *op. cit.*, *Ratsverlässe* Nos. 2, 4, etc.

[19] The greatest change was in the doublet, whose front was opened to insert the 'Brusttuch,' usually with a design on it.

[20] Such are the patterns of flames and flowers, of numbers and initials, of stripes and designs of all kinds. Cf. Schultz, *op. cit.*

[21] The *Schembartläufer* apparently took the name for their stage from the most sensational scene in the *Passionsspiel*, that before the 'Höllenrachen.'

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darting fire.[22] In the festival of Spring the Winter was represented as an evil creature to be destroyed at the end of the celebrations. This motif is repeated in the *Hölle* for the year 1507. "Die Hell was ein Basiliseus gefurt auf einer Schleiff, wurde vor dem Rathaus gesturmet." The 'Basiliseus,' or 'Basilisk,' was a mythical snake whose look was fatal, represented with the head, wings, and feet of a rooster. This corresponds to the creature depicted here. The destruction of the effigy is evidently the retention in a much reduced state of the old custom of the conflict between Summer and Winter,[23] though it is doubtful whether the Schembartläufer had its real significance in mind. The *Hölle* for 1511 is also a dragon, but the motif is expanded. "Uund was die Hell ein Lindwurm mit dreinn Kopf die speuten feuer auss." The serpent in the drawing has three heads and bears on its tail the figure of a woman. It is obvious that this figure, dressed in white and holding a wreath in her hand, represents the *Jungfrau*, who, as an unmarried person, may not remain in the community which is seeking fertility from the nature spirits.[24]

The storming of the *Hölle* gains new meaning when an artificial castle is carried on the sled. This motif appears first for the year 1493. ". . . . het ein hell, ds war ein gross schloss mit vier Erckern und einem Storchsnest auf einer schleiff. Würd vor denn Rathause gesturmbt und Verbrand." The castle is a simple tower and on its roof sits the stork in its nest, a symbol of the Spring. For 1495 the same kind of a tower is shown, this time surrounded by a wall. For 1504 two such towers stand on the sled, and the text reads: "hetten ein hell war ein Pastey mit Zweyen Thürn ummauert." In this case the castle is being attacked and defended by fools (of the Sebastian Brant variety,[25]) vegetation demons, usually recognizable by their hay-forks, and knights. Two other *Höllen*, for the years 1503 and 1524, show the castle carried on

[22] The form given the dragon here was the popular conception, cf. the woodcut by H. S. Behan, in *Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes*, by O. Henne am Rhyn (p. 49). Cf. also Flögel, *op. cit.*, Plate XXIII.

[23] Cf. Rudwin, *op. cit.*, 21.

[24] The custom is still continued; for example, in the Tirol a wagon, in which sit young men dressed as girls, is pulled out to the fields as a Carnival celebration. Cf. *Zts. d. V. f. Volkskunde*, 1900, 80 ff. Texts for *Fastnachtspiele* based on this custom are to be found in A. v. Keller's edition (1853): No. 76, "Der Gertraudt Einsalzen," No. 77, "Di Vasnacht von Maigtum Einsalzen," No. 91, "Ain Einsalzen Vasnacht." The community had to be cleansed of all that was dead or deadly.

[25] Sebastian Brant's, *Das Narrenschiff* (cf. note 8) became popular 1500–1506.

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the back of an elephant, a rare sight then,[26] as were the cannons with which these castles are provided. The text, however, makes no comment except: "Die Hell ward ein helfand und ein schloss darauf mit geschütz." The storming of an artificial castle is described by Hans Sachs in one of his Historiae;[27] it was made of "tuch und blechern," had "veil schiesslöchern" from which "Ein türkisch mann in roten part . . . . sampt zehen klein türkischen Mannen . . . . geworffen wurn." These were no doubt dolls, as in the drawing of the *Schembarthölle.*

Such figures appear again in a group of *Höllenbühnen* representing variations of the popular *Narrenmotif.* Every human weakness was satirized in the garb of the *Narr.* The fools were given a bogey, called a *Narrenfresser,*[28] who took various forms. Hans Sachs describes two types,[29] one of which was "feist," while the other was "lang, grausam, thierisch, unfug und wildt." Three *Höllen* present variations on this theme. In the *Hölle* for the year 1508 the *Narrenfresser,* sitting within a representation of castle walls on the sled, is devouring children. "Anno 1508. Jhr Hoel war ein Kindterfresser Zweyer Gaden Hoch, frass ein Kindt nach den andern, die er aus der Daschen Zog."[30] "Anno 1516 . . . . Und die hell ward ein grosser Teufl auf einer Schlaiff der frass alte Weib." The costume of the devil is typical—a rough fur covers his body, he wears horns on his head, and horrible masks are affixed to his stomach and knees.[31] For 1522 the *Hölle* bore the "feister Narrenfresser."

In many of the *Höllen* the motif of the fool is combined with themes from the life of the burgher. "Anno 1510. Uund Jr hell so sie auf einer Schlaiff furt, wz ein Jungprunne." The "Jungbrunnen"[32] is represented as a regular city fountain of the type that

[26] An elephant appeared at the great fairs in Cologne and Frankfort in the eighties of the 15th century. Cf. Schultz, *op. cit.*, 435–6. The elephant with a castle on its back was adopted as the emblem of the Order of the Elephant, which was founded at this time. Cf. J.H. Fr. Berlien, *Der Elephantenorden,* etc., Kopenhagen, 1846. The "Elephant-and-Castle" frequently appears as a tavern sign in England, especially for inns where theatrical performances are given.

[27] Hans Sachs, hrsg. v. A. v. Keller, 1853, II, 395 ff., "Historia von dem kayserlichen sieg in Aphrica etc. Anno 1535."

[28] Cf. Zarncke's edition of Brant's *Narrenschiff,* Einleitung, p. *cxxxi* ff.

[29] Hans Sachs, *op. cit.*, 5, 300 ff., "Der narren-fresser." 1530.

[30] Was this rime intended?

[31] Cf. the *Höllendiener* in Fig. 113, Herrmann, *op. cit.*

[32] For this belief in rejuvenation thru bathing in a well, cf. J. Bolte, "Die Altweibermühle," *Archiv für das Studium der neuer Sprachen,* CII, 1898.

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was introduced in the 15th century. The fools were no doubt given a bath in the fountain to rejuvenate them. "Anno 1513 was die hell ein prunnen uund ein pachofen mit narrn." The fountain and the oven are set up at either end of the sled, between them flows the water of the fountain, and in the water fools are wading. Some are being pulled out of the water in buckets only to be put into the oven on the other side.[33] "Anno 1517 . . . . die hell was ein Haus voll Narn auf einer Schlaiff." On the sled is a little hut, out of the windows appear the heads of the fools. "Anno 1512. Die Hell was ein Kram wie ein Dandlmarckt." The windows of the hut are provided with boards which project outwards, and on which knick-knacks are displayed. Such trifles also hang from the ceiling in the hut, and at the windows there are several figures, waiting to sell their wares. This is not merely the representation of a store, as the description "Dandlmarckt" shows. "Dandl" is the same as "Tand, Tändelei," i.e. things without real value, and thus in keeping with the Carnival celebration.[34] "Anno 1515. Die hell wz ein Windmühl." A fool is shown driving a laden ass to a mill which is placed on a cart. "Anno 1523. Die Hell war ein Schleiffmühl, darauff man Narrn Schliffe." In the drawing three fools are hanging to a large wheel.[35] "Anno 1511. Die Hell war ein grosse Buchsen, daraus schuss man alte Weib." The long, yellow, and ornamented cannon rests on a large box on the sled, from its mouth shoots a doll dressed to appear like an old woman, a bright flame surrounds her. The Middle Ages is well-known for the public punishment of women. "Anno 1520 Die hell was ein Summer Hauss." The illustration shows a hut on the sled, this time with the walls half open. In the house are several figures: a naked woman is being threatened by her husband who is brandishing a fool's cap in her face, while a devilish figure holds a mirror up to them. Nearby stands a priest with his hands raised in horror. This seems to be the popular theme of the taming

[33] Cf. Hans Sachs, *op. cit.*, 5, 305 ff., "Das narren-bad," also *Sämtliche Fastnachtsspiele von Hans Sachs*, hrsg. v. E. Goetze, Halle, 1880–86, No. 4, "Das Fastnachtsspiel vom bösen Weib," 1533. Here the "Magd" says to the "Gesell": "Ihr schwitzt viel leicht im Narren bad."

[34] Perhaps this *Hölle* was meant to represent a so-called *Glückshafen*, an old-fashioned type of lottery. The *Glückshafen* were often put up at the festivals (1483 in Cologne, 1504 in Zurich, 1506 in Frankfort, cf. Schultz, *op. cit.*, p. 444). Cf. Chroniken, *op. cit.*, 11, 552 ff., for the one held in Nuremberg in 1489.

[35] This drawing is very similar to the wood-cuts used by Brant for his chapters entitled "Von Gluckesfall" (No. 37), and "Von end des gewaltes" (No. 56).

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of the shrew. Another pleasure of the burghers is represented for 1521. "Die Hell was ein Vogelherd darauf man Narrn fing." The sled is turned into a lawn with small trees from which many fools are dropping to earth. A bird-snare is arranged below, and at one end in a bush the hunter is hidden, prepared to draw the strings.[36]

The text for the year 1518 contains more detail regarding the *Hölle*:

Die Hell war ein Venusberg, darinnen sass Venus, uund Tanhäusser, auch noch yber 30 Personen, ein Doctor, 3. Junckfrauen ein Zigeiner, Narr, gethrey Eckhart, ein Bodt, ein Trumether, der H. Statspfeiffer, warn also 62. Personen, so in der Hell sassen, die Haubtleuth waren etc.

The discrepancy between the numbers in this description is to be seen as well in the illustration, for the sled is by no means large enough to hold so many persons. There are at the most 13 persons on the *Venusberg*, of whom three are musicians, while the others represent lovers embracing. The stage is furnished like a *Gartenlaube*, the ladies and gentlemen are seated about a table on which are glasses, etc. The trumpeter, piper, and bass violist stand nearby and play. To the centre of the table is fixed a pole, which supports a small round board on which a goat is dancing and blowing a trumpet. The folk-lore element of this *Getreidedämon* may be extended to include the *Venusberg* itself, which originally signified the withdrawal of the gods into the mountains in the Winter. In the Spring they were brought forth again in the festival. The *Schembartlauf*, to be sure, takes up the theme at a time when the goddess was called *Frau Venus*, and when her retinue always included Tannhäuser and der getreue Eckehard, as in Hans Sachs' first *Fastnachtspiel*, "Das Hoffgesindt Veneris."[37] Though this play was performed in 1517, that is, one year before the *Venusberg Hölle*, it nevertheless did not form the model for the *Schembartläufer*. There can be no possibility of the question-and-answer play as in Hans Sachs, but the *Hölle* seems to go back to other traditions.

The last *Schembartlauf* in the manuscript, for the year 1539, was very extravagant in comparison with the others. One hundred and thirty-nine *Schembartläufer* took part in the procession,

[36] This method was regularly used for snaring birds, cf. *Mittelalterliches Hausbuch* (note 14), Plate 18.

[37] Sämtliche Fastnachtsspiele (Goetze), *op. cit.*, I, No. 2.

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while about twenty-five others looked after the *Hölle*. The text contains a list of names of all those taking part, and the *Hölle* is presented a second time on a large drawing of the final scene before the *Rathaus*. The costume worn by the *Schembartläufer* is also given several times, and indeed it is a more splendid costume than the previous ones. In the course of time there had been changes, the barett decorated with flowing ostrich plumes had appeared, puffed and slashed sleeves came into fashion, and now, with the introduction of the stocking, short trunk-hose were worn, slashed and trimmed with fancy ribbons. The *Schembartbuch*, as Alwin Schultz remarks, might be considered a "Modejournal" of the time. The costume for 1539 is in purple and gold. The *Hölle* has the form of a ship on wheels. This is not the first time that a ship has appeared in the *Schembartbuch:* the *Hölle* for 1506 is called a "Narrnschiff" in the text, and is presented as such.[38] The ship was originally the common element of all festivals, and was the sacred dwelling-place of the deity.[39] The theme of the *Hölle* for 1539 is indicated by the text: "Die hell war ein Narrenschiff, darin ein Pfaff ein Doktor, Narr und Teuffel. Dasselbe ist nach malss von Jnen auff dem Markt gesturmet worden." The drawing shows two figures in black gowns, the priests; one of these points to his companion, who is standing at the edge of the ship and is displaying to the spectator a draughts board, a game instead of the book of truth. The second drawing of the *Hölle* takes us right into the heart of Altnürnberg. The scene on the Salzmarkt is viewed from the Rathaus itself, across the top of the two pages used for this drawing is a line of easily recognizable buildings: the "Schau," St. Sebalds Kirche, etc.[40] Here before the *Rathaus* the *Schembartlauf* comes to an end, the *Fastnachtsfeier* is concluded with the ringing of bells, the shooting of fireworks, and the storming and burning of the *Hölle*. The ship is rolled in from one side, from the market-place, fourteen men in peasant costumes pulling on the rope, and towards them marches the large band of *Schembartläufer*, led by three captains and the drummer on horseback. All are dressed in the costume already described, and the *Läufer* all carry their leaves and spears. Crowded

[38] There is nothing peculiar about the form of the ship, but it is also on wheels. The wood-cut on the title-page of Brant's "Narrenschiff" was probably the inspiration here.

[39] Rudwin, *op. cit.*, p. 4 ff.

[40] For a map of Nuremberg in the 15th century cf. Chroniken, *op. cit.*, II.

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about a striped flag in the same colors as their costume, they advance on the *Hölle* and put up ladders against the ship to attack it. Little cannons project from the cabin, and up in the basket on the mast are two figures, a fool with a trumpet and an astronomer with a globe. On the ship itself there are a number of vegetation demons and the priests with the draughts board. Among the crowds about the ship the *Wilder Mann*[41] is to be seen. The *Schembartlauf* thus ends with a spectacle, with the old Nerthus ship of the Germanic tribes turned into a vehicle for an attack on the church. The *Schembartläufer* becomes the *Gegenspieler* to the priest, punishing his scorn of the people with destruction.[42]

Before drawing any conclusions from this study it is necessary to test the authenticity of the *Schembartbücher*. Though on the whole the manuscripts are uniform in content, there are enough differences and peculiar features to arouse doubts as to their reliability as a record of the actual *Schembartlauf*. In some MSS the "Narrenschiff" stands in water and not on the sled, and we recall the fools flying through the air.[43] Another instance is the discrepancy between the number of persons mentioned in the text for the *Venusberghölle* of 1518 and those shown in the accompanying drawing. The artist's phantasy seems to have played some part in the creation of the book.

A comparison of the data afforded by the MSS with the descriptions of the *Schembartlauf* given in medieval documents, however, results in a general ratification of the record. Only those references can be considered which deal with the *Schembartlauf* itself, and not with other masks or maskers.[44] The Chronicle of Heinrich Deichsler[45] in several instances corresponds to the

[41] The *Wilder Mann* is characterized by his costume: he is clad in leaves, has long, black hair, which is circled by a wreath of leaves, and over his shoulder he carries a branch to which is tied a large doll representing a man. He incorporated the spirit of dead vegetation and was burned during the Carnival. Cf. Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 96; Rudwin, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[42] 62 costumes and texts for the *Schembartlauf* is the record for these 90 years, 1449-1539. The *Höllen* number 21.

[43] In the *Hölle* for 1521. In some cases also the windmill and the ass are depicted as standing on the ground, without a cart or sled; the stork in the *Hölle* for 1493 is drawn with a large worm in its beak, and so on. The texts referring to the *Schembartlauf* are, however, generally similar.

[44] 'Schembart' was used for any sort of mask, even in the 14th century. Cf. Hampe, *op. cit.*, *Ratsverlässe*, No. 18; Schultz, *op. cit.*, 411.

[45] Chroniken, *op. cit.*, II, 660, 698. The editor of the chronicle, C. Hegel, con-

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statements of the *Schembartbuch*. For the year 1503 he notes:

Item an der vasnacht da erlaubet man unser herrn, den flaischhackern zu tantzen und liefen 95 schempart und lieffen sunst kain rott oder spil mit reimen laufen oder in die heuser geen.—Item was davor kain fleischhakertanz zu dreien vasnacht nit gewesen, noch kain rott oder schenpert geloffen. das machten unser kriegsleuf die dreu jar.

This corresponds to the text of the Schembartbuch for 1503. Again for 1506 he notes:

Item es warn auch an der rechten vasnacht . . . . schenpart kostenlich in grun und auch als vergittert mit gulden leisten ains vingers preit.—Item sie heten auch kostliche hell, was ein schiff und ein hoher segelpaum und ein wanne darauff, darin sass ein teufel, der traib vil narrnweis am aschermitt wochen, und man verprennt sie.

If we take this to be a more realistic description, as it probably is, the MS shows a slight expansion on the part of the author, but the difference is not important. At least two of the edicts of the Nuremberg council are of value here. For the year 1513 Th. Hampe's list contains the following:

Ain erber rate hat bewilligt . . . . die Metzker ires tanzens nit zu erlassen . . . . dass sie auch des aschrigen mittwochs endlich verschonen mit allen vasnachtischen spilen, und dafür den gailen montag nemen, wie etliche jar her geschehen.

This change of day is also noted in the *Schembartbuch*. Item No. 33 (Hampe) reads:

Den hauptleuten des schemparts under sagen das sie zu der hell nicht zit geprauchen so der gaistlichait ze neid sein mög.

From these statements we may assume that the *Schembartläufer* and their *Hölle* were already well-known to Nuremberg before 1500, and therefore needed no explanation. Finally we have proof of the *Schembartlauf* from Hans Sachs himself, in his poem, "Der scheinpart-spruch. Ankunfft und desselben bedeutung."[46] This poem was not written until 1548, but he was certainly an eye-witness of what he is describing. His description tallies on the whole with the pictures and text given for the last *Schembartlauf* (1539). Of the *Hölle* he says no more than: "Verbrendten

siders Deichsler quite trustworthy, and that his entries were made soon after the events, cf. *ibid.*, p. 540 ff.

[46] Hans Sachs *Werke*(Keller), 4, 200 ff.

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auch ein hell," and "Endlich merck lieber gsell/Des der scheinpar die hell/Verbrendt, das selb bedeut etc." This is characteristic of him. Writing of a bygone and perhaps prohibited festival, he is more interested in pointing the moral than in the actual description. That the theatrical presentation was not lacking is clear from the lines: . . . ."Der erbern rath/Der sie begabet hat/ Mit eym jerlichen tantz/. . . . Sampt diesem fassnacht-spiel."

A further question suggests itself: when were the *Schembartbücher* composed, and what was their origin? The names of the scribes and artists are not given, neither is the date of composition to be found in the MSS themselves. Of significance for their origin is the fact that, though no description is given in the text, the costumes and *Höllen* are essentially the same in all. The names of the captains, the places mentioned, the numbers participating agree in every case. In one[47] I found the statement:

> Anno 1507 wardt Sigmundt Pfinzing und Bertholt Strobel Haubleuth Jm Schempart, ob wol ettlich Sigmund Fürer setzen findt Jch doch Jn einer alten Glaubwürdtige Cronica, das, etc.

Further examination reveals differences in the texts that could only be due to copying. In one MS[48] we read: "Jch, Wassmueth, nam also meinem Wege heim. . . . ." The name, Wassmueth is, however, evidently a corruption. In other MSS[49] the sentence reads; "Ich was müht, Nam also meinen Haimweg . . . ;" "Jch wardt müht, nam also mein Haimweg." The drawings also are often obvious copies. This is evident from the unfinished form of some of them; after repeated careless copying we find, for example, the "Narrenschiff" drawn without cannons projecting from the cabin, and, though the figures have been omitted too, an arm is drawn on the cabin wall![50] We may assume, then, that our MSS, perhaps the majority of them, are copies of an original *Schembartbuch*.[51] We cannot say when the *Schembartbücher* which have come down to us were composed.[52] For the

[47] Norica 444 (cf. note 8).

[48] Karl Drescher, *op. cit.*

[49] Amberger 54, and Norica 444.

[50] Amberger 54.

[51] We cannot tell whether one of the MSS extant is the original, as in each case other chroniclers have added comments. This extra material is often written in three or four hands.

[52] In many cases the MSS are copies made as late as the 18th century, and they contain supplements with costumes from the later period.

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original, however, the limits are given. It was clearly not a collection of loose drawings and texts made over a period of 90 years,[53] but must have been recorded soon after 1539, probably to commemorate the custom. From Hans Sachs' poem it is evident that he had read a *Schembartbuch*, his opening lines are a copy of the *Knüttelverse* in the MS:

> Als dreyzehen hundert jar/Uund neun uund viertzig war,/
> Als Carolus der vierdt/Das römisch reich regiert,/
> Den die gmain nit haben wolt/Doch war der rath im hold/
> Drumb macht die gmain der stat/Ein bund wieder ein rath/

It is thus probable that the original manuscript was composed between 1539 and 1548.

We have found no literary texts in the *Schembartbuch*.[54] The chief interest of the author was concentrated instead on the pictorial illustration of a bygone festival. We may well suppose him to have been an artist, who added a brief chronicle to his work in order to satisfy the historical interest of his time. The book is to be compared perhaps with the *Geschlechterbücher* of the period, in our MS too, the *Wappen* of the captains are included. The *Schembartbuch* also forecasts the later interest[55] in *Trachtenbücher*. It has, however, a definite importance for the history of the German theatre. It is the only source book which shows pictorially the development from the primitive dance to a mere show and finally to a motivated theatrical performance before an audience in the open market-place. The *Schembartlauf* is a highly developed (because taken over by the burghers) *Volks-*

[53] The text is always written on the back of the costume page. The date and names on the latter are in the same hand as the text. We may assume each MS to have been made originally by one person.

[54] The MSS contain rimes for various additional costumes in the supplements, particularly the following: with the costume of a *Wilder Mann* goes the rime: "Jn einer Wildten Manns Gstalt Jch/bey dem Schampart Lüss findten mich." With him goes his wife (the Fangga, cf. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte* p. 148): "Weil sich mein Mann mach auff die Strassen/soll Jch Jhm folgen gleicher massen."; a costume decorated with mirrors: "Von Dannen Laub und Spiegel Clar/ Jch auch ein Zihr dem Schempart war." Another: "Mein Kleidtung war Von Kosten Gantz/Darmit Ziert Jch den Schemparts Dantz."; a costume satirizing the 'Ablasskrämer': "Wardt ganzz behenckth mit Ablass Brief/da Jch mit dem Schempart Lüeff." Three rimes for vegetation demons: "In sollche Klaidtung trat herein/Jch und der Liebste Sohne mein."; "Mit diesen Zweyen Glocken Hab/ Der Fassnacht Jch Geloüth zum Grab."; "Jn dieser Meiner Rauhen Wahr/Loff Jch auch Zu dem Schempart dar."

[55] After 1560, cf. Doege, *op. cit.*

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spiel, and the long tradition of *Volkbräuche* remains its essence. The early *Fastnachtspiele* came at the same time, but represented the trend leading to the development of an artistic drama. There may be influences both ways, but the *Schembartlauf* never rose to the niveau of the *Fastnachtspiel*.[56]

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[56] Rudwin, *op. cit.*, 36 ff., considers the *Fastnachtspiel* to have had the following development: the phallic demons of the originally ritual dance, which was by nature mimetic, became the actors of small detached and humorous episodes ;when the burghers took over these scenes from the peasants trained actors with cultivated plays resulted.

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XXXVIII

GEORGE TICKNOR AND LUDWIG TIECK

CONCERNING Ludwig Tieck's relations to Americans, Köpke, in his biography of Tieck, merely says: "Von Nordamerikanern lernte er [sc. Tieck] den Theologen Robinson[1] und den Literarhistoriker Ticknor kennen."[2] Viewed in the light of other sources, however, the relations of Tieck to George Ticknor, the American historian and student of literature, deserve more than this passing comment and indeed form an interesting chapter in the history of German-American literary contacts.

George Ticknor (1791–1871) is remembered primarily as the foremost American Hispanist of his age. His *History of Spanish Literature* (1849) was translated into various languages, among them Spanish, and still enjoys standing. His excellent collection of Spanish works is now in the Boston Public Library. To American students of German literature Ticknor stands out with Everett and Bancroft as a member of that small group of young Americans who studied at Göttingen early in the nineteenth century and who upon returning to their native country were among the first to advocate a sane and fairminded attitude toward German literature in the Western World. He is one of those of whom Thomas W. Higginson once wrote that they took "our whole American educational system away from English tradition and substituted German methods."[3]

[1] The reference is to Edward Robinson, born 1794 in Southington, Conn., died 1863 in New York. He graduated from Hamilton College, Clinton, New York. After the death of his first wife he studied theology at Andover Theological Seminary. From 1826 to 1830 he travelled in Europe and in 1828 married Therese von Jacob (the authoress Talvj) in Halle. During this sojourn he met Tieck. He became professor of theology at Andover and later at Union Theological Seminary. Robinson traveled extensively in Egypt and Palestine; his principal work is *Biblical Researches in Palestine* (3 vols., Lond. and N. Y., 1841). Probably Tieck met his wife Therese too.

[2] *Ludwig Tieck. Erinnerungen aus dem Leben des Dichters*, von Rudolf Köpke, 2. Teil, Leipzig, 1855, p. 72. Of Americans Tieck met also Francis Lieber, as we shall see below, and a Walter Haven (cf. Schleiermacher's letter to Tieck of May 9, 1831, published by Karl von Holtei in *Briefe an Tieck*, III, Breslau, 1864, p. 353); moreover J. L. Motley, Washington Irving and J. F. Cooper.

[3] Quoted by S. H. Goodnight in *German Literature in American Magazines prior to 1846*, Bulletin of the Univ. of Wisc., No. 188, Philol. and Lit. Series, IV, 1, Madison, 1907, p. 33. Interest in Ticknor has recently been revived through

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Ticknor remained in Göttingen as a student from 1815 to 1817. Then, having been tendered a professorship in French and Spanish literature at Harvard, he traveled in France, Spain and Portugal before returning home in June, 1819.[4] Though he met many prominent men of the day during this sojourn in Germany, he did not become acquainted with Ludwig Tieck. But in 1835 he gave up his duties as professor at Harvard and embarked upon his second voyage to Europe. It was just twenty years since he had departed as a student for his four years' stay abroad. In November, 1835, we find him settling in Dresden for six months. Always intent upon meeting distinguished people, he notes in his journal under date of November 29 that he has been making a few acquaintances and has begun with Ludwig Tieck "who since Goethe's death is the acknowledged head of German literature."[5] He gives his first impression of the poet at length:

He seems past sixty;[6] stout and well built, with a countenance still fine, and which must have been decidedly handsome, but a good deal broken in his person and bent with the gout. He has an air of decision about him that is not to be mistaken, and is, I dare say, somewhat whimsical and peculiar in his opinions and notions, as some of his books intimate, particularly what he has published on the English drama.

But I think he is agreeable; and he has a great deal of knowledge, both in English and old Spanish literature. His collection of Spanish books surprised me. It is a great deal better than Lord Holland's, and a great deal better than any one collection in England, but still, on most points, not so good as mine. He has been forty years in gathering it, and he has a very minute, curious, and critical knowledge of its contents; but his knowledge of Spanish literature goes no farther than his own books will carry him, and in some parts of it I remarked quite a striking ignorance, which surprised me very much until I found how it happened. I have passed two evenings with him, and, as he keeps open house very simply and kindly, after the German fashion, I think I shall go there frequently.

A score of entries in Ticknor's Journal during the next half year prove that he became a rather frequent visitor at the home of Tieck. Soon after his first call he met Baron von Ungern-

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the publication (by Clara L. Penny) of his letters to Pascual de Gayangos (Hisp. Soc. of America, New York, 1927).

[4] Goodnight, *loc. cit.*, is not correct in saying that Ticknor returned to America in 1817.

[5] Hillard, *Life, Letters and Journals of George Ticknor*, I, Boston, 1876, p. 457. Hereafter the work will be referred to as *Ticknor*.

[6] Tieck, born May 31, 1773, was then 62.

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Sternberg there.[7] On December 29 he writes that he has been at Tieck's "two or three times lately,"[8] where he has met some wealthy Russian nobles, a number of distinguished members of the Saxon nobility and the young Prussian Baron Eduard von Bülow, who was living in Dresden. Of him Ticknor writes:

He has published some translations of old English plays and is now occupied with Spanish literature, though not very deeply. . . . . He is a great admirer and follower of Tieck,[9] so that I do not quite agree to all his theories and opinions; but he is a very interesting person, and full of elegant knowledge.

On January 11 Ticknor reports a "literary talk at Tieck's which was more than commonly interesting."[10] On February 2 he tells of a dinner at Count Baudissin's with Tieck and "half a dozen other pleasant persons. Tieck was quite powerful, and talked well about the present state of the German theatre."[11]

Two months later, on April 1, Ticknor writes that through Tieck he has met Friedrich von Raumer, who had come from Berlin to visit the poet "as always at Easter and Michaelmas."[12] Of von Raumer he says:

I liked him. He is a small man, a little more, I suppose, than 50 years old,[13] quick in his motions and perceptions, and very frank in the expression of his opinions and feelings. . . . . Tieck says that the Städte-Ordnung, by which the inhabitants of the towns have been permitted to elect their own municipal officers, was a measure projected and arranged by von Raumer. . . . . In the evening I met him at Tieck's, who read part of a small unpublished work of von Raumer's on Mary Queen of Scots, which gives a less favorable view of her character than even Turner's work.

[7] *Ticknor*, I, p. 460; entry of December 24.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, p. 462.

[9] On Ed. von Bülow see Marie von Bülow, *Hans von Bülows Leben dargestellt aus seinen Briefen*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1921. For his relations to Tieck see Holtei, *op. cit.*, I, p. 31, and II, pp. 23, 30, 31 and 346. Likewise Köpke, *op. cit.*, II, p. 88; and H. von Friesen, *Ludwig Tieck*, I, Wien, 1871, pp. 10–11. See finally *Erinnerungen an Friedrich von Üchtritz und seine Zeit*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 155–156 and 226–228. In 1834 Bülow published his *Novellenbuch* (Leipzig, 3 vols.) with an introduction by Tieck; the latter is reprinted in Tieck's *Kritische Schriften*, II, Leipzig, 1848, pp. 377–388.

[10] *Ticknor*, I, 468.

[11] *Ibid.*, I, 475–476.

[12] *Ibid.*, I, 485. This agrees with the statement of Köpke, *op. cit.*, II, 65, and with the evidence in other sources.

[13] Raumer, born May 14, 1781, was then 54.

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The fact that in introducing Raumer, the staunch royalist, to the democratic Ticknor, Tieck stressed Raumer's connection with the Städte-Ordnung, throws an interesting sidelight upon Tieck's insight into human nature.

Upon another occasion[14] Ticknor was present when Tieck read to a small party

some acute remarks of his own upon Goethe, whom he treated with admiration indeed, but with an admiration more measured and discriminating than is usual among the Germans.

Though Ticknor does not comment further upon these remarks, the judicious reserve which apparently characterized them must have met with his approval. For his own views on Goethe expressed in 1835 after inspecting the Goethe house at Weimar were also rather critical. Concerning the contents of the house he writes:

The whole, in the way it is now exhibited, seemed to me a monument of the vanity of a man who was spoiled by life—a *very long life*—of constant, uniform success, every wish not only fulfilled but anticipated, so that he came at last to think whatever related to himself to be of great consequence to the whole world. He therefore published, or left orders to be published, everything he had ever written, much of which is mere waste-paper. . . . . The whole German nation is however in some degree responsible for this, for during the last 25 years of his life he was humored and worshipped in a way that I think no author ever was before.[15]

About this time a new comedy *Der Oheim* was enjoying popularity in various cities of Germany. Ticknor saw it played in Dresden and relates an anecdote in connection therewith which is interesting because of the light it throws upon Tieck's position. *Der Oheim* was the work of Princess Amalie of Saxony, who had written it secretly and sent it anonymously to the Court Theatre in Dresden, at which Tieck was *Dramaturg*. There it was promptly rejected. Ticknor says: "Tieck was the responsible person in this case, as he is in all similar ones, and suffered accordingly for his mistake."[16] But there were circumstances which tended to

[14] Recorded under date of March 9, *ibid.*, I, 483.

[15] *Ibid.*, I, 455.

[16] Entry of January 16, *ibid.*, I, 469. The activities of Amalie as a playwright are recounted by Friesen, *op. cit.*, I, 170. He mentions *Der Oheim* but not this incident.

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palliate Tieck's error. Count Baudissin told Ticknor that he detected malice in the manner in which the play was submitted to Tieck. It was thrust in with many poorer dramas so that it would be read carelessly or neglected altogether. Tieck, in fact, did not remember seeing it at all. Thereupon it was sent to Berlin, accepted and played anonymously with success. Finally its authorship became known and it was performed in other cities too, among them Dresden. Ticknor comments:

but the embarrassments and explanations and apologies were necessarily manifold and mortifying. It is now one of the regular acting plays throughout Germany, and no doubt deserves to be so.

For Tieck's ability as a stage manager, and for his views on dramaturgic questions Ticknor seems to have won high regard during his stay in Dresden. He expected, for instance, to dislike the performances of *Macbeth* which according to Tieck's idea[17] made Lady Macbeth much more kindly and human than she was ordinarily depicted. But after witnessing the production Ticknor writes:

She was represented, indeed, as more affectionate to her husband, and less imperious to him, than I have been accustomed to see her, and I am not sure but it was right.[18]

A strong bond between Ticknor and Tieck, as we have noted, was their mutual interest in books. Early in the afternoon of January 20, Ticknor writes, he visited Tieck to look over his collection of books and manuscripts of early English literature, especially in the field of the drama.

Few Englishmen [he says] have so fine a library in this department as he has; fewer still have a knowledge in it at all to be compared to his. Many of his notions are very bold; as for instance that the "Fair Emm" is by Shakespeare. He told me to-day that he thinks Milton superintended the edition of Shakespeare to which his sonnet is prefixed, because the changes and emendations made in it, upon the first folio, are poetical and plainly made by a poet. It would be a beautiful circumstance if it could be proved true.

When Tieck was in England in 1817 he bought a great many cruious books, and even had eight or ten manuscript plays copied in the British

[17] For Tieck's views on this subject see an undated letter to Friedrich von Raumer published in *Lebenserinnerungen und Briefwechsel von Fr. v. R.*, II, Leipzig, 1861, 191–195.

[18] *Ticknor*, I, 478.

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Museum,[19] so far and so thoroughly has he pushed his inquiries on this interesting and delightful subject. I talk with him about it more or less, almost always when I go to see him, and he never fails to be agreeable and instructive. This afternoon he was particularly so.[20]

As a reader Tieck enjoyed fame throughout Europe, and Ticknor, himself a successful reader of Shakespeare, was naturally eager to hear him. He had his first opportunity, it seems, on January 21 and records his impressions at length:

He [Tieck] has universally the reputation of being the best reader in Germany, and certainly I am not at all disposed to gainsay his fame. His reading [of *Henry IV, Part I*] was admirable in all respects; sometimes very curious and striking to me because his tones and manner, now and then, gave a small shade of difference to the interpretation of a passage from what I had been accustomed to give it, or hear given to it on the stage. His conception of Falstaff's character was more like Cooke's, and less like Dartley's, than any I recollect; that is more intellectual and less jovial, less vulgar; and the conception of the King's character was more violent and angry than I have been used to. Very likely he was right in both cases; certainly he was quite successful in the effect he produced.

This reading is an exercise of which he is very fond, and in which he often indulges his friends and the society that assembles at his house every evening; but for the last two months he has had a cough and abstained entirely, so that I have never heard him before to-night. He never goes out to walk or take exercise, and his physician—Carus—says these readings are physically useful to him as substitutes.[21] He gave me my choice of what he should read *after* I arrived, so that there was no possibility of preparation, and he read the whole through at once, without the least pause, without speaking or being spoken to. It occupied a little more than two and a half hours, and did not fatigue him in the least, so fine is his organ. . . . . I hope I shall hear him often.[22]

About two weeks later, on February 6, Ticknor was one "of quite a party" attending a reading by Tieck. Being requested to select something from Shakespeare, Ticknor suggested *A Midsummer-Night's Dream.*

Luckily the piece is a favorite with him. . . . . He read it admirably.

[19] According to Tieck himself (*Kritische Schriften*, I, Leipzig, 1848, 242), he possessed 14 such plays and parts of 10 or 12 others. In the Berlin *Nachlass* I have found 11 plays complete and parts of 11 others.

[20] *Ticknor*, I, 472–473.

[21] See the article by Karl Gustav Carus, "Ludwig Tieck. Zur Geschichte seiner Vorlesungen in Dresden," in Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 1845.

[22] *Ticknor*, I, 473.

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Puck's frolicsome mischief and the lightness of the dainty fairies were done with the greatest tact and delicacy. . . . . When he came to the play represented before Theseus I received quite a new idea, that some of the repetitions and groans, especially in the part of Pyramus, are merely the expression of the actor's personal embarrassment and anguish, and not what was set down for him. The whole was a great pleasure.[23]

On February 23 Ticknor heard Tieck read *Henry IV, Part II*[24] and on the next evening Tieck read, "as a counterpart to the amusement of last evening," *As You like it* and showed

another aspect of his remarkable talent in this way. I noticed as peculiarities that he read the part of Orlando with more of an angry movement than I have ever been accustomed to hear it, and that he made Sir Oliver Martext stutter, which of course was arbitrarily done. It was throughout very amusing. The reading took place at Mad. de Lüttichau's.

And on April 5 Ticknor, the Einsiedels, the Circourts, Frau von Lüttichau, von Raumer and others gathered at Tieck's house and heard him read *Twelfth Night* "most amusingly well."[25] But Tieck's evenings, adds Ticknor, "after the genuine Saxon fashion, are over by nine o'clock."

Among the most memorable events of Ticknor's stay in Dresden, no doubt, were the evenings which he spent in Prince John's Dante circle.[26] He attended his first meeting on January 31. Those present beside the host and Ticknor, were Förster, the translator of Petrarch, Carus, Count Baudissin and Tieck. The purpose of the session was to hear Tieck read a freshly completed part of John's translation of the *Purgatorio*. Ticknor writes:

I went punctually at six. . . . . After coffee and a little conversation we all sat down at a table and Tieck read, most admirably, five cantos, beginning with the 18th. The rest of us looked over the original text, and at the end of each canto observations were made on the translation. There was not, however, one word of compliment offered, or the smallest flattery insinuated. On the contrary, errors were pointed out fairly and honestly; and once or twice, when there was a difference of opinion between the Prince and Carus, Carus adhered, even with pertinacity, to his own, which, in one case, I thought was wrong. The translation however was as close as anything of the sort well can be, and in general, I have no doubt, most faithfully accurate.[27]

[23] *Ibid.*, I, 477.
[24] *Ibid.*, I, 482.
[25] *Ibid.*, I, 485–486.
[26] On this circle see Köpke, *op. cit.*, II, 63, and Friesen, *op. cit.*, I, 13.
[27] *Ticknor*, I, 475.

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A second opportunity to participate in the activities of the distinguished little circle was afforded Ticknor on February 20. He writes:

I was engaged this evening at Tieck's, but we were both summoned to Prince John's where to the same party that was there before—viz. Förster, Carus and Baudissin—Tieck read five more cantos of the Prince's translation of the *Purgatorio*, xxiv–xxix. Everything went on just as it did before, and was equally creditable to all parties concerned in it; the criticisms being free, full and fair, and the spirit in which they were received that of a person disposed to profit by them.[28]

Over thirty years later, as Ticknor's long life was drawing to a close, these occasions were recalled vividly to his mind when he received from Prince John himself, now King of Saxony (since 1854), a copy of a new edition de luxe of the ruler's complete translation of the *Divine Comedy*.[29] In his letter of acknowledgment, dated Boston, September 6, 1867, Ticknor speaks of

a revival of the recollection of those charming evenings in your palace, about thirty years ago, when with Carus and Förster, I listened to Tieck as he read, at each session, a canto of the Commedia, just as it had come fresh and warm from your hand, while each of us sat with the original Italian, and suggested any alteration that might occur to either of us. I shall never forget the conscientious kindness with which you listened to the little we could say, what careful discussions followed every doubt, how admirably Tieck read, and how delightful and instructive the whole was. A full generation of men—as generations have been reckoned from Homer's time down—has since passed away, and with it Tieck and Förster,—a fact not so remarkable, certainly, as that the three others still survive.[30]

[28] *Ibid.*, I, 481–482.

[29] The first edition had appeared in three volumes at Leipzig, 1839–1849. John published it under the pseudonym of Philalethes.

[30] *Ticknor*, II, 480. This letter has been republished in *Briefwechsel König Johanns von Sachsen mit George Ticknor*, herausg. von Johann Georg und E. Daenell, Leipzig, 1920 (Sächsische Kommission für Geschichte, XX, 139). In another letter to the king of August 5, 1869 (*ibid.*, p. 161), Ticknor also mentions Tieck.

In a memorandum quoted in *Ticknor*, II, 480, Ticknor again speaks of the "little meetings" of the Academia Dantesca. He says that he went to only two or three—two, to judge by his Journal—and never met anybody there but Tieck, Carus and Förster. He recollects seeing notices of the sessions in the Life of Förster. (The reference is to *Biographie und literarische Skizzen aus dem Leben und der Zeit Karl Försters*, I, Dresden, 1846, published by Förster's wife Louise. See her letter to Tieck of March, 1844, in Holtei, *op. cit.*, I, 203). Both Förster and Carus stand out in Ticknor's mind as excellent Italian scholars. Carus, he says, made a detailed plan of the Divine Comedy, of which he gave Ticknor a copy "still to be

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On May 12, 1836, the Ticknors left Dresden. It was with regret that they departed, Ticknor assures us in his diary, for he felt that he had been "kindly received by everybody and much regarded by a few."[31] He writes in retrospect:

To the men of letters I went whenever I wanted their highly cultivated knowledge and conversation, and nothing else, for they are best seen in their studies. Tieck indeed received every evening, but his *soirées* would have been very formal and dull, except for his own racy talk and his admirable readings; besides which the *res angusta domi* are perciptible, though he is not so poor but that he has the great luxury of a capital and curious library.[32]

Several weeks later, on May 31, Ticknor, bound from Berlin for Vienna, passed through Dresden again.

As we intended only to pass the night in Dresden, I went immediately to see Tieck, whom I had promised to see again on our way to Vienna. By chance it was his birthday, and I found him surrounded by a large party of his friends, many of whom I knew perfectly well. It was an agreeable surprise to me to be greeted by so many, once more, whom I had not thought to meet again. Among the rest I found there his brother, the sculptor, whom I had failed to see at his atelier in Berlin,—a grave but agreeable person, younger, I suppose, than the poet.[33]

Ticknor's relations to Tieck do not end with his return to America in 1838. In March, 1844, Francis Lieber, the German-American political economist,[34] who was then still professor at the University of South Carolina, decided to emerge from his voluntary exile in Columbia, S. C. and revisit his native country. As editor of the *Encyclopedia Americana*, an American adaptation of the seventh edition of Brockhaus, Lieber had enlisted the cooperation and won the friendship of Ticknor. Hence it is not surprising that Lieber took along a letter of introduction from

found in my large paper landino." This is probably preserved in the Ticknor collection of the Boston Public Library. Tieck, he says, was not as exact in his Italian as Förster and Carus were, but "more genial and agreeable."

[31] *Ticknor*, I, 489.

[32] *Ibid.*, I, 491.

[33] *Ibid.*, I, 503. Friedrich Tieck, the sculptor (1776–1851), was three years younger than Ludwig.

[34] Francis Lieber was born in Berlin on March 18, 1800. He died in New York on October 2, 1872. See *Miscellaneous Writings; Reminiscences, Addresses and Essays* ed. by D. C. Gilman, Philadelphia, 1881; *Life and Letters of Francis Lieber*, ed. by T. S. Perry, Boston, 1882; and Ernest Bruncken in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, XV (1915), 7–61.

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Ticknor to Tieck, who was now living in Berlin and Potsdam. It is dated Boston, March 5, 1844 (according to Lieber's diary[35] he sailed from New York on March 18), and is found in Holtei's collection of letters.[36] Ticknor recommends the bearer "as a man of talent and great knowledge, of a faithful and excellent character" and assures Tieck that he still remembers

with peculiar pleasure Dresden and above all the delightful evenings we we spent there with you. It grieves me to think that you are no longer there;—how much more must it grieve Mad. de Lüttichau.

But before proceeding to Germany Lieber toured England, France and Holland and did not reach Berlin until July.[37] On July 23 he interviewed King Frederick IV, on the 31st he was at Hitzig's. In the middle of August he visited the Goethe house in Frankfurt, and on August 19 he wrote his wife a letter from Heidelberg. In September we find him in France, Alsace, Baden and on the Danube, on October 7 in Dresden and then once more in Berlin, where he had a second interview with the King and met Alexander von Humboldt and von Bülow. He embarked for home from England in January, 1845. Whether Lieber presented the letter from Ticknor upon his first visit to Berlin in July, or did not see Tieck until October, is not quite clear. A hitherto unpublished letter from Tieck to Ticknor dated "im October 1844" is apparently the answer to the Ticknor letter which Lieber bore. Since I found it in Berlin, it is likely to be a first draft. Ticknor does not mention it in his diary and there appears to be no trace of an original among the Ticknor papers. Yet I see no reason why it should not have been sent. It reads as follows:

Mein theurer Freund.

Wie sehr Sie mich erfreut haben mit dem Blatte, das ich aus der Hand des ausgezeichneten und liebenswürdigen Amerikaners Francis Lieber empfing, kann ich Ihnen kaum sagen. Wenn ich nicht irre, war es im Jahre 1836 das leztemal, dasz ich Sie in Dr. sah—es war an meiner Geburtstagstafel den 31 ten Mai, deutlich steht mir das heute in Erinnerung. Viel hat sich indessen hier verändert, darunter auch meine damalige Lebensweise. Viele Menschen sind seitdem gestorben. Von den Freunden in Dresden höre ich nur zuweilen, andere Eindrücke u. Pflichten drängen sich ein. Es war doch eine schöne Zeit damals und ein reges, angenehmes Treiben.

[35] See Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 180.
[36] Holtei, *op. cit.*, IV, 103–104.
[37] For his exact itinerary see Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 180 ff.

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In Ihrem prächtigen Hn. Francis Lieber habe ich einen Mann von grossem Talent kennen gelernt—einen engeren Landsmann von mir, in Berlin geboren, wie ich von ihm selber erfuhr. Preuszen hat in ihm einen tüchtigen Menschen verloren, Amerika einen feinsinnigen Gelehrten gewonnen.

Meine Empfehlung an Ihre verehrte Frau Gemahlin. Leben Sie wohl und denken Sie auch ferner an

Ihren ergehenen Freund
im October 1844. Ludwig Tieck.

Two years later Ticknor made an indirect effort to get in touch with Tieck once more for a specific purpose. He did so through Dr. N. H. Julius of Hamburg, who was to become the German translator of his *History of Spanish Literature* (the translation appeared at Leipzig in 1852). Julius, we know, was acquainted with Tieck; Holtei has preserved one of his letters to the poet.[38] Ticknor writes to Julius on January 25, 1846,[39] that in recent years he has doubled his collection of Spanish books and still continues his endeavors to make it as complete as possible. Now he is wondering whether Germany offers any resources which might serve to enrich it.

The only source there that I can think of is the small bookcase that used to stand near the window in the venerable and admirable Tieck's parlor, where I have spent so many happy hours. Does he still preserve that little collection, and if he does preserve it, do you think he could be induced to part with it to one who, as you know, would value it from having been *his*, as much as would anybody in the world? Will you do me the favor, in some way or other that would be most agreeable to him, to approach him on this subject, and see if anything can be done in my behalf? I cannot but think that it would be worthy of him to permit a part of his library to be planted on this Western continent, where, at some time or other, it will bear fruit, and where it will never cease to be remembered that it was once the property of the first man of his time in Germany. If it comes into my hands it will, I think, be kept together, and never leave the Western world.

We do not know whether Julius complied at all with this request. At any rate there is no record that Tieck sold any of his books to Ticknor. At that time he was not contemplating the sale of his library; in fact he had mortgaged it to the publisher Brockhaus. Had Ticknor's request reached Tieck about four years later—

[38] *Op. cit.*, II, 134–136. The letter is dated February 25, 1834.
[39] *Ticknor*, II, 250–251.

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Tieck's library was sacrificed at auction by the firm of Asher on December 10, 1849[40]—it is not unlikely that a part of his Spanish collection would now be housed in the Public Library at Boston, instead of being hopelessly scattered or destroyed.

In 1849 Ticknor's monumental work, the *History of Spanish Literature* appeared. He sent a copy to Tieck, who acknowledged its receipt in a cordial letter written in Potsdam on July 28, 1850. We possess only Ticknor's English translation of this letter, as published in his *Life*.[41] My attempts to trace the original have been unsuccessful. Tieck recalls once more the happy Dresden days. He describes Ticknor's work as "the first of the day," excuses his delayed acknowledgment by his "malady which takes hold" of him and exhausts him "to an incredible degree." He has gained an "endless amount of new information" from Ticknor's book and likes particularly well the chapters on the Romances. With regard to the contemporary movements in literature he writes:

I confess that I cannot feel much admiration for the modern poetry, in comparison with the earlier poetry and literature. These modern ideas, this French style, this degraded language, do not suit the grave Spaniard.

He could have wished the chapters on the drama more minute still and fears that

we Protestants, by education, habit and daily intercourse, lack a power of entering into the mythical religious poetry. For, while Calderon inclined to allegory, we find in Lope religious mythical views, and poetical representations which have exercised an extraordinary magic power over me for many years. Just so Lope's contemporaries, such as Mira de Mesqua and others, are very remarkable in representations of miracles, legends, apparitions. This point seems to me to have been too little regarded by all friends; for I cannot speak of those caricatures which, for a time, tried to attract attention by much noise; when even young Jews were indefatigable in painting Madonnas and Christs.

This is the last contact between Tieck and Ticknor of which we have any record. In 1853 Tieck died. On Ticknor's third voyage to Europe in 1856 we find him writing from Dresden to William S. Dexter:

Changes I find on all sides; enormous and sometimes startling. My friends

[40] See Zeydel, "Ludwig Tieck's Library," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLII, 21–5 Cf. also Köpke, *op. cit.*, II, 134.

[41] *Ticknor*, II, 260–261.

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are gone, who used to be very important to us. Tieck, Tiedge and Mad. de Lüttichau among the first.[42]

In summary we may say that Ticknor was first attracted to Tieck by the splendid reputation which the latter enjoyed at that time throughout Europe. Soon a cordial friendship sprang up between them. Ticknor undoubtedly stood closer to Tieck than any other American; his relation to him was probably more intimate than to any German man of letters.[43] They had various common interests, viz. their passion for books in general and for Hispanica in particular; their interest in early English and Spanish literatures, Ticknor's from the point of view of the scholar and literary historian and Tieck's from that of the Romantic poet and critic; their interest in the drama and in dramatic readings, especially of Shakespeare's plays; their study of Dante; and finally their critical, uneffusive attitude toward Goethe. We noted above, in Ticknor's diary entries of November 29, December 29 and January 20, that he was rather sparing of praise when writing of Tieck's critical judgment and of his breadth of knowledge in the field of Spanish literature. But an unbiased American critic, E. P. Whipple, says of Ticknor that he for his part lacked imaginative insight, sympathy and intuitive knowledge.[44] While possessing a better "external knowledge" of Spanish literature than either A. W. Schlegel or Tieck, this writer claims, Ticknor was inferior to them in the power to reproduce the spirit of a literary age. So far as Tieck, at least, is concerned, we may subscribe to this opinion without reserve. His attitude toward literature always remained that of a poet.

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[42] *Ibid.*, II, 334. The letter is dated September 24, 1856.

[43] Ticknor's *Life* contains no less than four excellent likenesses of Tieck: 1. an engraving by Lecurieux-Conquy, I, 456–457; 2. an unsigned pen and ink sketch, I, 474–475; 3. an engraving published by Dittmarsch, Stuttgart, II, 260–261; and 4. an engraving by Griessman-Schwerdgeburth, II, 480–481. From this point of view few men are better represented in the work.

[44] E. P. Whipple, *Recollections of Eminent Men*, Boston, 1887, p. 274.

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XXXIX

THE REVIVISCENCE OF GEORG BÜCHNER

GEORG BÜCHNER, poet and scientist, was born at Goddelau in the vicinity of Darmstadt, October 17, 1813. Not long afterwards the family moved to Darmstadt; this accounts for the fact that Darmstadt is frequently spoken of as Georg Büchner's native city. He studied the natural sciences, later also philosophy, at Strassburg and Giessen. While a student at Giessen he became involved in secret revolutionary activities, as a result of which, and particularly as a result of his connection with the composition, publication, and secret distribution of the inflammatory pamphlet, *The Hessian Courier*, he was forced to flee in March, 1835, to Strassburg. Henceforth he kept himself aloof from political and seditious machinations and devoted himself exclusively to scientific and philosophical studies and to literary work. For his achievements in science and philosophy the University of Zürich granted him the doctorate, and he began giving lectures there on comparative anatomy in October, 1836. He died of typhoid, February 19, 1837, just four months after his removal to Zürich, at the age of twenty-three years and six months, honored and lamented by his colleagues and students, upon whom he had made an unusually deep impression.

For almost three quarters of a century after his untimely death Büchner remained little more than a mere "number in the museum of literary curiosities."[1] As recently as 1902 Bartels, estimating the work of Büchner, declared, "In the final analysis there is nothing vitalizing in him."[2] And four years later Engel pronounced Büchner's *The Death of Danton* as impossible of production as Lenz's *Soldiers* or most of the dramas of Maximilian Klinger.[3] Nevertheless, in the two decades since these judgments, and others almost equalling them in categorical finality, were recorded, Büchner's plays have been produced with sensational success, and their author has become a truly dynamic factor in the intellectual and literary life of the present generation. How and to what extent can we account for this long delayed recognition and final reviviscence?

[1] Robert F. Arnold, *Das deutsche Drama*, p. 811.
[2] Adolf Bartels, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 1902, II, 310.
[3] Eduard Engel, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 1906, II, 813.

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I

A brief account of some of the facts connected with the writing and the publication of Büchner's works will furnish us with at least a partial explanation of the long delayed recognition. In giving this account I shall add incidental comment here and there upon the nature of the compositions themselves, since this, as will appear later, is a factor not to be disregarded in considering the Büchner problem.

The Death of Danton is the only one of Büchner's dramas that was printed during his lifetime. Even this drama we do not now have entirely in the form in which the author intended us to have it. The original printer's copy can no longer be found; it seems to have suffered serious changes in the course of publication. It was written in hot haste just before the flight of the author from Darmstadt. In his own words, the police officers of Darmstadt were its muses. The harassed young poet sent it to the publicist Karl Gutzkow in the hope that the money paid for it might enable him to make good his escape out of the entanglements into which his seditious activities had delivered him. He obtained the funds for the flight from other sources and the pay for the drama only later. Some critics profess to see in it abundant evidences of its hasty composition, but would they notice these so much if they were unfamiliar with the circumstances of its composition? In any case, its breath-taking tempo fits perfectly the psychic situation with which it deals.

Gutzkow, fully informed, by the way, regarding the circumstances of the hasty composition,[4] was so enthusiastic over *The Death of Danton* that he committed himself to its publication before he had sufficiently considered the inevitable difficulties with the censorship. He did the best with it that could be expected under the circumstances, but the form in which the drama was finally printed pleased neither him nor its exasperated author. After Büchner's death Gutzkow undertook the editorship and publication of his literary remains. On account of difficulties with the Büchner heirs Gutzkow finally was obliged to give up that project, but he did succeed in gaining possession for purposes of publication of two manuscripts, the incompleted novel *Lenz*

[4] *Georg Büchners Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, Leipzig, Inselverlag, 1922, pp. 542–543. Büchner's letter to Gutzkow, February 21, 1835. Gutzkow published the letter in 1838.

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and the comedy, *Leonce and Lena*, a whimsical piece of sophisticated romanticism in atmosphere and in manner of treatment not altogether unlike Hauptmann's *Schluck und Jau*, which may not be entirely uninfluenced by it. These two manuscripts Gutzkow published in serial form in the *Telegraph für Deutschland* in 1838 and 1839.

Other attempts at satisfactory arrangements with the Büchner family for a publication worthy of the unfortunate young poet were likewise unsuccessful. Finally Ludwig Büchner, brother of the poet, undertook the project, and there appeared in 1850 under his editorship *The Posthumous Works of Georg Büchner*, an incomplete, inadequate, faulty piece of work. It omits, among other things, *The Hessian Courier*, and what is worse, a drama, *Pietro Aretino*, which the author himself is said to have considered his best piece of work. All trace of it has been lost; supposedly it was destroyed by the lady whom Büchner probably would have married had he lived. In her maturer years she became exceedingly pious, and she may have destroyed the manuscript in order that the poet's name might not be compromised by the unconventional heresies the drama is supposed to have contained.

The editor of the *Posthumous Works* declared himself furthermore unable to do anything with the manuscript of a "bourgeois tragedy," as he calls it, that he found in fragmentary form in the author's excessively illegible handwriting among his literary remains. Though he does not name it, this was beyond question the fragmentary drama, *Woyzeck*, which afterwards the poet, fictionist, and journalist, Karl Emil Franzos, with great difficulty and at the risk of losing his eyesight, managed to decipher for his edition of Büchner's complete works in 1879.[5] Years later Franzos felt compelled in self-protection to explain fully why this 1879 edition was not quite the scholarly piece of work that was originally intended, and why it could not be kept wholly free from some of the blemishes of the 1850 publication.[6] For this he blames the vainglorious caprices of the Büchner heirs and, at least tacitly, gives himself the credit for whatever real merits the 1879 publication may have.

From the above, one or two of the reasons for the slowness with which Büchner achieved adequate recognition should be

[5] Adolf Bartels (*Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 1909) wrongly includes *Woyzeck* among the works of the 1850 edition.

[6] *Deutsche Dichtung*, XXIX, 12.

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apparent. To begin with, the bulk of his artistic output was not so impressive as to force some kind of recognition by mere weight and volume. About all we have, now that practically everything of his which survives has been published, so far as creative works of art are concerned, are two fairly complete dramas, a drama fragment, and an incompleted novel. Some of this material was originally published in serial form, and all of it in rather desultory and faulty fashion, until Franzos, who through a lucky accident, had become interested in Büchner's work, undertook about 1875 a more definitive and effective publication.

II

The edition of 1879, according to a later statement by its editor,[7] enjoyed a fairly wide distribution. Whatever its defects, it was a work of prime importance in the field of German letters in so far as it made accessible for the first time Büchner's work in its totality. The significance of it becomes apparent, if nowhere else, when we come to consider Büchner's reactions upon the creative writers of the close of the century. In the meantime, how did it affect the estimate of Büchner's work on the part of professional literary scholarship?

Proelss characterized *The Death of Danton* as "a proof of postively inspired talent such as no young dramatist had produced since Schiller's *Robbers*,"[8] though he gives no indication that his knowledge of Büchner material was more extensive than that of Julian Schmidt when he declared many years before that Büchner "surpasses almost all the poets of his school in talent and in depth of feeling."[9] Richard Moritz Meyer[10] mentions *Woyzeck* as an example "of the realist's despair over life's uncleanliness." He calls Büchner "our first consistent realist," declaring that nowhere can we find the dogma of realism better formulated than in his unfinished novel, *Lenz*.

Such attempts at a reasonably adequate estimate of Büchner were, however, the exception rather than the rule among nineteenth-century literary critics and scholars even after 1879. Most

[7] *Deutsche Dichtung*, XXIX, 197.

[8] Johann Proelss, *Das junge Deutschland*, 1892, p. 585.

[9] Julian Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, ed. 1896, V, 259. This is the only edition to which I had access; the passage referred to probably differs little, if at all, from the text of the original edition of 1853 (II, 213).

[10] *Die deutsche Literatur des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1900, pp. 164–168.

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of them, when they mention Büchner at all, do so pretty cavalierly. Some of those who mention him go little further than the statement that he was a revolutionary poet, praising in more or less qualifying terms *The Death of Danton*, concerning which the dramatic poet Friedrich Hebbel long before had written in his diary without any qualification whatsoever: "Büchner's *Danton* . . . . is magnificent. Why do I write down a platitude like that? To give adequate expression to my emotion."[11]

Even after 1900, when a more just appreciation of Büchner's true place in the history of literature began to develop, when his dynamic influence, for better or for worse, upon the intellectual life of the times could no longer be ignored, even by professional schoolmasters, when he was becoming the subject of numerous doctor's dissertations and scholarly and journalistic articles, there still were those among the professionally learned who remained cool, or oblivious, or outspokenly hostile toward him. We have already paid our respects to Bartels and Engel in this connection. Moeller von der Bruck says, "Büchner's literary remains are of little value."[12] Those literary remains include *Woyzeck*, so far as I am concerned, the most remarkable of Büchner's works! Max Koch rightly calls *The Death of Danton* a thrilling tragedy and very wrongly "a glorification of the French Revolution."[13]

How can we account for this negative attitude toward Büchner on the part of scholars the reliability of whose work in general is by no means to be judged by their apparent lack of sagacity in this one particular instance? Why, in the first place, did the 1879 edition arouse no greater and more immediate interest among the scholars of the time?

The fact that Franzos was an Austrian may have had something to do with it. Scholars and men of letters of imperial Germany have not always been notably open-minded and impartial toward the things coming to them from or by way of Vienna. But there was something about the very nature of Büchner's work which will account for its tardy recognition by the literary Brahmans. What it was is strikingly evident in the following incident related

[11] *Friedrich Hebbels Tagebücher*, ed. Herrmann Krumm, 1904, I, 259. None of the diary material was published prior to 1885.

[12] *Verirrte Deutsche*, 1904, p. 129.

[13] Vogt und Koch, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, 1910, II, 419. The phrase "glorification of the Terror" also occurs, but I am not willing to say where.

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by Franzos.[14] About the year 1874 he presented for publication an article on Büchner and Lenz to Von Martini, editor-in-chief of the *Wiener Fremdenblatt*, of whom Franzos speaks as a man well versed in literary matters. Von Martini expressed himself as follows:

Those wild boys are as a matter of fact no poets at all, for they have no form whatever. Let us rejoice that we live in an age when, thank goodness, the artistic form of the drama is definitively fixed. Why remind us of fellows who had too little force and self-discipline to make themselves masters of this form!

Franzos concludes, "I had my own ideas about the matter, but the article was not published." In spite of the impious and ultimately rather successful innovations of Henrik Ibsen and his less gifted imitators, that is the sort of criticism that appears again and again in some form or other right down to Adolf Bartels in 1902.

Truth and fiction with regard to Büchner's political radicalism was another stumbling-block to scholarly conservatives. As a matter of fact, toward the close of the nineteenth century *The Hessian Courier*, as published by Franzos in 1879 and extensively reprinted by socialist publicists in the decades that followed, became something of a household book of socialism side by side with Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lasalle. It is, in view of the time when originally composed, an amazing anticipation of the point of view and outlook of modern socialism as contrasted with the social and political radicalism of Büchner's associates. It has been called the most extraordinary pamphlet in the German language.[15] Conservative scholarship naturally sensed in Büchner dangerous dynamic possibilities and was apprehensive of his supposedly inflammatory tendencies.

Whatever the true functions of professional literary scholarship may be, here, at least, is one instance where scholarship on the whole has been forced to take into account more or less reluctantly an intellectual enthusiasm the promotion of which it had left largely to journalists, poets, Max Reinhardt,—and destiny.

III

The discovery and exploitation of Büchner by modern socialists no doubt stimulated sympathetic as well as hostile preoccupation

[14] *Deutsche Dichtung*, XXIX, 289.
[15] *Literarisches Echo*, XII, 1682.

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with him outside of socialistic circles also. But the ultimately decisive factor in the revival of Büchner as a living and a vitalizing force in the literature of Germany was one of those phenomenal consummations in the cosmic progress of the intellectual life that neither premature enthusiasms can hasten very much nor pedantic oppositions retard.

A wholly new type of human being appears in literature in the case of Georg Büchner, a form that nature obviously produced prematurely and therefore presently destroys again only to permit, after seven decades, around the year 1890, a whole generation of the type of Büchner to emerge again. It is marvellous how far Büchner was in advance of his age.[16]

Beginning about the year 1890, or even a little earlier, there is noticeable on the part of the younger intellectuals in Germany a steady development of a state of mind strangely anticipated in its progressively changing phases by the mind of Büchner as reflected in his works. Büchner had qualities that appealed strongly to the new school of naturalism that was developing, and, for the time being at least, he was as one belonging to that movement much more intimately than to the tendencies and endeavors of his own generation. His uncanny power in the creation of atmosphere established contact for him presently with impressionism. There is little enough of the rhetorical, for example, about his *Woyzeck*, and yet its haunting emotional intensity vibrates through every fibre of it.

But if Büchner was a realist, he was one who, as his translator expresses it,[17] made no attempt to ape humanity. In this and in several other respects he is even more closely akin to the generation of today than to the older naturalists. The revolutionary tumult known as Expressionism was by far the most sensational phase of the reaction in Germany against the older naturalism. Its wildest excitements have subsided for the most part by now, but the sobering poets of present day Germany have not as yet gone back entirely to the naturalistic wallowings of a generation

[16] Friedrich Kummer, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, 1922, II, 315.

[17] *The Plays of Georg Büchner.* Translated with an Introduction by Geoffrey Dunlop. New York, 1928, p. 9. Accuracy in detail is evidently not the sole objective of this translator. But even where there are deviations, with or without intent, from the exact text of the original, the translator achieves throughout the whole book an unusually successful transfer of Büchner's amazing subtleties of atmosphere and emotion.

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ago. There has been a substantial gain in breadth of cosmic outlook, in passion for fundamental psychic realities, and in the range and the manner of artistic treatment since the time when the ambitious young aspirant for literary distinction in Germany dreamed of being some day referred to as the German Zola. Franz Werfel, Ernst Toller, Jakob Wassermann, Bruno Frank, Paul Kornfeld, Ernst Barlach, Arnold Zweig, may be mentioned as protagonists of the newer things in art in Germany. Yielding nothing in passion for truth to the naturalists that preceded them, they differ from those naturalists in that they give free rein to a loftier play of creative fancy, leave less to the potential eloquence of stated facts alone, and show a much keener appreciation of the magic of which words are capable. If they share with the so-called Young Germany of one hundred years ago any idea of world betterment through their works, their method of going about this noble undertaking is entirely different. They are no longer concerned primarily with transient politics and formal social programs. With uncompromising artistic integrity they seek to recapture life's innately essential values, and to furnish humanity not with a few more new instruments, but with new minds.

Georg Büchner, in his outlook upon life and in his practices as a creative artist, is strangely like these men of our own generation. He made no vital concessions to the decadent romanticisms of his time and early renounced the seductive doctrinaire illusions that preoccupied the so-called Young Germany. Through the broken revolutionary, Danton, he voices his own acute mental distress over the embarrassments and miseries that his seditious activities had brought upon his associates.[18] Far from being a glorification of the French Revolution, *The Death of Danton* is a swift and devastating dissection of life's solemn futilities, and in it the poet makes his final reckoning with the current revolutionary machinations. The melancholy that overshadows it is the despair of an earnest and sensitive young poet, renouncing his illusions. In *Leonce and Lena*, no mere romantic imitation of Brentano and Ludwig Tieck, there is something of this same melancholy, but here we already see it in the process of being overcome. Projected on a background of pathetically ludicrous distresses and institutional futilities, the comedy, nevertheless, ends with a joyous affirmation of life, the whimsical playfulness of which belies its

[18] His friend, Karl Minnigerode, languished in a Hessian prison for three years as a consequence of his complicity in the *Hessian Courier* affair.

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fundamental sincerity only for those who can take their ultimate verities in no other way but with solemnity. Enough has been said elsewhere about *Woyzeck* and *Lenz* to suggest their intimate kinship with the intellectual and artistic tendencies of our own time.

I have tried to show why adequate recognition of Büchner was so long delayed, and how it came about that he was not entirely forgotten. The truth of the whole matter is that he was notably in advance of his age. Fortunately there were now and then a few who caught some inkling of his significance, but this significance was not fully realized until recently when a new generation of kindred minds had, as it were, caught up with him. He might say of himself what Zarathustra says: "Ich überspringe oft die Stufen, wenn ich steige,—das verzeiht mir keine Stufe."

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XL

GERHART HAUPTMANN'S *GERMANEN UND RÖMER**

THE appearance in 1889 of a drama like *Vor Sonnenaufgang* as the work of a young genius, practically unknown, was startling. Though it would not be quite accurate to speak of it as the first drama written by Hauptmann, nothing was known of his earlier dramatic efforts. His lyrical works fared better. Both *Promethidenloos*[1] and *Das Bunte Buch*[2] had actually reached the public and are still treasured by their fortunate owners. *Fasching*[3] and *Bahnwärter Thiel*[4] had also appeared before 1889, as well as two short articles, almost unknown to-day—a review of Hermann Conradi's *Lieder eines Sünders*[5] and an essay *Gedanken über das Bemalen der Statuen.*[6]

Upon the suggestion of his older brother Carl, who saw artistic talent in the crude clay images that Gerhart molded, the boy had been sent to the art academy at Breslau in the autumn of 1880. It was there that Hauptmann became interested in Tegnér's *Frithjofsage* and planned a drama, *Ingeborg*, based on this material. At the same time, through reading the works of Felix Dahn and Wilhelm Jordan, his interest was aroused in the history of the early Germans. He wished to try "zu wandeln verlassene Wege zur grauen Vorzeit unseres Volkes." It was then that he planned his *Hermann Epos*, a series of twelve songs, one of which he completed, treating of the liberation of Germany from the Roman yoke. The same material was used in a play, written while a student in the art academy between 1880-1881, entitled *Germanen und Römer*. One other drama, *Das Erbe des Tiberius*, was written in Rome in 1884 and sent, according to Schlenther,[7] from Hohenhaus near Dresden, where Gerhart was convalescing at the home of his fiancée, Marie Thienemann, to Adolf L'Arronge, director of the Deutsches

* This paper was read before the Germanic Section of the Modern Language Association of America at Toronto, December 29, 1928.

[1] *Promethidenloos*, Eine Dichtung, Berlin, W. Issleib 1885.

[2] *Das Bunte Buch*, Leipzig und Stuttgart, Meinhards Verlagshandlung 1888.

[3] In *Siegfried, Zts. für volkstüml. Dicht. und Wissenschaft*, Leipzig und Stuttgart 1887.

[4] In *Die Gesellschaft, Monatsschrift für Litt. und Kunst*, Heft 10, Leipzig 1888.

[5] *Allgemeine deutsche Universitätszeitung*, 1887.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Gerhart Hauptmann, Leben und Werke*, von Paul Schlenther, Neue Ausgabe 1922.

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Theater in Berlin who returned it. Hauptmann made a second attempt in the following year by sending the MS to Otto Devrient, who had taken over the Hoftheater in Oldenburg and whom Hauptmann knew as lecturer on the drama at Jena. Devrient read the play, damned it with faint praise, and laid it aside. Since Hauptmann never received his MS again, this information concerning its rejection is the only knowledge of the play which we possess.

Of *Germanen und Römer*, the drama with which we are at present concerned, Schlenther, the intimate friend of the author and careful biographer, gives only the following brief account:

Die Tragödie sollte heissen: "Germanen und Römer." Der Held war wiederum Hermann der Cherusker. Neben ihm sollte ein alter Sänger Sigwin hervortreten, dessen Tochter von einem Römer verführt und dann verlassen wird. Der Dichter liess seinen Sigwin in dem Augenblick sterben, da man ihm die Botschaft vom Siege der Germanen über die Römer bringt, und diesen Augenblick stellte der Dichter später auch bildnerisch in einer kleinen Statuette dar.[8]

Schlenther evidently knew this little statue and probably based his inferences as to the content of the drama upon secondary sources because his statement is inaccurate; Hauptmann adapts the legendary material to suit his purpose and portrays an honorable love of a Roman for a German. The tragedy arises from the suspicion and hatred engendered by nationalistic prejudices. In the most recent biography,[9] Hülsen states that this play was originally offered to Philipp Reclam for publication in the *Universal Bibliothek* but was refused. The only other information pertaining to this drama which we possess is found in a pamphlet published by a member of Hauptmann's youthful circle of friends, Adalbert von Hanstein,[10] who was familiar with these unpublished works. He calls attention to the peculiar character of Hauptmann's artistic talent as shown in these early dramas:

Dennoch waren es bis dahin historische Gestalten gewesen, die ihn gefesselt hatten. *Tiberius*, der so oft "gerettete" Tyrann des römischen Weltreiches, wurde noch einmal von Hauptmann im stillen Kämmerlein gerettet. Seiner Erziehung und Umgebung wurde "die grössere Hälfte seiner Schuld" zugeschoben. *Römer und Germanen* war ein Drama aus dem Teutoburger Walde. Beide Arbeiten zeigten den echten Charakter der Hauptmannschen Phantasie, den Bildhauercharakter. Die Personen

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Gerhart Hauptmann*, von Hans von Hülsen, Leipzig 1927.

[10] *Gerhart Hauptmann*, von Adalbert von Hanstein, Leipzig 1898.

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waren alle in einzelnen Situationen unendlich scharf gesehen, aber immer nur in Situationen. Die Entwickelung fehlte. Es waren plastische, ruhende Gestalten und noch bis heute hat Hauptmann diese Mängel seiner Phantasie nicht überwinden können. Er sieht immer nur Situationen, nie Entwickelungen. Diese Situationen aber bestrebte er sich möglichst scharf auszumalen. So führte er mich einmal in das Museum vor ein Werk seines römischen Lehrers, das die vollendete Statue eines Menschen darstellt. Man glaubt, den Marmor atmen zu sehen, aber der Mensch ist nicht nur in keiner "Pose"; sondern auch in keiner Tätigkeit, ja nicht einmal mit einem bestimmten Ausdruck ausgestattet. "Sehr lebenswahr," sagte ich, "aber was TUT dieser Mensch?"—"Nichts, er ist ein Mensch." Und das bewundert Hauptmann vor allem: Die Kunst Menschen zu schaffen, auch wenn sie gar keine Idee verkörpern.[11]

All subsequent writers, in dealing with the early dramatic works of Hauptmann, briefly mention *Germanen und Römer* as a new treatment of an old theme, a youthful product of an aspiring dramatist, a sort of "Jugendsünde" that gains importance because so little is known of it. It was never offered to any theater director and after the refusal of *Tiberius* two years later, Hauptmann must have felt certain that his success lay before him and not behind him. The manuscript was put aside with his other early efforts and disappeared. With the later recognition of Hauptmann's genius, interest in his earlier works and in their relation to the mature works has been revived and a number of his earliest publications have been reprinted in recent years.[12] In consequence of the unsettled life of the author in his younger years, coupled with his carelessness about preserving his MSS, practically everything unprinted has been lost and only rarely has additional material in manuscript been discovered. In May 1927, at the Eröffnungsfeier der Internationalen Buchkunst-Ausstellung in Leipzig, a special Hauptmann exhibit was planned. A request was addressed to Max Pinkus, the owner of the Schlesierbücherei at Neustadt, Oberschlesien, which contains the completest collection of Hauptmann material, to show his most interesting volumes, and also to increase the value of the exhibit by displaying some manuscripts of the unfinished works. In the course of this examination of manuscript material, a copy of *Germanen und Römer*, long considered lost and even forgotten by the author, was unearthed.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Das Bunte Buch*, private edition, Leipziger Bibliophilen Abend 1924; *Fasching* Maximilian Gesellschaft 1925; also S. Fischer Verlag 1925 *Fragmente und Unveröffentliches*, Grosse Ausgabe 1922, Vol. XII.

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I shall first sketch briefly the content of the play, in order to show how Hauptmann developed the material given him by history, then I shall compare it with Kleist's drama, and call attention to a few of the outstanding tendencies peculiar to Hauptmann which reappear later in his dramas. Hauptmann's treatment of the conflict between Germans and Romans is not in itself important enough to deserve consideration, but in the light of his subsequent development as a dramatist this play is of value in illustrating the emphasis which he always places upon the human qualities of his characters. Though Hauptmann was not more than twenty years of age, perhaps only eighteen, when he finished the drama, even here are the germs of thoughts that find more definite expression as he grows older: his sympathy for the weak, his understanding of the unhappy, his implicit faith in the poet and his relation to the world. Even in this patriotic youthful effort Hauptmann shows a contempt for chauvinistic propaganda. He prefers to show men and women struggling with their emotions and their ambitions rather than with their enemies.

Antedating the Naturalistic Movement in Germany, this play was cast in the usual dramatic form, written in blank verse, and full of the exuberant enthusiasm inspired in Hauptmann and his friends by the rhapsodies of Wilhelm Jordan and the glowing heroic narratives of Felix Dahn. There is none of the terse, lofty simplicity that marks Hauptmann's masterpieces; there is a grandiose and bombastic style with the turgid ostentation so common in the drama before Ibsen. Only here and there are traces of his talents still dormant and untrained. With the historical background Hauptmann was of course familiar; he knew Kleist's *Hermannsschlacht* and perhaps also some of the minor treatments of this theme by Klopstock,[13] Grabbe,[14] and others. The historical events —at least the victory of the Germans over the Romans in the Teutoburger Forest— could not be omitted, but the real tragedy is precipitated by other forces and is joined only loosely to the historical action. The love of the young Roman poet for the blind daughter of Sigwin is beautiful and holy; but the hostility of these two races and the circumstances of the times conspire to destroy this happiness. The old German minstrel who, obsessed by his patriotism, longs to free his people, fears the treachery of the Romans. In a fit of madness the stern father, suspecting that his

[13] *Hermannsschlacht* 1769; *Hermann und die Fürsten* 1784; *Hermanns Tod* 1787.
[14] *Hermannsschlacht* 1838.

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daughter's honor has been sullied, kills her before he hears the truth in regard to this innocent love. And at the moment when his greatest wish is realized and the victorious Germans return from battle, he departs to join his daughter in death. Meanwhile the warriors raise Hermann to their shoulders amidst the triumphant shouts of the people and the early morning sun sheds its soft light over the scene.

The historical events chosen by the young poet as the basis of his play did not lend themselves readily to dramatization. They afforded only one big action, the battle in the forest of Teutoburg, when the enemy is destroyed and the power of Rome broken; but this could hardly be presented on the stage except in the form of reports of the battle, the return of the victors, or something similar, none of them very satisfactory. For this reason Kleist, in his treatment of the theme, stressed minor incidents, making a series of subsidiary plots which he connected with the main action of the uprising. The Thusnelda-Ventidius intrigue runs through the entire play and is intimately related to Hermann's efforts to ensnare and delude the Romans. As Hermann's wife, Thusnelda takes an important place in the development of the plot and since Hermann plans this snare for Ventidius, it becomes part of the greater scheme, the liberation of his people. Furthermore, Kleist was writing with an eye on contemporary events. His heart was aflame with patriotism. The hatred for Napoleon and the sympathy for his own country had increased to violent ardor. Kleist did not wish to present an ideal leader. He wanted to create a figure that would liberate Germany. Arthur Eloesser has somewhere in an essay called attention to the fact that here is described a German who came to dominate Germany fifty years after Kleist had created this figure—Bismarck. The hatred of Hermann for the Romans was parallelled by Kleist's hatred for the French soldiers. And though Hermann is by no means an admirable character in our eyes, the author developed him consistently; Hermann is not a primitive German but a man of passionate love for his country, a statesman who knows all the tricks of statesmanship, in short a man brilliant and clever but also sly and cunning.

Hauptmann approached his subject under very similar circumstances. It was a period of blatant patriotism; the wished-for statesman was at hand. Germany had realized her national aspirations. She was free and united. The gospel of "the place in the sun" was preached everywhere. The love of freedom, the glory of

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his country, the youthful enthusiasm for German history all urged Hauptmann to make use of this material. But in spite of the outward signs of nationalistic propaganda that covered over the true feelings of mankind, interest in social reform and social progress was manifested everywhere. Hauptmann felt no deep-seated hatred toward any, but rather a sincere sympathy and understanding for mankind in general. His early pietistic training and religious background, which later gave him an appreciation and understanding of Tolstoi, made him write a play in the light of his own *Weltanschauung*. The inner dualism, the conflict within that reminds one frequently of *Faust*, was a direct outgrowth of his education and environment as well as his individual character. From his earliest work down to the present day, Hauptmann has not been able to reconcile his different points of view. In a few publications, of which *Der Ketzer von Soana*[15] is the outstanding example, the author succeeded in giving complete expression to an unqualified faith in the goodness of life. This has been the result of his studies in Oriental philosophies and Hellenic civilizations. Such a glorification of nature and the creative impulse is unthinkable without Nietzsche or the pagan acceptance of life. Diametrically opposed is the study of Christianity and the doctrines of Jesus in *Der Narr in Christo: Emanuel Quint*.[16] Here is the pietistic religion, the Silesian mysticism that belonged to Hauptmann by birth and training; it is Christianity with all its asceticism and negativism. Not without justice has Eloesser said: "Hauptmann ist unser allerheidnischster, unser allerchristlichster Dichter."[17] To-day, as the author is approaching his seventies, he still lacks that complete system of thought so dear to every mature German: he combines a spontaneous realistic attitude with profound mysticism. But when he wrote *Germanen und Römer* he was hardly aware of the desperate conflict between religion and science that was about to engulf him. By nature an idealist, by training deeply religious, Hauptmann came during his student days under the influence of the biological sciences. His brother Carl was studying under Ernst Haeckel at Jena and he himself left the Breslau Art Academy to join his brother the following year. The loneliness of this young man and the subsequent conflict between the ideal and the real gave rise to much of Hauptmann's *Weltschmerz*. The most com-

[15] S. Fischer Verlag 1918.

[16] S. Fischer, Berlin 1910.

[17] Schlenther, *Gerhart Hauptmann;* neue Ausgabe von Arthur Eloesser 1922.

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plete summary of his awakening to the grim, sordid reality is given in *Promethidenloos*. Even the ocean reflects Selin's mood.

> Die Wellen sprechen: Einsam sind wir Alle.
> So viel wir sind, wir alle sind allein.
> Du aber lerne aus dem regen Schwalle
> Die Kunst, mit Well und Winden einsam sein.

Hauptmann, therefore, was unable to present a historical play glorifying warfare and military victory as Kleist had visualized it. The cruelty and barbarism of the actual combat is minimized, as well as the external conflict of the Germanic tribes pitted against the Roman invaders. In Hauptmann's play there is no Thusnelda; though Hermann is married, his wife never appears nor plays any part in the developing action. This adds to the looseness of structure, since the love story of the Roman and Siegtraut, which is introduced, is entirely incidental and extraneous. The Roman lover is interesting because he is the first of a series of characterizations sympathetically treated into which Hauptmann projected himself. He is a poet who could be happy if left to himself and his world of dreams. But he is surrounded by hostility and conflict and can never cope with the facts of life. He wants the friendship of the Germans, he sees no purpose in this enmity. His intuition gives him the broad sympathy and understanding that the poet needs. He is the young idealist who believes implicitly in the poet's mission to interpret life subjectively. Throughout his development Hauptmann has always been guided by his heart, and like Wordsworth saw the close relation between life and art, between the senses and the soul. The lines

> Thanks to the human heart by which we live,
> Thanks to its tenderness, its joys and fears,
> To me the meanest flower that blows can give
> Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears[18]

are no less fitting to express the essence of Hauptmann's poetic creed. Always in his work is a strain of weakness, of femininity that makes the poet long for release from hardships and suffering. It is the feeling that elsewhere is quoted as "Weltweh und Himmelssehnsucht," the longing of man to rise above himself and live in the realization of his ideals.

[18] *Ode, On Intimations of Immortality.*

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Wie eine Windesharfe
Sei deine Seele,
Dichter!
Der leiseste Hauch
Bewege sie.

Und ewig müssen
Die Saiten schwingen
Im Athem des Weltwehs;
Denn das Weltweh
Ist die Wurzel
Der Himmelssehnsucht.

Also steht deiner Lieder
Wurzel begründet
Im Weh der Erde;
Doch ihren Scheitel krönet
Himmelslicht.[19]

Hermann does not become the great hero that Kleist drew. Hauptmann could not make him the carrier of a great political message. The times had changed; Germany was united and prosperous. The critical years that set Kleist upon this theme had given way to a period of great industrial development and economic prosperity. But in the wake of this change, appeared a new spectre—Socialism; and Hauptmann, whose interest in social problems was keen, whose sympathy for those suffering was aroused, early developed this phase. Unfortunately, the theme was utterly unsuited for such a development and Hermann, who must be the hero of such a drama, can never present a social or personal problem. A Hermann drama must emphasize the glory and heroism of the conflict between Germany and Rome, but Hauptmann, wishing to stress the human bonds that political hostility could not touch, found it necessary to create a new character to deliver his message. This caused an essential break in the unity of the play, for the Roman lover whom Hauptmann created rivals in importance Hermann, the military leader according to the historical material. Not even the triumphant reception of the liberator at the end of the play is convincing. It is merely the usual gesture, the expected climax which belongs there according to history and tradition. Even in his exuberant period of youthful activity, Hauptmann was not swept away by patriotism and hero-worship. He took

[19] *Das Bunte Buch.*

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the puppet that had been handed down, brushed it off, but did not feel interested enough to change its costume.

All the more significant is the portrayal of the Roman commander. Kleist had distinguished him among the other Romans as a brilliant soldier and excellent drillmaster. Hauptmann felt a sympathy for this "einsamer Mensch" and perceived the tragic situation of one who by virtue of his position and environment is doomed at the outset. Varus is a just man with no hatred for the Germans for whose sympathy and understanding he longs but finds himself surrounded by indifference and hostility. Through no personal guilt he is overthrown together with the cause he represents. Though aware of the coming doom, he presents a dignified bearing in the face of destruction. Perhaps his friendship and esteem for Hermann make the tragedy more pitiful and diminish our admiration for Hermann. There is something in Varus's death akin to Brutus's fate, who has lived bravely and acted with the best intentions and who dies on the battle-field a heroic death for a losing cause. The father-son relationship between Varus and Hermann that continues throughout the drama makes the secret plotting of the Germans less glorious. It is hardly probable that Hauptmann wished to discredit Hermann or his cause, yet his characterization of Varus, the human qualities and the sad fate of the commander overshadow the bravery of the deliverer. Hauptmann had the necessary sympathy and understanding for the *man* rather than the institution and sketched the Roman deeply enough to conflict with the unity of impression required of a Hermann drama. The Roman commander had numerous opportunities during his occupation of the German lands to destroy their country or wreak vengeance upon the people for violent outbursts of hatred toward his troops, but Varus had been just and administered fairly. Of course Hauptmann did try to glorify the cause of freedom and the ultimate success of Hermann and the play is full of passages of glowing tribute to the valor and the bravery of the Germans. The important consideration, however, is that the young poet does not show any inherent strength in such passages but rather imitates the popular vein of patriotic enthusiasm. He knows that such a glorification is necessary and wants to give adequate expression to it but really has no genuine poetic inspiration here. It is only where the conflict touches the people directly that Hauptmann is completely aroused and eloquently champions their cause. Nowhere is this clearer than in his later patriotic writings. In the

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Festspiel[20] written to commemorate the Wars of Liberation, Hauptmann infuriated the entire military caste of Germany by his matter of fact treatment of the glorious heroism of kings and princes and his touching portrayal of the sacrifices of the people for the cause of liberty. Since the war, more than ever, Hauptmann has shown his interest and concern for his fatherland and the people. He is unable to feel deeply for popular abstractions and hazy symbols but he has the finest understanding of the problems of humanity.

Hauptmann has frequently been accused of repeating himself, of being a writer with one theme. If that be true, it is a great theme: Life. And like a great composer he develops it to symphonic proportions. Much as *Das Bunte Buch* contains the germs from wich sprang the beautiful dream poem *Hannele*,[21] the tragic *Florian Geyer*[22] and the lovely epic *Anna*[23] there are in *Germanen und Römer* a series of motifs that could be likened to simple cells thatdeveloped gradually to complex structures. In our enthusiasm for the greater and maturer works, let us not forget the humbler beginnings.

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[20] *Festspiel in deutschen Reimen*, S. Fischer, Berlin 1913.
[21] *Hannele*, S. Fischer, Berlin 1894.
[22] *Florian Geyer*, S. Fischer, Berlin 1896.
[23] *Anna*, S. Fischer, Berlin 1921.

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XLI

RILKES *CORNET*

Poesie und Prosa sind derart aufeinander angewiesen, dass sie sich zwar zeitweise voneinander entfernen und, wie zwei Arme eines Flusses, das Wasser sich abgraben können, dann aber immer wieder in Vereinigungen und neuen Verflechtungen sich gegenseitig stärken.[1]

DEUTEN RILKES WERKE, da seiner Persönlichkeit entsprechend, aus ihr sprechend, sie aussprechend, im Zusammenhang, auf sein Wesen und seine Entwicklung hin, so kann der *Cornet* am ehesten gesondert, als "Dichtung an sich" verstanden werden. Diese schon 1899 geschriebene Weise mag, wie Heygrodt[2] vermutet, nicht lange vor ihrem Ersterscheinen, 1906, als Rilke sein *Buch der Bilder* schrieb, endgiltige Gestalt erfahren haben. Friedrich von Oppeln-Bronikowski hat in seiner (damals fördernden) Arbeit[3] auf den *Cornet*, da er im nämlichen Jahre erschien, wohl nicht mehr einzugehen vermocht. Fritz Strich aber, der den Weg des Gottsuchers und—künders darstellt, hat dieses am meisten entpersönlichten Werks am ehesten entraten zu können geglaubt.[4] Vielleicht auch schenkte er ihm keine Beachtung, weil ihm der Rilke der *Neuen Gedichte, Anderer Teil* und des *Buchs der Bilder* am fernsten steht. Stellt er doch den "russischen" Rilke, der durch Tolstoi sein Selbst gefunden, als Typus dem "westlichen" George gegenüber, glaubt er doch, erst in den *Sonetten an Orpheus* und in den *Duineser Elegien* sei die Gefahr des Aesthetizismus überwunden.

Ein Aesthetizismus mag indessen eher noch in der komplizierten (und deshalb oft einfachen) Wortwahl, der eigenwilligen Syntax, der manchmal fast neurasthenisch erscheinenden sensiblen Gesamthaltung späterer Werke fortbestehen. Selbst bei langer Beschauung, bei innigem Hineinhorchen in Rilkes Singen und Sagen mag man sich vergeblich fragen, ob er diese oder jene kühne Wendung noch unwillkürlich empfunden, nicht gedanklich ausersonnen habe. Sind seine Intuition und Reflexion eins? Sind seine Organe, wie die des Marcel Proust (und auch die des noch von ihm übertragenen Paul Valéry) so sehr verfeinert, dass auch der

[1] Karl Vossler, "Poesie und Prosa" (*Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sprachphilosophie*, München 1923).

[2] *Mlgen d. Lit.-Hist. Ges. Bonn.* 2, Jahrg, 1907.

[4] *Zts. für Deutschkunde*, 1926.

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vom fernsten Himmel herabgeholte Vergleich nicht abstrakt oder gar "erklügelt" genannt werden darf, da der Symbolwert im Schaffenden west und bei kleinster Berührung mit Aussenwelt als Vision, unbewusst reagierend gleichsam, aufsteigt? Ist das unmittelbare Gefühl reflektiert, die Reflexion unmittelbar gefühlt? Wer vermag es heute schon mit letzter Bestimmtheit zu begreifen?

Hat auch Strich durch Gegenüberstellung des östlichen und westlichen Typus die beiden Gegenpole wieder einmal herausgearbeitet, die, scheinbar unversöhnlich, den deutschen Künstler, wie keinen sonst, bedrängen, in ihrer Spannung, wenn bezwungen, beglücken, so hat er doch durch seine im Grunde polemische Einstellung das Urteil nicht nur erhellt, auch getrübt. Man kann, dächte ich, sowohl Gundolfs heidelberger Vorträgen über Klassik und über George als auch Strichs münchener Ausführungen über Romantik und über Rilke zustimmen. Besteht für den westlichen Gestalter die Gefahr der "Hybris," so für den östlichen "Demütigen" die der Lebensunfähigkeit, des Sich-aus-der-Welt-Verlierens. *Uns* diene die Vergleichung Rilke—George zu nichts anderem als "wechselseitiger Erhellung."

Mancher Kritiker, mancher Professor steht dieser Schöpfung Rilkes, so berühmt, so volkstümlich sie auch sei, mit Zaudern gegenüber, nicht wissend, ob er sie Gedicht oder Erzählung, Gedicht in Prosa nennen soll. Auch die letzte, heute viel gehörte Bezeichnung trifft nicht zu; denn die äussere Tatsache des Fehlens taktmässig geregelter Verse, regelmässiger Reime kann das Werk noch nicht ins Gebiet des Prosaischen, der Prosa verweisen. Heute, da wir wieder gelernt haben, innerlich zu sehen, zu *schauen*, wissen wir, dass manches Gedicht prosaischer als ein Prosawerk ist, da die innere Haltung des Autors eine prosaische war, dass Prosa aber, selbst wissenschaftliche, von Poesie erfüllt sein kann. Sobald wir uns aber bewusst wurden, wie sehr der "Cornet" aus dem Geiste der Musik erstanden ist, dürfen wir gerechterweise dieses so genannte Prosa—Gedicht nicht mehr vom hergebrachten Standpunkt der Prosa aus betrachten.

Es mutet seltsam an, wenn Richard Freienfels in seiner verständnisvollen Arbeit von Rilkes Sprachstil bemerkt:

> Fast immer stösst man auf Stellen, die noch nicht auf die letzte Formel gebracht zu sein scheinen, die noch nicht bis zur völligen Schlackenfreiheit durchgeglüht sind.[5]

[5] Richard Freienfels, "Rainer Maria Rilke," *Das literarische Echo*, 9, S. 1292.

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"Formel," vom Standpunkt der Formel-Finder, die auf Grund schon alternder Werke Dogmen, "Regeln" aufzustellen belieben. Darf man von Schlacken sprechen, wenn die Syntax nicht den festgesetzten Regeln einer abstrakten, die Logik als Allherrscherin verehrenden Grammatik entspricht? Sollen wir der sanktionierten Syntax vor dem Leben das Recht zuerkennen? Ist aber ein Kunstwerk vom Leben zu trennen?

Neuerdings aber (seit der Romantik) empört man sich gegen diesen Zwang der Logik und versucht—soweit das noch möglich ist—wieder nach der natürlichen Anordnung oder impulsiv oder impressionistisch oder rhythmisch zu gliedern.[6]

Harry Maync ist auf dem rechten Weg, wenn er in seiner liebevoll nachempfindenden, nachfühlenden, nachdenkenden "psychologisch—aesthetischen Literatur—Analyse"[7] von einem "neuen Kunstorganismus" spricht. Ein neuer Kunstorganismus, weil seine Zeit herangereift ist. Ein paar Vorläufer mag man im 19. Jahrhundert finden: Ansätze! Aeltere Romantiker: Novalis, Tieck, jüngere: Eichendorff, Mörike. Ansätze in Frankreich: Baudelaire, die Symbolisten.

Da schreibt im letzten Jahre des vergangenen und vollendet in den ersten Jahren unseres Jahrhunderts der vorgeschrittene, verfeinerte, aber in der Tradition verwurzelte Rilke das kleine Werk, das Ausgangspunkt einer neuen "Gattung"—wie dann die Formelfinder sagen können—werden mag.

> Ich lebe grad, da das Jahrhundert geht,
> Man fühlt den Wind von einem grossen Blatt,
> Das Gott und du und ich beschrieben hat
> Und das sich hoch in fremden Händen dreht.
> Man fühlt den Glanz auf einer neuen Seite,
> Auf der noch alles werden kann. . . . .

Das echt russische, doch auch bei Rodin erfahrene "Um—sich—Versammeltsein" erkennt von Oppeln—Bronikowski als die seelische Disposition, die Rilkes Verkürzung, seine Vereinfachung des Ausdrucks als "technisches Korrelat" bedinge.

Ein "Um—sich—Versammeltsein" aber eignet allen grossen Künstlern, die ihre "Mitte" bewahrten. Wie hingegen kommt

[6] Eugen Lerch, "Typen der Wortstellung," *Idealistische Neuphilologie*, Vossler—Festschrift, Heidelberg, 1922, S. 106.

[7] Harry Maync, "Rainer Maria Rilke und seine" *Weise von Liebe und Tod*," *Zeitschrift für deutschen Unterricht*, 30.

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Rilke dazu, einen neuen Kunstorganismus zu schaffen, nicht mehr Poesie der gewohnten Art, nicht mehr regel—erhärtete Prosa? Was ist das Besondere seiner geistigen Artung, seiner seelischen Verfassung im Augenblick des Erschaffens, das durch ihn, blindbewusst, unwillkürlich wollend, einen neuen Stil formt? Welches ist die Persönlichkeitsvoraussetzung? (Da doch, mit Schopenhauer zu reden, Stil sich als "Physiognomie des Geistes" erweist.)

Ein grosses Geschehen, Erwachen des Jünglings zum Leben, Erfüllung des Lebens durch Liebe und mannhafte Tat, Vollendung im Tod, dies prägt sich dem der Welt geöffneten, empfindsamen Rilke als ein im Nacheinander seltsam verwoben Einziges ein, be-drängt, be-stürmt, er-greift ihn so sehr, dass er zunächst, von der Fülle umwirrt, der Fülle wegen, fassungslos, niedergezwungen, in unzählige Empfindungen und Gefühle scheinbar aufgelöst, ent-rückt, "am Leben hin," träumt. Aber was ausser ihm gewesen, beginnt in ihm zu wesen, mit seinem Wesen, seinem Leben eins zu werden, er beginnt das andere nicht nur dumpf zu empfinden, unbewusst zu fühlen, sondern es zu er-fühlen, zu er-leben. Das Ent-rückte rückt zusammen, was ihn bedrängte und bestürmte, drängt und stürmt in ihm: er ergreift, was ihn ergriff. Der Niedergezwungene erhebt sich, das Entfernte schiesst, in seiner "Mitte," zusammen, wird Vision, das Aufgelöste, Lose wird dichter und dichter, ver-dichtet sich in ihm: die er-lebte Vision, *sein* Leben nunmehr, unbewusst—bewusst zu sagen, *aus*-zudrücken, bedeutet *Dichten*. Im Augenblick aber, da dem erst Fassungslosen das Un-fassbare fassbar, seelischgeistig greifbar wird, sind das Geschaute und der Schauende, die beiden Erlebnis umspannenden Pole noch am entferntesten, die *Spannung* also zwischen dem vormals scheinbar in wirrer Vielheit getrennten Leben und dem von seiner Mitte aus die Vielheit einenden Dichter am grössten. In diesem Augenblick, dem "einzigen," wie Amiel ihn nennt, wird das Kunstwerk erschaffen.

Wie ein Soldat, da er in der Schlacht den Kameraden sterben sieht, in einem Augenblick der Spannung und Erregung also, die Konvention und Zeremonie missachtet, unbewusst—bewusst, instinktmässig handelt, so hat Rilke dichterischen Instinkt genug, der Konvention und hirnlich—zeremonieller Regeln zu entraten, natürlich und wesenhaft, unmittelbar, zu dichten. Wie der Soldat in diesem menschlichen, "verinnerlichten" Augenblick die äusserlichen, einer Zeit oder einer Klasse angehörenden Gepflogenheiten misskennt, so der Dichter. Der Soldat wird keine Ver-

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beugung machen, nicht Herr Geheimrat sagen, möglicherweise auch der ihm sonst geläufigen Höflichkeitsanrede vergessen, aber in Handlung und Sprache wird er, im Einzelnen, das Ewige, das Menschliche erweisen. Er wird Worte finden wie "Freund, Feind, Mutter, Geliebte, Heimat," die Geste, mit der er dem Sterbenden den Trunk reicht, wird nicht an Bankett und Frack erinnern, sie wird eine ewige, menschliche sein. Der Dichter aber, in dem menschlichen, verinnerlichten Augenblick des Gestaltens wird das Wesentliche nicht nach allen Regeln der ars poetica, brav studierter Rhetorik poetisch zu umkleiden haben, er wird auch nicht, gemäss gerade neu gefundenen wissenschaftlichen Methoden, seien sie biologischer, physiologischer, psychophysischer, psychologischer, psycho-analytischer, meta-physischer, soziologischer oder sonstwie—ischer Natur (bezw. Un-natur), prosaisch, in möglichst musikarmer, "exakter" Prosa das Wesentliche, von aussen her, zu erhellen (bezw. zu verdunkeln) sich bemühen, seine Seele wird zu sehr erfüllt sein, um Platz zu haben für Syntax, Antithese, Anazeuxis, Trochäus, Jambus, Anapaest, er wird, weil instinktsicher, der höheren Pflicht bewusst, den Mut haben, ein anderes zu schaffen, als was man schlechthin Poesie, Prosa nennt.

So, da das Thema zumal alle angeht, ergibt sich volkliedhafte Weise als innerer Stil. Etwas von der schlichten, über wohlgedrechselter Reimerei erhabenen Grösse der Volkslieder, wie "Morgenrot" oder "Ich hatt' einen Kameraden," etwas von Detlev von Liliencrons soldatischer Knappheit umweht die kleine Dichtung. "Nur nicht viel Worte machen, Worte sind heilig, die Zeit aber ist knapp!" So könnte man das Motto dieses neuen Stiles fassen.

> Denn dann nur sind die Stimmen gut,
> Wenn *Schweigsamkeiten* sie begleiten,
> Und *hinter* dem Gespräch der Saiten
> Geräusche bleiben wie von Blut. (*Buch der Bilder.*)

Schweigsamkeiten klingen auf. Das Schönste steht zwischen den Zeilen. Der Marquis fragt: "Habt Ihr auch eine Braut daheim, Herr Junker?" "Ihr?" gibt der von Langenau zurück. (8)[8] Und er fragt eine Frau, die sich zu ihm neigt: "Bist Du die Nacht?" Sie lächelt. (18) Der trockene chronistische Bericht am Ende überlässt alles der Imagination: Im nächsten Frühjahr (es kam

[8] In der Numerierung der Szenen folge ich der einmal von Harry Maync durchgeführten Anordnung. (*Zts. für deutschen Unterricht*, XXX).

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traurig und kalt) ritt ein Kurier des Freiherrn von Pirovano langsam in Langenau ein. Dort hat er eine alte Frau weinen sehen. (28)

Sätze sind ausgelassen. Aber man versteht. Der auf jeder Seite erscheinende Satzanfang mit "Und" (auch mit "Aber") zeigt zumeist an, dass der Dichter etwas geträumt, verschwiegen hat, und erregt die Phantasie des Hörenden.

So schreibt auch Pászthory[9] in seinem Melodrama dem Pianisten vor: "Träumerisch," lässt er zuerst ppp den weichen Des-Dur-Quartsextakkord erklingen, bevor der Rezitator spricht: "Und der Mut ist so müde geworden." So will er eine Fermate zwischen den beiden Sätzen: "Die Sonne ist schwer, wie bei uns tief im Sommer. Aber wir haben im Sommer Abschied genommen." (2) So schreibt er an ähnlicher Stelle wieder den träumerischen Quartsextakkord, diesmal in A-Dur. ("Wie war? denkt der junge Herr. —Und sie sind weit." (8)) Arpeggiato, ritenuto tönt es an, und, als Gedankenstrich, erklingt fis-a, der ungewisse Vorhalt, über dem Grundton e des Dominantseptakkords von A-Dur. Alles im Diskant! So schiebt er zwischen die Sätze "Dann singt er" und "Und das ist ein altes, trauriges Lied" (7) zwei Takte in b-moll, während noch eine ganze Periode (8 Takte) lang der träumerische, monotone Bass B-F, Tonika-Dominante, weiterklingt. So wechselt die Musik vom 2/4-zum 3/4-Takt, da, im Text, schon wieder ganz Neues gegeben ist, wenn es heisst: "Und sie können nicht voneinander." (9) Oft natürlich ist "Und" als Satzbeginn gebraucht, um zu verbinden, einzelne Sätze nicht zu schroff nebeneinander stehen zu lassen ("Da sagt Spork, der grosse General: "Cornet." Und das ist viel." (11)), um das Abreissen einer Bewegung zu hindern. In mehrfacher Folge mag es zuvörderst als musikalisches Steigerungsmittel dienen. Wenn es bei Rilke heisst (27): " . . . . und erkennt Männer und weiss, dass es die heidnischen Hunde sind—: und wirft sein Pferd mitten hinein," so setzt der musikalische Interpret mehrfach Crescendo-Zeichen, schreibt zweimal accelerando vor, lässt, im Zweivierteltakt, Triolen aufwärtsstürmen.

Dann wieder mag mehrfacher Satzbeginn mit "Und" müde Monotonie malen. Und die Punkte deuten an, was alles nicht gesagt ist. "Und denkt: Er wird bald duften davon. Und denkt: Vielleicht findet ihn einmal Einer . . . . Und denkt: . . . . ; denn der Feind ist nah." (13) Auch hier untermalt die Musik die

[9] Musik zum *Cornet* von Kasimir von Pászthory. Verlag Fr. Kistner und C. F. W. Siegel, Leipzig.

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stilistischen Intentionen des Dichters. Wiederholt klingt die hohle, monotone Tonika-Quinte auf: Des-As, Des-As! Und müde sinkt es, chromatisch, nieder: F, E, Es. In den meisten Fällen aber soll der Satzbeginn mit aller Macht verkünden, wie viel verschwiegen ward.[10]

Dem gleichen Prinzip entspricht die Auslassung des Adjektivs. Wenn das durch ein Epitheton zu Kennzeichnende in Worten nicht gesagt werden kann, so findet Rilke Mut genug, das Adjektiv wegzulassen. "Magdalena, dass ich immer so—war, verzeih!" (8) " . . . und manchmal heben sie die Hände so—, und du musst meinen" (17) Wie? fragt man. Und versteht . . . . Es ist wie in moderner Musik. Eine Dissonanz erklingt, sagen wir, um ein zahmes Beispiel zu wählen, ein Dominantseptnonakkord. Während die an der Klassik (und auch noch der frühen Romantik) orientierte Harmonielehre die "befriedigende" Auflösung, etwa in einen der Tonika angehörenden Akkord, später dann, mit Max Reger, auch in eine neue Tonart empfiehlt oder fordert, wird dem modernen Hörer die "Befriedigung" verweigert, er wird nicht im gewohnten Geleise musikalischen Ablaufs weitergeschoben, der konventionelle Schlummer wird ihm verwehrt, seine Mitarbeit wird erzwungen, die unaufgelöste Dissonanz schrillt, gleich einem Fragezeichen, auf und überlässt die Deutung seiner Phantasie. So auch verzichtet der moderne Maler auf die vom Realismus überkommene Kleinarbeit, so auch vermochte Lovis Corinth das Schönste in seinen allerletzten Werken zu malen, wo in ein paar grossen Zügen ein symbolisches Blumenstück ersteht, wo man fühlt, dass etwas "hinter den Farben" verborgen ist, wie in Rilkes Sprache "zwischen den Zeilen."

Aus demselben, volksliedhafter Einfachheit verwandten Grundgefühl fällt das unpersönliche "Es" ("Kommen bunte Buben . . ." (10), "Kommen Dirnen . . . . " (10), "Kommen Knechte . . . ." (10)), fällt das Subjekt ("Packen die Dirnen" (10), "Drücken sie . . . ." (10)). Auslassung des grammatischen Subjekts "es" muss auch angenommen werden, wo Rilke sagt: "Sie zögern. Und ist Hufschlag um sie." (9) Es handelt sich hier nicht um freie Inversion, wie sie etwa Oskar Walzel für den Jugend—und Alters-

[10] Dieselbe Stileigentümlichkeit hat zweifellos bei zahlreichen Gedichtanfängen Richard Dehmels statt ("Und wir gingen still im tiefen Schnee" u. s. w.), die K. Bojunga durch Umschreibungen wie "Stilfeinheiten," "Wucht der Eingänge," zu kennzeichnen sich bemüht. Dr. Klaudius Bojunga, "Bemerkungen zu Richard Dehmels Sprachkunst," *Zts. für Deutschkunde*, 1920, S. 116.

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stil Goethes nachweist,[11] sondern um die dem Volkslied gemässe Verkürzung, wie: "Sah ein Knab ein Röslein steh'n.'

Auch das Verb ist selbstverständlich unterlassen, wo es sich "von selbst" versteht. "Und immer das gleiche Bild" (2). "Endlich vor Spork" (11).[12] "Es muss also Herbst sein. Wenigstens dort, wo traurige Frauen von uns wissen." (2) Ueberflüssig die Wiederholung: "Wenigstens dort *muss Herbst sein.*" Der Dichter ist ja zu müde, zu schwer vom Erlebten, als dass er sich um logisch exaktere (wesenlosere, oberflächlichere) Ausdrucksweise bemühte. Der Dichter hätte durch ein Komma nach "sein" den zweiten Gedanken, grammatikalisch korrekter, dem ersten angliedern können. Aber nein! Dadurch wäre ja verwischt, dass der Junker lange Zeit, mag sein eine halbe Stunde lang, schweigend weiterritt, den ersten Gedanken fortspinnend, bevor er wieder anhebt: "Wenigstens dort, wo traurige Frauen von uns wissen." Das Komma ist durch ein langes Schweigen gegenstandslos geworden. Auch Pászthory, der Komponist, hat das gefühlt, wenn er die grosse Müdigkeit andeutet durch ein ppp arpeggiato des unendlich weichen Dominantseptnonakkords C-Dur, der bereits angeklungen hatte, als der Sprecher von den leuchtenden Kleidern der Frauen sagte.

Es wurde gerühmt, Chopin habe einen hohen Grad der Feinheit in unmittelbarer Uebertragung seiner musikalischen Konzeption in Notenschrift erreicht. Er wird hierin vom Impressionisten Debussy, dem durch die in historischer Entwicklung erweiterte und gesprengte Form ein flexibleres Material zu Dienste steht, übertroffen. So kann Rilke ins Sprachliche noch Schwingungen einfangen, deren Ausdruck dem sensibelsten Romantiker versagt blieb.

Gerade an der Interpunktion Rilkes vermag man zu erkennen, was der so männlich um plastische Form ringende Stefan George durch teilweisen Verzicht auf diese "Satzzeichen" (Empfindungs-, Gefühls-, Gedanken-, Stimmungs-, Traumzeichen, Symbole) aufgab. Ein paar Beispiele nur, wo Rilke statt eines Kommas den Punkt setzt: "Denn was der Eine erzählt, das haben auch sie erfahren und geradeso. Als ob es nur eine Mutter gäbe." (5) "Und

[11] Oskar Walzel, "Wege der Wortkunst," *Idealistische Neuphilologie*, Vossler—Festschrift, Heidelberg, 1922, S. 51.

[12] Genehmigt nicht selbst die Grammatik eine ähnliche syntaktische Verkürzung, wenn sie Auslassung des von einem der sechs Hilfszeitwörter abhängigen Infinitivs wie kommen oder gehen z. B., als im Hilfszeitwort und dem trennbaren Praefix mitverstanden, zulässt? (Beisp: Er will hinein, er muss fort u. s. w.)

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er sitzt schon zu Ross und jagt in die Nacht. Blutige Schnüre fest in der Faust." (12) "Und er ist nackt wie ein Heiliger. Hell und schlank." (19) "Kürzer sind die Gebete. Aber inniger." (20) Das ist das Grandiose, Echte an dieser Interpunktion, dass selbst sie, stilgemäss, der rein logischen Sfäre entrückt, konkreter, Symbol wurde.

Ein Doppelpunkt wirkt wie ein Crescendo-, wie ein Accelerando-Zeichen: "und es ist wie ein Schrei: über alles dahin und an allem vorbei"(26). Der Doppelpunkt hält zusammen, konzentriert: "Alle sind schwer: müde oder verliebt oder trunken." (20) Der Doppelpunkt weist Richtung, zeigt an, nun komme, was vorbereitet war: "Nach so vielen, leeren, langen Feldnächten: Betten! (20) Der Doppelpunkt lässt den Atem anhalten, aufhorchen wie eine Schweigsamkeit aus dem Gebiete der Musik, wie eine Pause; so wird er selbst mitten im Satze gesetzt: " . . . . bis in die Fingerspitzen so: nach dem Bad sein." (15) ". . . .und endlich aus den reifgewordnen Takten: entsprang der Tanz." (16) Dieser Doppelpunkt erinnert an jene *spannende* Pause, die in der Fuge, nach Entwicklung der Themen, das gleichzeitige Einsetzen aller (di "tutti") zur letzten, höchstgesteigerten kontrapunktischen Durchführung ankündigt.

Hier ist die dem antiken Ideal der Cicero, der Demosthenes entsprechende, von Oberlehrern behütete Interpunktion verschmäht. Weg vom rein hirnlichen "Konstruieren." So ersetzt auch der Doppelpunkt die von der Grammatik geforderte koordinierende Konjunktion: " . . . . seid stolz: Ich trage die Fahne, seid ohne Sorge: Ich trage die Fahne, habt mich lieb: Ich trage die Fahne." (13) "Er lächelt traurig: Ihn schützt eine fremde Frau."(19) Wir fühlen: Das schmückende Verbinden, "Koordinieren," war oberflächlicher, wir sind dem Unmittelbaren, ja Unbewussten näher.

Wie ganze Sätze oder ein Adjektiv, ein Verb, eine Konjunktion ausgelassen werden, so ersetzen Partizip des Perfekts, ein Infinitiv, ein Substantiv den zu weitläufigen, "regelrechten" Satz. "Infinitiv und Participium kamen zu neuen Ehren. Was auf den ersten Blick wie Unbeholfenheit eines dumpfen Dranges scheinen mag, enthüllt sich bald als gewollte künstlerische Gebärde, die von vorgeschriebenem Brauche abweicht, weil sie zu verraten hat, was noch keiner ersah."[13]

"Eine einsame Säule, halbverfallen." (6) "Poltern, Klirren und

[13] Oskar Walzel, "Die deutsche Literatur von Goethes Tod bis zur Gegenwart." In Scherer—Walzel, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*. Berlin. 1921.

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Hundegebell! Wiehern im Hof, Hufschlag und Ruf." (14) "Nicht immer Soldat sein." (15) Die Beispiele lassen sich beliebig vermehren. Anstatt logischer Erklärung der reine "Ausdruck." Solche Sätze sind ein Akkord, eine Farbe! "Ich trage die Fahne" (13). Auch Wörter sind Akkorde, "Vielklänge." Ist nicht "Wachtfeuer" (7) oder "Rast " ein Grundakkord, die Tonika? Und so im ganzen Werk: " Abends" . . . . "Klein war" "(4). "Hornruf" (9). "Ein Tag durch den Tross, Flüche, Farben, Lachen." (10). "Winken" (10). "Punktum" (11). "Ebene. Abend.—" (12) "Hell und schlank" (19). "Rufe: Cornet!—Flüche: Cornet! Und noch einmal: Cornet!" (25). U. s. w. U. s. w. So sehr ist diese Sprache aus der Musik geboren, dass die für das musikalische Italienisch charakteristische Wortwiederholung (bella, bella) zur Stilnotwendigkeit wird: "Reiten, reiten, reiten durch den Tag, durch die Nacht, durch den Tag." (2) "Man sitzt rund umher und wartet. Wartet, dass einer singt" (7) ". . wie im Traum poltern sie, poltern—."(10) "Aber da schreit es ihn an. Schreit, schreit"(12) " . .im Park, einsam im schwarzen Park" (18) " . .in Waffen sein. Ganz in Waffen" (18) "Betten! Breite, eichene Betten." (20) "gemeinsam haben; so gemeinsam" (23) "von Zimmer zu Zimmer"(25) "von Trakt zu Trakt" (25) "Eisen an Eisen" (25) "Stahl um Stahl" (27). Wo die Wortwiederholung nicht rein musikalischer Natur ist, dient sie der Akzentuierung, wuchtigerer Heraushebung. Beides aber ist *germanisch.* (Was nicht ein Vorhandensein in französischer Literatur, des Verlaine zum Beispiel, ausschliesst.) Ein französischer Stilkritiker wie Antoine Albalat würde solche Wiederholung als "unsachlich" verwerfen.

Die Klangmalerei erscheint in zahlreichen Alliterationen (Null und nichtig (1), Hast und Hufschlag (9), Raufen und Rufen (10), blutig und bloss (12), steigt steinern ein Schloss (14), Glas und Glanz (15), Licht lügt (18), steht steil (22), schwarz und schlank (22), den hellen, helmlosen Mann (26) u. s. w.). Auf jeder Seite ein Ineinanderklingen. (Kaum einen Baum (2), der kleine, feine Franzose (3), auf seinem feinen, weissen Spitzenkragen (3), samtenen Sattel (3), laut und langsam (4), im Herbst, wenn die Ernten zu Ende gehen (7), in Traum halb und halb in Trotz (8), Einmal, am Morgen, ist ein Reiter da, und dann ein zweiter (9), Der von Langenau staunt. Lange . . . . (9), bunte Buben (10), schwarzeisern wie wandernde Nacht (10), Der aber befiehlt: Lies mir den Wisch (11), ganz in Gedanken. Langsam malt er (13), Hufschlag und Ruf (14) U. s. w. u. s. w.)

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Es hiesse Papier mit Buchstaben bedecken, wollte man alle die musikalischen Anklänge herzählen. Der reine Reim stellt sich an den intensivsten Stellen ein, im Mittelsatz besonders (nach Mayncs hübschem Vergleich mit einer dreisätzigen Symphonie). Aber das Klingen und Reimen ist hier unmittelbare Musik, selbst charakteristischer Ausdruck, fern der manchmal doch aesthetizistischen Spielerei im "Buch der Bilder" (wo man lesen mag, in "Mädchenmelancholie": Sein Lächeln war so weich und fein: Wie Glanz auf altem Elfenbein, Wie Heimweh, wie ein Weihnachtsschnein Im dunkeln Dorf, wie Türkisstein, Um den sich lauter Perlen reihn, Wie Mondenschein Auf einem lieben Buch. (!!))

Nur ein paar Beispiele eines Stilmittels, das wie alle die erwähnten, dem fantasievollen Volkslied eigen ist, der Personifikation: "Fremde Hütten hocken durstig an versumpften Brunnen" (2) "Breit hält sich ihnen die Brücke hin" (14) ". . die reglose Fahne hat unruhige Schatten. Sie träumt." (22) " Das sind die Fenster, die schrein" (24) "Säbel, die auf ihn zuspringen" (27). U. s. w. Solche Verpersönlichung des scheinbar Leblosen ist nicht spitzfinding ausgeklügelt und deshalb unwahr, sie ist, wie alles in dieser Dichtung, Zeichen, Symbol, ein Farbklang vielleicht, eine Steigerung der Intensität über das Rationale hinaus.

Was aber war das Auslassen von Sätzen, von Wörtern, die Verwendung von Substantiven, Infinitiven, Participien anstelle von Sätzen, das Anklingen von Wörtern gleich Akkorden anderes als Steigerung der Intensität? In der Wahl jedes einzelnen Wortes selbst liesse sich die Intensität des Ausdrucks erkennen. Rilke sagt nicht "ihm graust, "sondern "ihn graust" (12), er wählt das intensivere *direkte* Objekt.

Ist das Volkslied durch seine schlaglichtartige Knappheit besonders prägnant, so waltet doch eine gewisse Allgemeinheit, ja Unbestimmtheit in ihm vor. Das Individuelle tritt hinter das Typische zurück. So nennt Rilke, ausser in dem chronistischen Vorbericht (1), nicht des Junkers Namen Christoph, sondern sagt einfach: "Der von Langenau." So ist der Name der Geliebten ohne Belang. "Und er fragt eine Frau." (18) So wird die Mutter nicht genannt, heisst es nur: "eine alte Frau." (28) Denn wenn eine Mutter vom Heldentod ihres Sohnes hört, wird sie" eine alte Frau," jede *Mutter*. Es gibt eben in dieser Dichtung keinen eigentlichen Helden, sofern man nicht das Geschehen an sich, das allgemein menschliche, mit diesem Fachausdruck belegen möchte.

Wenn der Dichter sagt: "Und der Mut ist so müde geworden"

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(2), mögen wir fragen: "Wessen Mut?" Der Mut des Junkers, der Mut aller. Die Gemeinsamkeit, das letzhin Unpersönliche, ja Schicksalhafte kommt in dem (ebenfalls im Volkslied häufigen) Gebrauch des Neutrums und des Impersonale zum Ausdruck: Es gibt (2), Nichts (2), nirgends (2), man (2), manchmal (2), es kann sein (2), jemand (4), so reitet *man* in den Abend hinein, in *irgend einen* Abend (5), man schweigt . . . . (5), fern ragt etwas in den Glanz hinein . . . . (6), man sitzt rund umher (7), man muss sich trennen (9), er hat die Augen weit offen und *etwas* spiegelt sich drin; kein Himmel (14), als Mahl begann's. Und ist ein Fest geworden, kaum weiss man wie (16), es ist viel Fremdes, Buntes vor ihm (27), u. s. w. u. s. w.

Diese Unbestimmtheit ist urverschieden von der beabsichtigten Undeutlichkeit, Betonung des Halben, Unauffälligen, die z.B. der seinen Stil ausarbeitende, erarbeitende Thomas Mann durch Anwendung differenzierender Adverbien wie "vielleicht, hie und da, hin und wieder, dann und wann, kaum, beinahe, von ungefähr, etwas, ein bischen, ein wenig, fast, nebenbei u. s. w." anstrebt, sie ist der Ausdruck nicht des westeuropäischen, von seiner ratio aus produzierenden Schriftstellers oder auch Poeten, sondern des östlichen und des germanischen und auch deutschen *Dichters*, in dem ES wirkt, in und aus dem das Kunstwerk wird.

Neutrum und Impersonale sind die Zufluchtswinkel der Phantasie in der Sprache. Sie setzen statt Zergliederung Synthese, statt Kausalität Mythologie, statt Rationalismus Intuition.[14]

Diese, wie nun erwiesen, in ihrem Gesamtstil dem Volkslied, der Ballade verwandte Dichtung, die wir als neuen Kunstorganismus bezeichnen dürfen, entspricht, wie eingangs erwähnt, der Persönlichkeit des Dichters. Sagt er doch schon in den Prager Novellen: "Mich rührt so sehr Böhmischen Volkes Weise, Schleicht sie ins Herz sich leise, Macht sie es schwer." Gibt es doch kein Werk Rilkes, aus dem nicht sein Verhältnis zur Musik, seine aber hier überall schaffende Allverbundenheit erhellt.

Hat der *Cornet*, wie überhaupt in der deutschen Literatur (und letzthin jeglicher) so im Schaffen Rilkes, keinen eigentlichen Vorgänger, steht das Werk vereinzelt da, so ist es doch, wie Ausdruck seines Wesens, Ausdruck *deutscher* Art. Darüber sind wir uns heute einig, dass ein Grundelement des Deutschen das Streben über die

[14] Leo Spitzer, "Das synthetische und das symbolische Neutralpronomen im Französischen." (*Idealistische Neuphilologie.* Heidelberg. 1922).

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ratio hinaus darstellt, wie es die Kunst und das Leben der Gotik, des Barock, der Romantik formt, ein dem östlichen Menschen verwandter Glauben an das Nichtnennbare, an das Fatum; das fühlen wir heute, dass der Deutsche am ursprünglichsten war und ist, wo immer er das Unaussprechliche auszusprechen wagte und wagt. Wir wissen, dass die deutsche *Musik* zu sagen vermochte, was romantischer Dichtung bestens halb gelang. Der lyrische Mensch aber, intensiv, gibt den Akzent dem bedeutendsten Wort, der bedeutendsten Silbe, während der reine Verstandesmensch das Einzelne dem einmal Festgesetzten, dem "Standard" unterordnet. "Die germanische Dichtung war und blieb balladesk, liedhaft, musikalisch."[15]

Letzten Endes hält Rilkes so kühn, so neu erscheinende Dichtung ganz wesentliche Stilelemente altgermanischer Dichtung aufrecht, bricht da wieder etwas durch, was wir als ureigenstes Erbgut der Deutschen bezeichnen dürfen.

Wenn man die grammatikalischen Abweichungen wie die Stileigentümlichkeiten ihres, zuvörderst musikalischen, Charakters wegen als der inneren, persönlichen wie volklichen Form Rilkes gemäss deuten darf, so ist es ein Leichtes, die Zeitzugehörigkeit zu bestimmen. Sind bis jetzt einzelne Arbeiten über musikalische Gesetze in der Dichtung erschienen,[16] so sollte, wenn einst genügend Material gesammelt ist, einer die Geschichte des musikalischen Stils in der Dichtung schreiben. Es würde dann ersichtlich werden, dass Rilke seine Leitmotive, wie "Sehnen und Sterben, Weib und Schicksal" (Maync), in kühnerer Weise spielt und abwandelt als E. T. A. Hoffman die seinen im "Goldenen Topf." Man würde erkennen, dass die losere Form seines Werkes der befreiten Struktur moderner Musik gleichkommt, dass sein Metrum den Takt so häufig wechselt wie das zerrissenste Werk Regers, ja dass er Wortakkorde zu sagen vermochte, die dem geistreichen Musiktheoretiker Arnold Schönberg als "Klangfarbenharmonien" vorschwebten.

Man wird auch einmal erkennen müssen, dass diese schon 1899 geschriebene Schöpfung erst in einer Zeit berühmt werden konnte, da dem deutschen, ins Unendliche strebenden Geist die nur dem Anscheine nach unvereinbaren Taten wie Spenglers Geschichtsbetrachtung, Freuds Seelenzergliederung, Vosslers Sprachforschung

[15] Fritz Strich, "Natur und Geist der deutschen Dichtung, *Die Ernte*," Muncker—Festschrift, Halle a. d. S., 1926.

[16] Oskar Walzel, "Leitmotive in Dichtungen," *Zts. für Bücherfreunde*, N. F. 8, 2. S. 270. Ad. von Grolman, *Adalbert Stifters Romane*, Halle, 1926.

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gelangen. Man wird auch zu erkennen haben, dass Rilkes Malen, durch Helldunkel an die Worpsweder gemahnend, Forderungen erfüllt, die, "technisch," über die Kunst dieser hinausgehen, Forderungen, deren Gesetze von expressionistischen Malern erkannt, doch übersteigert, verzerrt wurden. Und man wird einsehen, dass um die Jahrhundertwende einer *konnte*, was eine vom Krieg erschütterte, von der Hohlheit des Konventionellen überzeugte, im literarischen Kunstschaffen aber ohnmächtige junge Generation *wollte*. Die einen brachen unter der Last des Eindrucks zusammen und vermochten nur zu stammeln, die andern schrien hinaus, was sie bestens anempfanden, nicht empfanden. Rilke aber gelang es, die beiden "Pole," sein Ich und die Welt, zu umspannen und im einzigen Augenblick die Stimme, das Unnennbare, ES sagen zu lassen.

Die Uebertragung wesentlichster Schwingungen ist so unerhört fein, so *neu*, dass man zu wünschen versucht wäre, Rilke hätte in besonderer Notenschrift Tonhöhe, Tonstärke, Tempo und Nüancen vermerkt,—wenn auch man weiss, dass Rilke nie sich dazu hätte hergeben können.

Wenn einmal die Formelfinder diesen "neuen Kunstorganismus" durch ehrenvolle Aufnahme in ihren Kodex sanktionieren, mag das weitergeschrittene Leben eine neue (und doch, wie auch hier, im Alten verwurzelte) Form hervorbringen.

Das aber dürfte man heute wissen, dass so viele dickleibige Romane unserer Zeit den Leser, voran den vom Tagwerk ermüdeten, zur Oberflächlichkeit verleiten, während bei Anhören dieser knappen, echten Dichtung auch für den Angestrengtesten noch Zeit zur Sammlung bleibt. (Vielleicht also haben wir hier die eigentliche "zeitgemässe" Dichtung.) Bedenken sollte man, dass an Gesten dieses kleinen Werks wiedererfahren werden kann, was ein einziges Zeichen anstatt der üblichen Zerchwätzerei vermag. Und man würde verstehen, dass dieser "neue Stil" nicht aus Geschmäcklerei, sondern aus persönlicher, volklicher, zeitlicher Notwendigkeit erstand.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

9. *THE GENEALOGICAL NOVEL AGAIN*

"Personally I should be the last to hold it against Mr. Zucker," writes Mr. Burkhard in the last (March 1929) number of the *PMLA,* pp. 310 ff. "that he overlooked this specific statement by Thomas Mann, originally made during an address delivered before his fellow-citizens on the occasion of the seven hundredth anniversary of the founding of his native city, Lübeck, and now snugly tucked away in a slender unassuming volume, none too attractively entitled 'Lübeck als geistige Lebensform.' (Footnote: Mann, Lübeck als geistige Lebensform. Lübeck, 1926, flyleaf.)"

Well, what does he hold against me then in his criticism of my article *The Genealogical Novel?* He blames me for not having run across a reference to above-mentioned speech in "the last (19th) edition of Albert Soergel, *Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit,* Leipzig, 1928." My article, appearing in the *PMLA* of June 1928, was in the printer's hands before the end of 1927. I submit that it seems a bit unreasonable to expect prescience.

Mr. Burkhard holds still other things against me. On page 312 he wonders "whether Thomas Mann would feel 'honored with the title "The German Galsworthy." Allow me to quote the phrase, which Mr. Burkhard has taken out of its context, as it appears in my footnote 13 to which he refers. I stated in the text that about twenty years after the publication of *Buddenbrooks* there appeared Galsworthy's *The Forsyte Saga* and I added in the footnote: "For this reason some English critics have honored Thomas Mann with the title 'The German Galsworthy.'" In this reference to a "howler" which I had noted in an English critical journal I supposed that the irony of my remark was clear enough to be understood, even without the use of an exclamation point.

Mr. Burkhard furthermore wonders whether Thomas Mann would use the form *"Die Buddenbrooks',"* stating that I had twice used it thus on page 556. The apostrophe with its absurd suggestion of a genitive form Mr. Burkhard must hold against his own scholarship; it does not appear in my article. But that I wrote *Die Buddenbrooks* instead of *Buddenbrooks* is a mistake, and I can easily understand that Mr. Burkhard would hold this against me. Still, we are all frail clay; in the very act of taking me to task for this mistake Mr. Burkhard in footnote 13 refers the reader to "The N. Y. Book Review" for an article which is really to be found in "The N. Y. Times Book Review." In his own restrained phrase, "This is unfortunate."

But to come to the main point which Mr. Burkhard holds against me. Thomas Mann, he says, was not influenced by Zola in writing his great genealogical novel *Buddenbrooks,* but by the brothers Goncourt and by the Scandinavian authors Lie and Kielland. In support of this he quotes

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from a speech by Thomas Mann in which the latter states emphatically that he did not know Zola at the time he wrote *Buddenbrooks*.

Now, knowing an author is—like knowing a language—a matter of widely differing degree. Shaw surprised his readers by denying a knowledge of Nietzsche, and Ibsen said he owed nothing to Dumas, but I have never found a critic who took these remarks absolutely literally. Thomas Mann wrote *Buddenbrooks* in Munich in the years preceding 1901; are we to assume that this student of the novel did not read even one article on Zola or one book on contemporary French literature? If he had read only of the plan of Zola's life work, *Les Rougon-Mackuart*, viz. the story of a family in which the members of successive generations appear as the heroes, then he could have known from one sentence the *formal scheme* of Zola's work, which he likewise employed in *Buddenbrooks*. In the passage which Mr. Burkhard quotes Thomas Mann seems to be speaking not so much of form as of style, which is evident from his reference to the brothers Goncourt: "Nicht Zola also, wie man vielfach angenommen hat —ich kannte ihn damals gar nicht—sondern die viel artistischeren Goncourts waren es, die mich in Bewegung setzten." I should think that a fair interpretation of Mann's statement would be to say that at the time he had not read one book by Zola.

But let us accept the view, as Mr. Burkhard seems to do, that Thomas Mann (already at the age of eighteen on the editorial staff of a Munich literary review!) had at the time he wrote *Buddenbrooks* never so much as heard of Zola and the scheme of his great novel. Would the influence of Zola then be excluded? The Scandinavian novels which Mr. Burkhard mentions as the sources for Mann's *Familienroman* all date from the time when Zola's genealogical novel, the scheme of which he derived from his scientific readings, had in large part already been published. The novels of Lie and Kielland, according to Norwegian authorities[1] have their roots in the modern French novel (Daudet, Zola, the Goncourts) and if Mr. Burkhard assumes that Thomas Mann did not know of Zola's existence, it seems highly probable then that Mann derived the *form* of *Buddenbrooks* indirectly from Zola.

Zola is at present not rated very highly as an artist (an opinion in which I concur); yet I believe he must be given the chief credit for discovering the possibilities of the genealogical novel which has "made school" to such an extent that scarcely a month passes in which one does not see a review of such a story of succeeding generations in the literary journals. I have never asserted dogmatically that Mann had been influenced by Zola; I spoke with the caution that I think is called for in the complex and often accidental matter of literary influences—and I mentioned only the one detail of the *formal scheme* of the novel. I see no reason, therefore, for

[1]Compare for example Henrik Jaeger, Illustreret Norsk Literaturhistorie, 11, 754.

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altering the statement to which Mr. Burkhard objects: "It is highly probable that Thomas Mann, known to have been a great admirer of French contemporary fiction, derived the idea for the plan of his work from Zola"—unless possibly I add "either directly or indirectly."

One word about the "constructive" part of Mr. Burkhard's communication. He commends (page 312) Hermann Bang's *Haabløse Slaegter* (incidentally misspelling the title!) to me in particular and "to anyone else who wishes to continue an investigation of this interesting subject of the novel of family life in different generations." I have followed his suggestion, but on reading the book I find that—despite the promising title "Hopeless Generations"—it is the story of the life of the hero William Høg, and not a genealogical novel at all.

A. E. ZUCKER

University of Maryland

10. THE WORD "UNIVERSALITY" AS APPLIED TO DRAMA

I was somewhat surprised that Mr. Thompson in his article on "Melodrama and Tragedy"[1] practically ignored what has always been to me the chief distinction between tragedy and melodrama—the difference in the treatment of character—and his insistence upon universality as the one and only distinction led me to wonder whether we should all agree with his interpretation of the term.

Mr. Thompson seems to identify universality with reflection; the spirit of the spectator, he says, "faces ultimate terrors of life and in facing them in some measure reconciles them to the rest of life; by this activity it lifts the particular events into the realm of the universal and experiences the awe that comes from glimpsing the fundamental mystery of existence."

This may be true, but the real inspiration of this reflective attitude, it seems to me, is neglected. Mr. Thompson touches on it only once, rather casually, in a footnote: "No moral victory can drown our sense of pity and waste at a violent death of one whom we can admire and love." This is true both in art and in life. We know as scientific fact that all men must die; we read, with a certain sense of shock but on the whole calmly, of catastrophes that wipe out thousands; but when some one whom we know and care for dies, we have not only the inevitable sense of loss but an entirely new realization of the uncertainty of life.

This connects with another element which Mr. Thompson dismisses rather indifferently,—the element of causality. When we see someone, because of temperament as well as circumstances, making what seems to us a mistake, we are alert to trace the consequences. Lear, cheating himself with the satisfaction that protestations of affection give to his vanity, arouses in us foreboding. Our knowledge of human nature makes us feel

[1] Alan Reynolds Thompson, *PMLA* XLIII (1928), 810–835.

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that such credulity, though built on the sentiment which a father might count on, is bound to meet disappointment. It is this element of personality inaction which causes reflection. When we are directly in action ourselves, we are not so apt to be thinking about it. Watching people in whom we are inteersted, as they confront the problems of existence, we have indeed the attitude of detachment which Mr. Thompson speaks of as necessary to "universalized" emotion.

What I most object to in Mr. Thompson's discussion of tragedy and melodrama is the statement that "The one thing essential is to recognize that a definite and clear distinction exists between the type of play which possesses universality, and the type of play which does not."

I doubt very much whether "a definite and clear distinction" exists between any one type and any other type. General distinctions exist, or we could not have types at all. But the more we read, the more we realize how one kind of writing shades into another. Short story, sketch, essay, novel, biography,—you can draw the line only according to the main emphasis; and sometimes the emphasis is so evenly divided, there is no line to draw.

If it is the reflective attitude which lifts a piece of work into the realm of the universal and if it is this which should be made the distinguishing mark of tragedy, it would certainly be difficult to say that one play undeniably possesses this quality and that another completely lacks it. The cheapest melodrama may present situations and emotions that are fundamental; it may, as in *The Spanish Tragedy,* use practically the same theme as an admitted tragic masterpiece. It may even show "spiritual victory in spite of physical defeat." What, then, is the distinction?

I come back to my insistence upon delineation of character, the creation of real people who embody for us in concrete form the general problems of mankind. The progress from melodrama toward tragedy, from farce toward comedy, is marked by the degree of reality which the author has succeeded in giving to his characters. And melodrama and farce are inferior to tragedy and comedy mainly because in them character interest is reduced to the minimum. After all, has any representation of life which has not given us at least one memorable character been ranked permanently with great literature?

This does not deny Mr. Thompson's contention that tragedy differs from melodrama in that it inspires a more reflective attitude. It merely attempts to supply a step which he, apparently, has not thought it necessary to take. It is, to my point of view, the deeper sense of reality which comes from seeing real people in conflict with the universe, which gives food for reflection. The relation of these people to the actions in which they are involved supplies the logic which most writers on tragedy have demanded and in regard to which Mr. Thompson does not make his position wholly clear. Life is illogical, of course, and accident often causes

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tragedy. But our character—or our individuality if you choose—determines our reaction even to accident.

My conception of "universality" probably does not differ much from Mr. Thompson's. I should agree that in witnessing a great tragedy—and I think I might also say a great comedy—"the spirit lifts the particular events into the realm of the universal." But I feel that this activity takes place only when our interest has been aroused in the particular events, and that this interest can be inspired only through personality, which still remains—in spite of the behaviorists—the one most interesting thing in the world.

CLARA F. MCINTYRE

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11. ORTHODOXY CONCERNING KEATS

This is not an age when heretics are better dead. They find so much favor in a dull world that to speak in defence of orthodoxy requires courage and perhaps even temerity. In his recent article, "Heresy Concerning Keats,"[1] Mr. Royall Snow presents the view that when Keats declared, "Beauty is truth, truth beauty," he was not thinking of abstract beauty or the permanence of beauty but was "making an out-and-out and passionate declaration for the senses." It is the purpose of this paper to challenge this view and the assumptions on which it is based.

I. In stating the confusion which he thinks arises if Keats had in mind the permanence of beauty, Mr. Snow says:

> For four strophes the whole emotional value of the *Ode on a Grecian Urn* has been based on the poignant transiency of human beauty and passion.

Now it is true that Keats does by implication awaken feelings of regret for the beauty that fades and the love that dies. There is this undertone of suggestion. But I submit that it does not constitute the whole emotional value of the strophes in question. Such an interpretation is quite unwarranted by a simple reading of the lines. And this is patently not a poem of which the implications are weightier than what is actually said. Keats has been too explicit about his direct message and has lavished on it the wealth of his imagination. If we come to the poem without preconceptions, we cannot fail to see that the author has presented and consistently dwelt upon a single idea. He is wholly occupied with the thought that the beauty which so delights him has been caught and crystallized forever in the eternity of art. Beauty is a spiritual value which endures. Nowhere in the poem is there a direct word about the transiency of human beauty and passion. There are, it is true, three lines about human passion, but it is love's sad satiety and not its transiency that engages the poet's thought:

[1] *PMLA*, XLIII, 1142–1149.

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> All breathing human passion far above
> That leaves a heart high-sorrowful and cloyed,
> A burning forhead and a parching tongue.

These lines emphasize the theme by contrasting the spiritual quality of art with human passion—the life of the senses.

2. Mr. Snow finds an antithesis between the first and second strophes. He thus interprets the opening of the second: "Ecstasy [thinks Keats] is not so fine a state after all. Spiritual ditties are better." Here I appeal to Keats. After an overture in which he anticipates his theme and suggests in "foster-child of Silence and Slow Time" that he is looking on a work of plastic art, he describes the melody and wild ecstasy of men and maidens long ago. In the second strophe he gives expression to his own ecstasy in the contemplation of the arrested beauty preserved in imperishable form. This thought he re-affirms in the third strophe in a different key as occasioned by the different scene on the other side of the urn—a natural and harmonious expansion of the motif.

3. Questionable also is Mr. Snow's interpretation of the fourth stanza:

> It is a pause, a beautiful pause, and yet a sorrowful one concluding with a dying cadence and the deep melancholy of streets forever deserted .... the original beauty with which we began is re-affirmed but with accumulated sadness.

But the sadness is only apparent, lying wholly in the image of the desolate little town which has, for the moment, run away with the poet. It is so compelling that he lingers over it as poets often do. One remembers "A willow grows aslant a brook," introducing a scene which laid a spell on Shakespeare and detained him at an intense moment of his drama. The tone-color of the diction, "will silent be," "can e'er return," "forevermore," contributes further to the apparent sadness. But Keats has not forgotten his theme, the unfading beauty which haunts about the shape of the urn.

4. Commenting on Keat's statement,

> Thou silent form! dost tease us out of thought
> As doth eternity,

Mr. Snow interprets it to mean: "Thought .... breaks down and vanishes if we abandon ourselves to the message of the urn." And this message is that the joy of the senses typified by the "pipes and timbrels and wild ecstasy," is "all we can and need to know." Now it is more than likely that the obvious interpretation of these lines is the right one: that Keats is here simply describing a familiar mental experience—the baffling sense of futility, the deadlock in the mind which results from trying to conceive of infinity, endless space, or endless time. The *foreverness* of the poised legend on the urn affects him in the same way. "Tease us out of thought" is a particularly good expression for the blend of annoyance and fascination in this mental experience.

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5. As to the validity of the conclusion that the ode is "an out-and-out declaration for the senses," I would again appeal to Keats. He has expressly said that unheard melodies are sweeter; he has spoken with disapproval of the sensual ear and the satiety of physical passion; and has with emphasis and magical variation, through images seen and images visioned, through question, answer, and reflection climbed to the conception that the arrested beauty on the urn made eternal through art is a prototype of that Beauty which is the great Reality. The felt mood of the poem is in harmony with the idea. Thus the great dictum is not only in keeping with the ode, but is its emotional climax.

Although Keats is now among the great English poets and a considerable body of understanding criticism has appeared since his vindication by Matthew Arnold, he still suffers from over-emphasis of a certain act of his youth and of a much-quoted exclamation. No biographer would fail to relate that he once coated his throat with cayenne to enhance the cool deliciousness of claret. None would fail to report the remark in a letter to Reynolds, "Oh, for a life of sensations rather than of thoughts!"[2] The suggestion in these two incidents is that Keats reveled in *raw* sensation. This view is confirmed by the fact that his early poems abound in luscious imagery and that he elevated the material senses, taste and touch to the realm of art. The result is that these things form a kind of sub-soil affecting the growth of all subsequent thought about him. They work against an understanding of the later Keats. His biographers and critics, while acknowledging his intellectual and spiritual fiber, are unable to free themselves completely from this bias.

As a step toward correcting this tendency, we would do well to remind ourselves how Keats used the word sensation. When he made the famous exclamation, he was using the word neither in the physiological sense with its animalistic tang nor in the narrow pschychological meaning of a response to stimuli acting on the organs of sense. What he had in mind was rather the energy of perception, the swift awareness, or as he put it, the "fine suddenness" with which an intense and pleasing experience flashes upon the consciousness. It is noteworthy that in the letter to to Reynolds he used the word as synonomous with imagination. Here also he gives descriptive definitions which are informing. Sensation is something which may come "continually on *the spirit.*" "It is 'a Vision in the form of Youth,' a shadow of reality to come," "old wine of Heaven," "the redigestion of our most ethereal musings on earth." Less glowing but equally suggestive is his use of the word in the letter to Hessey written after the severe criticism of *Endymion:*

> The genius of poetry must work out its own salvation in a man. It cannot be matured by law and precept, but by sensation and watchfulness in itself.[3]

[2] *The Poems of John Keats,* Everyman ed., Introd. p. xx.

[3] Quoted by Amy Lowell, *John Keats,* II, 91.

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Here he is doubtless using the term in the same sense in which Milton used a kindred derivative when he said that poetry should be "simple, sensuous, and passionate." But if we need further proof that he was endowing the word with emotional rather than physical content, we shall find it in the same letter to Reynolds. He contrasts sensation with truth. The latter term he is using loosely to mean thought, knowledge, that which is "conducive to the philosophic mind." He is clearly contrasting a life devoted to art with a life devoted to science or philosophy. He finds himself possessed of the simple imaginative nature, needing only the aesthetic experience or sensation, while Reynolds is complex, needing both sensation and knowledge.

This letter so indicative of the intellectual and spiritual quality of Keats may throw some light on the relation which the odes bear to each other. Here we are in the realm of conjecture. The poems may have been conditioned only by the inconsistencies of poetic mood. There is, however, a presumption in favor of a relation. Amy Lowell regards the *Ode on Melancholy* as an angry denial in another mood of the conclusion of the *Grecian Urn*. Mr. Garrod makes the *Grecian Urn* a "strong revulsion from the thesis of *Melancholy*."[4] Mr. Snow interprets the *Grecian Urn*, *On Melancholy*, and *To a Nightingale* as a trilogy on the same theme: "an out-and-out declaration for the senses."[5] All these theories are deductions unconsciously colored by the conception of Keats I have mentioned. To have validity they must refer to that side of Keats which craved raw sensation and which knew the blighting effects of the physical appetites on the spiritual nature. They take little account of how far he had come from *Endymion* and how remote he could be from the mood of "Bright Star! would I were steadfast as thou art." They take little account of the Keats who was at home amid the abstractions of the aesthetic experience, of the Keats who said:

> I have pursued the *principle of beauty in* all things.
> What the imagination seizes as Beauty must be Truth.
> I have the same idea of all our passions as of love: they are all in their sublime, creative of *essential Beauty.*
> I am as happy as a man can be . . . . with the yearning passion I have for the beautiful, *connected and made one with my intellect.*

In the light of these revealing sentences I will venture a guess as to the relation of the three odes. In the *Ode on a Grecian Urn* the author has made a declaration for the spiritual apprehension of beauty. If he says anything, he says that art is eternal and beauty imperishable. The experience which called forth this expression has been his Vision in the form of Youth. Having once seen it, he is henceforth profoundly dissatisfied with mere physical sensations which cloy with tasting and all human

[4] *PMLA*, XLIII, 1143.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 1148.

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passions which leave a burning forehead and a parching tongue. This glimpse of imperishable perfection has put him out of tune with a world full of weariness and fret, where youth and age alike sicken, where physical beauty wanes[6] and where but to think is to be full of despair. And this dissatisfaction finds expression in the *Ode on Melancholy* and in the *Ode to a Nightingale.* In the *Ode on a Grecian Urn* he has made an apotheosis of the sphere of art. In the later odes he decries the world of sense.

The letter to Reynolds shows that Keats was groping for a philosophy of beauty when his world was not yet "æsthetics-minded." Still more interesting are his tentative conclusions. We have a better background for our hypotheses today, but we scarcely come nearer to the heart of the matter than he. Man, we say, is an alien in a hostile world. But by reason of his mind he has in a world where nothing is perfect in its own organization or in its adjustment to his needs, been able to conceive of a world perfectly ordered and adjusted. And whenever he glimpses some aspect of this perfect order, he experiences a delight which is entirely free from earthy compulsions. First the beautiful object isolates itself and flashes upon the consciousness with a "fine suddenness." Then there is the energy of perception, the delightful awareness, the voice of silence. This glimpsing of the silent, isolated perfection and the selfless resting in the delight of it must be at the core of the æsthetic experience.[7] These elements Keats was groping for in the letter to Reynolds. And these are the elements of the experience described in the *Ode on a Grecian Urn.* In the sonnets on the Elgin marbles he confessed that he had not come to full appreciation of Greek sculpture as had his guide, Hayden; and for such comprehension as he had, he found his poetic gift inadequate. In the *Ode on a Grecian Urn* he was happier in seizing the message and giving it expression. That he had already discovered the communicative quality of silence as an element in the enjoyment of plastic art is evinced by "bride of quietness," "foster-child of silence and slo wtime," "thou silent form," "unheard melodies," "Canst thus express a flowery tale more sweetly than our rhyme." The immaterial quality of the vision is further suggested by "haunts about thy shape." These phrases, alone, go far to disprove the thesis that the poet was thinking only of sensuous beauty.

More emphatic, however, is the refutation which lies in the recurring idea that art endows with spiritual beauty, intense moments or significant

[6] "She dwells with Beauty—Beauty that must die," *Ode on Melancholy.* This is the point at which Miss Lowell and Mr. Garrod find the odes contradictory. But there is no contradiction, for the context shows that Keats is here thinking of the physical beauty of woman, the mistress referred to in the preceding strophe. In the *Grecian Urn,* he is thinking of something much less specific, something which may with strong reason be interpreted as abstract beauty.

[7] For this light on the æsthetic experience I am indebted to Prof Mervyn J. Bailey of Boston University. I take pleasure in acknowledging this.

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aspects of life and holds them in silent exquisite poise. Surely here more than anywhere else Keats has lost himself in the contemplation of a sphere remote from actuality which we have the good fortune to possess unviolated by sense or time. Perhaps he was too much occupied with the immediacy of his vision. Perhaps he had not attained to the conception of art as the apotheosis of life. But these are limitations which belong to youth.

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Boston University.

12. *THE DRINKING ACADEMY:* CORRECTIONS

The manuscript of *The Drinking Academy* was copied by me in 1921 at the suggestion of the late Mr. W. A. White; but before the proof-sheets reached me, it had been disposed of, so that a final comparison of those sheets with the original was impossible. It seems not unlikely that another glimpse of the MS. would have prevented my transforming "readines" into "reading." Now, eight years later, after reading Professor Moore Smith's notes (*PMLA*, XLIV, 631–633), I have gone through the entire MS. again. His acute guesses of "vie" (45), "hach" (133), "readiness" (263), and "it" (misprinted "if" at 370) are supported by the MS.; but "worlicke" (504) remains (perhaps actually meaning "warlike"), and "vre" 546) should be "vice." I should now read 188 as "beauty (sir-reuerence)," 694 as "skeruy" (that is, "scurvy"), while I *guess* 235–36 to be "cosen Jones is *cleanliar* by halfe." Various other readings need correction (as "Dordraci," 2, 3; "trace" for "trvge," 340; "brue" for "bout," 429; "act" for "art," 679); but these will be made in the edition of the play that, with the expert assistance of my good friend, Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, I am preparing for the press.

HYDER E. ROLLINS

Harvard University

13. DR. GREG AND THE "GOODAL" NOTATION IN *SIR THOMAS MOORE*

In the June issue of *PMLA* (XLIV, 633–4) Dr. W. W. Greg prints a communication in which he attacks certain conclusions presented in my paper, "More About *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*" (*PMLA*, XLIII, 767–778). That essay was divided into three parts: in the first (pp. 767–770) I showed that Dr. Greg had made an untenable generalization regarding the revision in the stage-directions in the manuscript of *Sir Thomas Moore;* in the second (pp. 770–774) I presented both direct and circumstantial evidence to prove that the marginal notation, "Mess [enger] T Goodal" on fol. 14ᵃ is a gross forgery perpetrated by John Payne Collier; in the third (pp. 774–778) I advanced paleographical

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reasons for rejecting the conjecture that the revised insurrection scene in Act II was written by Shakspere. In his recent communication Dr. Greg says not a word about the first and third parts of my article but attempts to invalidate my condemnation of the "T Goodal" notation as a Collier forgery.

Bibliotics, as I have indicated in some of my previous studies, is a highly specialized and technical science. During the past one hundred years a fairly large number of investigators have placed the study of questioned documents on a solid foundation of observed facts and scientific technique. The sciences of physics, chemistry and optics, aided by the use of microscopes, have wholly eliminated guesswork from the examination of suspected documents. Even a casual perusal of such a text-book on the subject as Mr. Albert S. Osborn's *Questioned Documents* will convince anyone that only those who have been adequately trained in the theory and technique of the examination of such documents ought to presume to enter into the discussion of so difficult a problem as the genuineness of the notation "Mess T Goodal" in the manuscript of *Sir Thomas Moore.* That one is an expert bibliographer, an antiquarian, or even a paleographer is not in itself sufficient to qualify one as an examiner of questioned documents. This is strikingly illustrated by the fact that even so well-equipped and industrious a scholar as Dr. Greg has not only fallen into very serious errors in the discussion of this matter—even the most expert may err sometimes—but has also failed to grasp the fundamentals of the technique required for the solution of such problems.

Dr. Greg evidently intends to impart something of an official character to his report upon his examination of the note in question when he says that he examined it "in company with an official of the British Museum." But is not this an unscientific way of dealing with a scientific problem and an unfair way of attempting to bias the reader's judgment? The official is not named, nor is his position stated; nor are we informed as to his qualifications for the particular task in hand.

Still more important is the fact that Dr. Greg says not a word about the nature of the examination which satisfied them, without any difficulty, that forgery was "out of the question." He says that "the ink used in these words ["Mess T Goodal"] is identical with that in which the rest of the Addition is written." How does he know that "the yellowish brown colour" of the two inks is identical? They may look alike to the naked eye and yet not be so. Only by a microscopical examination, with or without a Lovibond tintometer, could it be established whether they are really identical in color. There is nothing to show that either Dr. Greg or his official escort employed either a microscope or a Lovibond tintometer.

In my essay, it will be remembered, I pointed out certain peculiarities in the penmanship which I said were pathognomonic, not merely suggestive, of forgery. These characteristics are the following: evidences of

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patching and mending of the letters, freakish shading, unnatural joinings between certain letters (especially between the *e* and the *s* in "Mess"), evidence that in some letters the shading was sketched in, and the presence of such shading as no quill-pen could make in ordinary writing. I also pointed out certain concomitant characteristics, which, however, I did not stress. Dr. Greg concedes an "awkwardness and uncertainty in the formation of the words"—though that is not what I charged—and invents an hypothesis to account for the "awkwardness and uncertainty." His guess is this: "the scribe [C] first wrote the additional passage, and then, while this was still wet, attempted to prefix the note indicating the actor. This would necessitate his writing without support for the hand, whence the erratic form of the letters. We must not forget that Elizabethan scribes had not the modern convenience of blotting paper, and that even sand appears to have been little used."

Inasmuch as Dr. Greg in his ingenious hypothesis concedes that the writing is not C's normal calligraphy, the crucial question becomes that of the ink in which the notation is written. If the ink is identical with that of the rest of the page, C wrote it and it is genuine. Therefore, I decided to submit the matter to the foremost English expert in ancient and modern inks, Mr. C. Ainsworth Mitchell, the distinguished editor of *The Analyst* (The Journal of the Society of Public Analysts and other Analytical Chemists) and the author of the following books: *Inks, their Composition and Manufacture* (1904), *Science and the Criminal* (1911), *Documents and their Scientific Examination* (1922), and *The Expert Witness and the Application of Science and of Art to Human Identification, Criminal Investigation, Civil Actions and History* (1923).[1]

On June 6, 1929, Dr. Mitchell reported to me as follows:

> I have now been able to make a thorough microscopical examination of the folio 14[a] of the *Moore MS.* The ink of the marginal note "Mess T Goodal" is a brown ink which superficially agrees with the color of the page. Of itself, this proves nothing, for an ink eighty or ninety years old, written on a stained part of the leaf, as this is, could well assume that tint.
>
> Examined under a higher magnification, this ink has a surface lustre which is not found in the ink in other parts of the writing on this page. These show spots and disintegration marks which I could not observe in the "T Goodal." This is not conclusive, but, as far as it goes, the evidence is in favor of your contention.[2]
>
> With regard to the writing: I compared this with the marginal note on Fol. 16: 'Enter Moore and Attendants w[t] purss and mace.' The writing is distinctly different, notably the *d*, which in the purse and mace entry is the usual contemporary

[1] It is a pleasure to record here that "largely on the scientific investigation of inks and documents," Oxford University has just awarded Mr. Mitchell the degree of *D. Sc.*

[2] The reader will please to bear in mind that my case against the 'Goodal' notation was based solely on the handwriting. It was Dr. Greg who raised the issue of the ink.

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form, whereas the *d* in "Goodal" is of the type which is common in late eighteenth century writing and less frequent in the early nineteenth century. I could not find a *d* like this anywhere in the MS.

Forgery is therefore *not* "out of the question." It is, on the contrary, highly probable.

Inasmuch as Dr. Greg, in his attempt to demolish the structure of forgery that I had reared about the "T Goodal" notation, makes certain statements of calligraphic and antiquarian interest, these, too, must be considered.

1. He says that "Elizabethan scribes had not the modern convenience of blotting paper." But in this he is certainly in error. The *New English Dictionary* (*cf.* the word "blotter") shows us that in 1591 Percivall defined the Spanish word "borrador" as a blotter, a blotting paper" and evidently expected to be understood by Elizabethan Englishmen.

2. Without offering any evidence whatsoever in support of his assumption, Dr. Greg assumes that the scribe wrote the words "Mess T Goodal" immediately after he had finished writing the lower portion of the page—a conjecture which is absurd on the face of it. Why should the scribe—assuming even that he was a (or the) director— assign an insignificant rôle to one of the members of the company immediately before transcribing his speech, even before writing the stage-direction "Enter Messenger," and before the play had been approved by the Censor? The assignment of parts, there is good reason to suppose, would be a matter to be decided by the company, not by the director. Is it even remotely probable that the copyist-director would have been in such a hurry to make this notation that he would not have waited for the ink at the bottom of the page to dry sufficiently to let him rest his hand on it? Did Dr. Greg stop to consider how long it would have taken that sheet of paper to absorb that particular ink? (Parenthetically I wish to add, on the authority of Mr. Osborn, that in ordinary weather conditions ordinary writing ink takes about fifteen seconds to dry.) And is it not fairly obvious—even in the Farmer facsimile—that this "awkward" memorandum was written with a different pen than the one C employed? Was the casting of Goodal in the insignificant rôle of Messenger so urgent that the scribe had to make a note of it the very instant of turning the sheet sideways? And is it not highly significant that the only words in the entire MS. which were written awkwardly, clumsily and erratically, are the momentous words which, if genuine, would determine the dramatic company for which the play had been written? If Dr. Greg had attempted to ascertain the characteristics of writing done under the circumstances he supposes to have been present, he would have found that there is really no great difficulty in writing under those circumstances, and that the words thus written show none of the characteristics apparent in the Goodal notation. He would also have found that under the supposed circumstances the

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scrivener could easily have rested his hand near the bottom of that folio page with sufficient comfort to write that or any memorandum.

Dr. Greg's last paragraph is as amazing in its erroneous implications as it is illogical. It assumes that a person who bungles one forgery cannot make a fairly good job of another. And Dr. Greg seems to have forgotten that the man who he concedes was responsible for the "clumsy failure" in the case of the word "Lanehā" was the same person who forged certain entries in the Henslowe papers so well that Sir George F. Warner, an expert on Collier forgeries, failed to detect them. Nor is the word "Lanehā" really a clumsy failure; it is, in my opinion, a rather good imitation of Anthony Mundy's penmanship. We have Dr. Greg's own word for it, that the writing of the "Goodal" memorandum is awkward, uncertain and erratic—a fact which, under the circumstances, leaves no room for doubt that the words "Mess T Goodal" are a forgery.

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Had the exigencies of publication permitted me to see a proof of my note in the *PMLA* for June, I should have taken the opportunity to correct one expression in it. I wrote: "We must not forget that Elizabethan scribes had not the modern convenience of blotting paper, and that even sand appears to have been little used." I have since learnt, through a reference by Dr. Tannenbaum himself, that blotting paper is as old as the beginning of the sixteenth century. I notice, however, that the early quotations in the *N.E.D.*, 1519 and 1612, hardly suggest that it was in common use, while I have certainly never met with any allusion that would point to its being a familiar object. I have a strong impression that is was not; and all that my immediate argument demanded was that the scribe did not happen to have it handy at the moment. So far as my experience goes, traces of sand are also rare in literary manuscripts, though I understand that its use was normal in official writing.

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XLII

DWARF-NAMES: A STUDY IN OLD ICELANDIC RELIGION

A. INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of this article is to further the understanding of the nature and function of dwarves in Old Icelandic belief by an investigation of the names applied to them. I have therefore collected the dwarf-names, supplied meanings and etymologies, and classified the names by form and function. These names are scattered through the *Fornaldarsögur*, the Younger Edda and in various Eddic poems. Most of the names are in two versified lists; the shorter list in stanzas 10 to 16 of the *Vǫluspá*,[1] the longer, called *Dverga heiti*, among the *nafnaþulur*.[2] These two lists, which are derived from a common source, have a large number of names in common; the *Vǫluspá* has nine or ten that are not in the *þulur*, and the latter have a somewhat larger number which are not in the *Vǫluspá*. The various manuscripts show variant readings. All these readings are of interest to us, for the opinion of a scribe as to what is a suitable name for a dwarf may be just as valuable as the opinion of the man who composed the original.[3]

The Icelandic *þulir*, the men who composed versified jingles, were skilled technicians in verse, and would have been ridiculous in

[1] There are three redactions of the text of the shorter list; (1) in the *Vǫluspá* in *codex regius* of the Elder Edda; (2) in slightly different wording, in *codex regius* of the Younger Edda, *Gylfaginning*, Chapter 14; (3) in the version of the *Vǫluspá* found in *Hauksbók*.

[2] They are in two manuscripts which contain the Younger Edda, *A. M. 748, II, 4to*, and *A. M. 757 4to*. Best accessible in Finnur Jónsson, *Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtningen* (København, 1912), A I, 679 f.; B I, 672.

[3] The variants of the dwarf-names in the *Vǫluspá* have been collected three times; (1) by Sophus Bugge, *Norræn Fornkvæði* (Christiania, 1867), 27 f., (2) by Eugen Mogk, *PBB* VII (1880), 249 ff., (3) by B. Sijmons in Sijmons and Gering, *Die Lieder der Edda* (Halle, 1906), I, 20 f.

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their own eyes and before the public had they resorted to nonsense words[4] to fulfil the requirements of their difficult metrical scheme. Moreover, the *þulur* were only secondarily a metrical *tour-de-force;* primarily they were a thesaurus of poetic diction arranged by subject matter. So the conditions under which these lists were composed lead us to expect dwarf-names that were readily intelligible to contemporary Icelanders and that described the dwarves in accordance with popular belief.[5] But the names did not have to be clear at the first glance, for the Icelanders were lovers of riddles and a name that puzzled the reader or hearer and then dawned on him, pleasantly spiced his dish of philology served with rhyme-sauce.[6]

B. Dictionary of Dwarf-Names[7]

Ái Great-grandfather. Cp. *ái, idem.*

Álfr Elf. Cp. *álfr, idem.*

Álfrigg Elfking. Cp. MHG dwarf-name *Alberîch,* from which *Álfrigg* is borrowed and adapted, *alb,* 'elf,' and the stem found in Gothic *reiks,* 'king.'

[4] Otto Jespersen is in error when he says, "In the poetry of the Old Norsemen we again find a liking for meaningless sounds. Take the names for the dwarfs in the Snorra Edda:—" and he quotes *Voluspá* 11 and 12 in the Younger Edda. "Several of these names recall well-known words. Most of them however are certainly empty sounds, but as such of great effect." He follows this with a list of Othin-names of which he says, there are "no few that are mere empty sounds, unconnected with anything known," with more to the same effect. The Othin-names had been explained in 1924 by Falk in his *Odensheite,* cited *infra.* Jespersen's remarks are in his "Mankind, Nation and Individual from a Linguistic Point of View," *Institutet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning.* Serie A: Forelesninger IV (Oslo, 1925), 188 ff. Zachrisson calls attention to Jespersen's error in *Studia neophilologica,* I (1928), 85.

[5] In a previous article "They who await the second Death," *Scandinavian Studies and Notes* IX [1927], 167–201) I have shown in detail the characteristics of dwarves as recorded in the Icelandic Romantic Sagas.

[6] So much time has intervened between the beginning of this study and its completion that I can not indicate in all cases which definitions and etymologies are my own and which are due to others; and so I have abstained from branding any of my property and must assume responsibility for the errors of my predecessors as well as of myself. I am fully aware that many of the definitions and etymologies offered in the following pages are problematical, but I hope that this tabulation will result in others bringing better solutions.

[7] Since the occurrences of each name are ordinarily listed in E. H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn och fingerade namn från medeltiden* (Upsala, 1905–15), or Finnur Jónsson, *Lexicon poeticum antiquæ linguæ septentrionalis* (København, 1913–16) or in both, it is necessary to give this information only in cases where for some

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Alíus The other. "Asmundarsaga Kappabana" in Detter, *Zwei Fornaldarsögur* (Halle, 1891), 81. Cp. Latin *alius, idem. Vide Annarr infra.*

Alvíss Exceedingly wise. Cp. *allvíss, idem.*

Alþjófr Wholly a thief. Cp. *alauþn,* 'Complete destruction,' *algildi,* 'complete recompense,' *alheilsa,* 'complete health,' *i.e., al-* 'all,' *þjófr,* 'thief.'

Ánarr *Vide Ónarr infra.*

Andvari A gentle breeze. Cp. *andvari,* (1) 'a variety of fish, gurnard, *miluus,* (2) a gentle breeze, (3) watchfulness, vigilance,' *andi,* 'breath, breathing, a current of air,' *varr,* 'attentive, careful, watchful,' *andblásinn,* 'inflated,' *andhlaup,* 'suffocation,' *andlauss,* 'breathless, dead,' *andlát,* 'loss of breath, death,' MnN *anddor,* (wind-door) 'ventilating hole in the wall of a barn.' It is evident that the first meaning of *Andvari* was 'wind-wary.' The choice of meaning here is determined by the use of *Gustr* in *Reginsmál* 5[3] as a synonym of *Andvari. Vide Gustr infra.*

Ánn *Vide Ónn infra.*

Annarr The other, the second. *Vsp.* 11[7]. *V. l.* to *Ánarr, Ónarr.* Cp. *annarr, idem. Vide Alíus supra.*

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reason it is not readily found in the above works. The former is here referred to as *Lind*, the latter as *FJ*. *FJ* defines many of these names, as does also Hugo Gering in his *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda*, erste Hälfte (Halle, 1927), referred to as *Gering*, followed by the page number in parentheses. References to the Elder Edda are based on Gustav Neckel, *Die Lieder des codex regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern*, (2nd ed., Heidelberg, 1927), references to the *þulur* on Finnur Jónsson's *Skjaldedigtningen*. All Modern Icelandic words are found in Sigfús Blöndal, *Islenzk-dönsk orðabók* (Reykjavík, 1920–24), all Modern Norwegian words in Alf Torp, *Nynorsk etymologisk Ordbok* (Kristiania, 1919). Words from other Scandinavian dialects than Old Icelandic are quoted from Torp unless specified. The language is not designated for Old Icelandic words found in Fritzner's *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog* (Kristiania, 1886–1896), in Vigfusson's *Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1874), or in *FJ*. I do not stop to disagree with Gering in the many instances in which he wanders far afield for an etymology of a dwarf-name. Gering did not observe that the dwarf-names were made from the living linguistic material used and understood by the *þulr* and his contemporaries. Instead he often tried to derive dwarf-names from ancient compounded hero-names, the parts of which were so fused that none but a learned etymologizer could separate and understand them, the meanings of which would be a sealed book to the simple people who made up the dwarf-names. But I gratefully acknowledge here my indebtedness to him.

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Atvarðr ? Probably a scribal error, and not originally intended for a name. Certain *MSS* read *at vas þar* and *oc vas þar*.

Aurvangr Gravelly plain. Cp. *aur*, 'gravel,' *vangr*, 'plain.'[8]

Aurvargr Gravel outlaw. Cp. *aur*, 'gravel,' *vargr*, (1) 'wolf, (2) outlaw.'

Austri The one in the East. Cp. *austr*, 'east.'

Bari Ready, eager (to fight). Cp. *barr*, 'ready, eager, fiery.'

Barri Awkward one, butterfingers. Cp. MnI *barri*, *idem*.

Berlingr Little bar, handspike. Cp. *berlingsáss*, 'pole,' MnN *berling*, 'little beam under the flooring of a vessel,' S *bärling*, 'handspike,' E *berling*, 'cross-rafter.'

Bifurr[9] Beaver, i.e. one who does things with zeal. Cp. MnN *bǿver*, S *bäver*, D *bæver*, MnI *bifurr*. Borrowed from Frisian-LG *bever*. The native form of the word was *bjórr*. The name of this animal is often used figuratively for diligence. Cp. MnN *bjor*, 'beaver, hard worker,' E 'to work like a beaver.' MnI has gone even farther; *bifurr*, 'beaver, mood, thought, inclination.'

Billingr Twin brother. Cp. MnN *billing*, *idem*., Finnish Swedish, *bil*, 'uncle.'

Bíldr An edged weapon or instrument. Cp. *bíldr*, 'instrument for bloodletting, axe,' MnI *bildur*, 'instrument for bloodletting, arrow or other projectile,' MnN *bill*, 'instrument for bloodletting,' S dial. *bill*, 'tool for cutting ice,' OS *bilder*, MnS *plogbill*, 'plow-share,' E *bill*, 'a weapon.'

Bláinn Blackish. Cp. *blár*, 'black.'

Blindviðr Blind board, i.e. a board or slat that was covered or did not come through. Cp. *blindr*, 'blind,' *viðr*, 'board, slat, log,' MnI compounds *blindeggjaður*, *blindfella*, *blindjaki*, *blindkser* (Vigfusson), which indicate a covered or concealed object, or doing a thing so that the result is concealed; *blindrim*, *blindstræti*, things that do not come through.

[8] Hermann Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister* (Halle, 1921), 141.

[9] Gustav Indrebo, "Nokre stadnamn," *Heidersskrift til Marius Hægstad* (Oslo, 1925), 65 ff.

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Blǫvurr The shining one. *þulur* 1[7]. Cp. MnN *blava*, 'to shine, glitter, glisten.'

Brísingr Flame. Cp. *brísingr*, 'fire,' MnN *brising*, 'fire, blaze, torchlight,' *brisa*, 'to shine, flame, sparkle, glow.'

Brokkr Smith, who works with fragments (of metal).[10] Cp. *brók*, 'breeches,' MnI *brok*, 'white clouds along the mountains,' MnN *brok* n, 'fish that are torn in the net,' *brok* f, 'landslide,' Gm +*brekan*. This connection is preferable to one with *brokka*, 'to trot,' MnI *brokkur*, 'horse that trots hard,' because it agrees with known traditions. Also *Brokkr* is brother to *Sindri*, a name connected with smithing.

Brúni[11] Black or dark brown. Cp. *brúnn, idem.*

Búinn Prepared (for burial). Cp. *at búa um lík.*, 'to prepare a corpse for burial.'

Bumburr The swollen one. Cp. *bumba*, 'drum,' MnN *bumba*, pregnant female with swollen figure.

Buri Son. Cp. *burr*, 'son.'

Burinn Sonlike. Cp. *burr*, 'son.'

Bǫfurr ?

Bómburr *Vide Bumburr supra.*

Dagfinnr Day-finder, or Day-magician.[12] Cp. *dagr*, 'day,' *finnr. Vide Finnr infra.*

Dáinn Deadlike. Cp. *deyja*, 'to die.'

Dáni Deadlike. Cp. *deyja*, 'to die.'

Darri Spearman. *Fjölsvinnsmál* 34[2]. Cp. *darr*, 'spear.'

Dellingr The gleaming one. Cp. +*dallr*,[13] 'clarus, superbus.'

Dólgr[14] Enemy, *draugr*. Cp. *dólgr, idem, dylgja*, 'hostility.'

Dólgþrasir Battle-eager. Cp. *Dólgr supra, þrasir infra.*

Dólgþvari Hostile spear. Cp. *Dólgr supra, þvari*, 'a sort of spear.'

[10] Noreen, *Altisländische und altnorwegische Grammatik*[4] (Halle, 1923), §318, 8.

[11] For mythical connotations see references in Bugge, *Fornkvæði* 3a, *New English Dictionary s. v. brownie* and *browning*, Hj. Falk, "Odensheite," in *Skrifter utgit av Videnskapsselskapet i Kristiania*, 1924, II, Hist.-fil. Kl. No. 10. *s. v.*, G. T. Flom, *Journal of American Folklore* XXXVIII (1925), 409. Has the OE name *Brūnstān* a mythical significance?

[12] *Dagfinnr* was a common and an ancient name which had been in use so long that this definition based on the meaning of its component themes is inept. A definition is given for the sake of completeness.

[13] Hans Naumann, "Altnordische Namenstudien," *Acta Germanica*, Neue Reihe, Heft I (Berlin, 1912), 85.

[14] A. M. Sturtevant, *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, IX (1927), 151 ff.

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Dóri Borer, auger-man. Cp. MnI *dór*, 'auger,' MnN *dor*, 'iron bolt, axle, axle-tap,' *dore*, 'iron rod,' Faroic *dori*, 'plug for a hole, auger, iron bolt.' Possibly from German *dorn*.

Dramir ? *Vsp.* 15[1]. *V. l.* to *Draupnir*.

Draufnir ? *Vsp.* 15[1]. *V. l.* to *Draupnir*. Scribal error.

Draupnir Dripper (of rings), a metaphor for goldsmith. Cp. *drjúpa*, 'to drip.'

Dúfr Nodder. Cp. *dúfa*, 'to dip,' MnN *dūva*, 'to nod in sleep.'

Dulinn Slow, weak. Cp. *dulinn*, 'mistaken, conceited,' MnN *dule*, 'lazy, slovenly person,' S dialect *dulen*, 'sickly, unhealthy.' In ablaut with MnN *dvale*, 'stupor, state of hibernation.'

Dúri[15] Sleepy. Cp. *dúrr*, 'sleep,' *dúra*, 'to sleep.'

Durinn[16] Sleepy. Cp. *Dúri supra*.

Dúrnir Sleeper. Cp. *Dúri supra*.[17]

Dvalinn Torpid. Cp. MnN *dvalen*, 'lazy, sleepy,' *dvale*, 'stupor, state of hibernation,' in ablaut with *dúra*. *Gering* (13) objects to this connection and attributes the word to *dvelja*, 'to delay,' but the origins of both *dvale* and *dvelja* are identical.

Dǫrri Spearman. *Fjǫlsvinnsmál* 32[4]. Cp. *dǫrr*,[18] 'spear.'

Eggmóinn Slain by the sword. Cp. *egg*, 'edge,' and *+móinn*, constructed by Falk and Torp,[19] employed by Torp[20] again, and used by Hellquist[21] to account for

[15] Sophus Bugge. *Studier over de nordiske Gude— og Heltesagns Oprindelse* (Christiania, 1881–89), 475, n. 3.

[16] Detter, *PBB* XXI (1896), 107 n. 2.

[17] This derivation is proposed by Finnur Jónsson in *Afnf*, XXXV (1909), 302. B. Sjöros in "Studier i nord. fil.," III (1912) No. 2, (*Skrifter utgivna av svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland* CIII) connects *Dúrnir* with *dyrr*, 'door,' and gives it the meaning 'doorkeeper.' There is one story (*Ynglingasaga*, Chap. XII) where a dwarf is a doorkeeper, but the rather large number of names meaning 'sleepy, lazy, drowsy' indicates a strong tradition. One inclines to the meaning 'sleeper' though both are linguisticly possible.

[18] Finnur Jónsson, *Ordbog til de af samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur udgivne rimur samt til de af Dr. O. Jiriczek udgivne Bosarimur* (København, 1926–27), *s. v. dörr*.

[19] H. S. Falk and Alf Torp, *Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1910–11), *s. v. moden*.

[20] Alf Torp, *Nynorsk etymologisk Ordbok*, *s. v. moden*.

[21] Elof Hellquist, *Svensk etymologisk Ordbok* (Lund, 1922), *s. v. mogen*.

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Norw-Danish *moden*, S *mogen*, 'ripe,' as participle to *móask*, 'to digest,' MnN *moa*, 'to soften by pressure, beating, chewing.' *Eggmóinn* would mean 'made soft, weak, i.e. slain, by the sword.'

The *móinn* which occurs as a serpent-name may well be this same word, though FJ says it indicates the creature which inhabits the *móar*, 'moors.' The horse-name *móinn* probably means 'brownish,' cp. *mór*, 'grayish brown,' and it is not impossible that *Eggmóinn* means 'edge-brown' and refers to the dark color of the corpse after decay has set in. But the first meaning is supported by the other compounds of *móinn* in the *þulur*; *gestmóinn*, a sword-name (*Sverðaheiti* 9[7]), 'beaten by strangers;' which describes the fate of the sword in battle, and *fiskmóinn*,[22] a helmet-name (*Hjálmsheiti* 1[8]), 'beaten by fish,' *i.e.* 'by swords.' Fish is a common figure for sword.[23]

Eikinskjaldi The one with the oaken shield. Cp. *eik*, 'oak, *skjǫldr*, 'shield.' *FJ* and *Gering* (17) prefer this definition. Ross and Bugge[24] prefer 'the one raging with a shield.' Cp. *eikinn*, 'violent, raging.' But warriors do not ordinarily 'rage' with a weapon of defence.

Eilífr He who lives alone. *Flateyjarbók* (Christiania, 1860–68), III, 72. Cp. *Einlífr*.[25] This was a common name in Iceland and Norway. The bearer was here a mortal dwarf.

Eitri The very cold one. Cp. *eitr*, 'poison.' In compounds often, 'severe cold.'

Fáinn Shining. Cp. *fá*, 'to color, brighten,' *fáinn-*, 'spotted,' occurs only in compounds, MnI *fáinn*, 'polished, shiny,' MnN *faaen*, 'pale, sickly looking.'

Falr The ferrule or socket on the head of a spear into which the shaft is driven. Cp. *falr*, *idem*.

[22] Finnur Jónsson adopts the variant *fikmóinn* in *Skjaldedigtningen* B I, 665.

[23] Rudolf Meissner, *Die Kenningar der Skalden* (Bonn u. Leipzig, 1921), 154.

[24] Hans Ross, *Norsk Ordbog* (Christiania, 1895) *s. v. eikja;* Bugge, *Fornkvæði*, 93a.

[25] Alexander Jóhannesson, *Íslenzk tungu í fornöld* (Reykjavík, 1924–24), §213, 3).

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Fár Shining. *Dverga heiti 5t.* Cp. *Fáinn supra.*

Farli The faring one. Cp. *fara*, 'to fare,' *fǫrull*, 'traveller,' *farald*, 'that which fares about, a contagious disease,' *farandi* (pres. part. of *fara*), 'wind.' Is *Farli* a wind-name?

Fiðr Magician. *Vide Finnr infra.*

Fíli (1) File. (2) By association with weak masculine nouns formed on tool-names it may mean 'filer,' as *Gering* (13) thinks. Cp. MnN S D *fil.* The source is Frisian or LG *file*, which, coming in with commerce, displaced the native *fæl* of the Scandinavian mainland, but failed in Iceland to drive out *þel.*

Finnr Lapp, *i.e.* magician. Cp. *finnr*, originally (1) 'finder, collector, i.e. a nomad who lived on what he found or killed,' then (2) 'a people at the cultural stage of the collector, the Lapps.[26] Lapps were regarded as magicians by the Scandinavians.

Fjalarr Paneller. Cp. *fjǫl*, 'plank, board, panel,' *fjalhǫgg*, 'block on which timber is split into panels,' MnN *fjøl*, S *fjöl*, *fjäl*, D *fjäl*, 'plank, board, panel.' A *fjalarr* would be person (1) who made panels, or (2) who did panelling.

Fjalarr occurs also as the name of a cock, a giant, and of mortals, which latter undoubtedly have their names from the craft just mentioned. Karl Müllenhof[27] suggests the meaning 'spy,' and derives it from *fela*, 'to conceal,' which he assumes had in addition the meaning of MnN *fjela*, 'to spy.' This lacks support. Noreen[28] accepts the derivation from *fela*, but is silent as to the meaning. Lind does the same. This origin is possible and a meaning 'concealer' would not be unsuitable as a dwarf-name. Cf. *Alþjófr.* *FJ* defines it as *'den meget beherskende, vidende.'* *Gering* (19) says *FJ* derives it from **Filuharjis*,

[26] T. E. Karsten in "Studier i nord. fil." IX (1928), No. 3, (*Skrifter utgivna av svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland* CXXXIX). Otto v. Friesen, "Rö-stenen i Bohuslän," *Uppsala universitets årskrift*, 1924. *Filos. språkv. och hist. vetenskaper*, 4, 86 f., 100.

[27] *Deutsche Altertumskunde* (Berlin, 1883–91), V, 134.

[28] *Aisl. Gr.*[4] §124, 2.

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which he rejects as linguisticly impossible.[29] One should add that such a derivation makes it an ancient hero-name, which contemporaries could not understand.

Fjǫlsviðr Very wise. Cp. *fjǫl-* 'much, manifold,' *viðr* or *svinnr*, 'wise.'

Fornbogi Ancient bow. Cp. *forn*, 'ancient,' *bogi*, 'bow.'

Forve ? *FJ* suggests reading *Forvê(i)*, *'tempelødelægger'* or *'beboer af et forvê, vanhelligt sted.'* The word occurs in an Old Norwegian legal code from christian times: *Þæt skal a forve fœra oc rœyra þær er huarke gengr ifir menn ne fenaðr þæt er forue hins illa.*[30] *Þet skal at forre fœra oc rœyra þer sem huarke gengr ifuir men ne fenadar. Þet er forfue hins illa.*[31] "It (a misshapen or monstrous birth) shall be brought to (the) *forve* and buried in a stone heap there where neither men nor cattle pass over. That is the devils *forve.*" Sophus Bugge comments on this passage:[32] "I *forve* kan *-e* ikke være Suffix, thi ellers maatte første Stavelses Vokal være omlydt ved *i*-omlyd. Jeg formoder, at Ordet er opstaaet af *for-vê*. Andet Led er *vê*, Helligdom. Som første Led angiver *for-* ofte noget fordærveligt: *forbœn* Bøn om noget Ondt, *fordæða* Heks, som forudsætter et *fordáð*, o. fl. Jeg formoder derfor, at *forvê* betegner 'et Sted, som er indviet til onde Magter' eller 'et vanhelligt Sted.' Gotisk har ved siden af *veihs*, hellig, Sammensætningen *usveihs βέβηλος*, profanus. Formen *forre* er feilagtig."

I suggest, hesitantly, another interpretation of *forvé*; that it has the same relation to *vé* that *forkirkja* does to *kirkja*, *forskáli* to *skáli*, and *forhûs* to *hûs*, indicating an outer part, porch or entrance to the *kirkja*, *skáli*, *hûs* or *vé*.

Frár Swift. Cp. *frâr*, *idem.*

[29] *Gering* here accuses Noreen of translating *Fjalarr* '*(met)verstecker,*' in the third edition of the grammar, §119, 2, and explains at length that *Fjǫlnir* is the *'metverstecker,'* which is exactly what Noreen says.

[30] R. Keyser og P. A. Munch, *Norges gamle Love indtil 1387* (Christiania, 1846–1895) I, 339.

[31] *idem.* I, 363.

[32] *Afnf* II (1885), 211 f.

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Fror[33] Swift. Cp. *frór*, *idem*.

Frosti Cold Cp. *frost*, *idem*.

Fraegr Famous. Cp. *frægr*, *idem*.

Fullangr Long enough. Cp. *full-*, prefix indicating completion, *langr*, 'long.'

Fundinn[34] Found. Cp. *fundinn*, pp. of *finda*, 'to find.'

Galarr Yeller, singer. Cp. *gala*, 'to yell, sing.' E *nightingale*.

Gandálfr (1) Elf concerned with magic. (2) Wolf-elf, outlaw-elf, *i.e.* evil elf. Cp. *gandr*, (1) 'stick, magic wand, magic ball, magic,' (2) = *vargr*, 'wolf, outlaw,' *álfr*, *elf*.'

Ginnarr Deceiver. Cp. *ginna*, 'to dupe, deceive.'

Glói The glowing one. *Vsp.* 15[4]. *V. l.* to *Glóinn*. Cp. *glóa*, 'to glow.'

Glóinn The glowing one. Cp. *glóa*, 'to glow.'

Glóni The glowing one. *Vsp.* 15[4]. *V. l* to *Glóinn*. Cp. *glóa*, 'to glow.'

Gollmævill Rich sea-king. Cp. *goll-gull*, 'gold,' *Mævill*, diminutive of *mór*, 'sea-gull,' a sea-king name.

Grerr[35] Roaring. Cp. OE *gerar*, *idem*, *rarian*, 'to roar.' Prim. Scand. **ʒarairiR*.

Grímr Mask. A name used by a stranger to conceal his identity. Cp. *grímr*, 'mask, helmet.'

Gustr[36] A puff of wind. Cp. *gustr*, *idem*. *Vide Andvari supra*.

Hanarr *Vide Hannarr infra*.

Hannarr Skilled. Cp. *hannarr*, *idem*.

Hár[37] The high one. Cp. *hár*, 'high.'

Haugspori Howe-treader. Cf. *haugr*, 'howe, grave-mound,' *spor*, 'spoor, track.'

Heptifíli File with a handle. Also possibly, one who uses a file with a handle, as with *fíli supra* and *kíli infra*. Cp.

[33] *Noreen Aisl. Gr.*[4] §80, 2.

[34] Elias Wessen, "Nordiska namnstudier," *Uppsala universitets Årsskrift*, 1927, *Filos. språkv. och hist. vetenskaper*, 3, 90 n. 2.

[35] The following words ending in Prim. Scand. *-iR*, some of them *i*-stems and some originally *ju*-stems, indicate noises; *brestr*, *drynr*, *dykr*, *dynr*, *dynkr*, *fnyðr*, *glymr*, *gnyðr*, *gnyr*, *hlymr*, *hrinr*, *hrytr*, *hvinr*, *krytr*, *kviðr*, *rymr*, *skellr*, *skrækr*, *stynr*, *styrr*, *svægr*, *ymr*, *ýss*, *þrymr*, *þytr*.

[36] Sophus Bugge, *Helge-digtene i den ældre Edda, deres Hjem og Forbindelser* (Kjøbenhavn, 1896), 326 n. 1.

[37] To be found in *FJ s. v.* 2. *Hár*. For the various meanings and spellings often confounded with this word see Falk, *Odensheite s. v.*

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hepti, 'haft, handle,' and *fíli*, 'file,' *heptisax*, 'a dagger with a handle,' OE *hæftmece*, 'sword with hilts.'

Heri Hare. Cp. *heri*, *idem*. The hare is not found in Iceland.

Herrauðr Army-peace. C. C. Rafn, *Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda* (Kaupmannahöfn, 1829–30), II, 446–448. Cp. **Harja-freðuR*.[38]

Herríðr[39] Army-beautiful. See *Herrauðr* above. Cp. +*Her-* (*Harja-*) and *fríðr*, 'beautiful.'

Hildingr Warrior, prince, king. Cp. *hildingr*, *idem*.

Hleiðólfr ? *Vsp.* 15[4]. *V. l.* to *Hlévangr*. Cp. *Hleið-*?, *-ólfr -úlfr*, 'wolf.' The prototheme is probably a scribal error.

Hleðiólfr Sword. *Vsp.* 15[4]. *V. l.* to *Hlévangr*. Cp. *hleði*, 'door,' *-olfr -úlfr*, 'wolf.' Words for door mean 'shield' in kennings.[40] *Hleðiólfr* means 'shield-wolf,' *i.e.* 'sword.' Cp. *hurðúlfr*, 'door-wolf,' *i.e.* 'sword.'

Hlévangr Sheltered plain. Cp. *hlé*,[41] 'lee,' *vangr*, 'plain, meadow, common.'

Hlévargr Lee-outlaw, *i.e.* evil person buried in a sheltered spot. Cp. *hlé*, 'lee,' *vargr*, 'wolf, outlaw.'

Hljóðólfr Howl-wolf. Cp. *hljóð*, 'noise,' *-ólfr-úlfr*, 'wolf,' *varghljóð*, 'howling of wolves.'

Hornbori Hornborer, *i.e.* a man who bores horn. Cp. *horn*, 'horn', *bora*, 'to bore,' MnI, MnN, S dial., D, OE, MLG *bor*, S *borr*, 'auger, gimlet, drill.'

Hugstari The bold one. Cp. *hugr*, 'mind,' *starr* 'stiff, firm,' *hugdjarfr*, *hugdyggr*, *hugfastr*, *hugfullr*, *hugstórr*, 'courageous.'

Hǫgstari Stubborn with blows. For *Hǫggstari*. Cp. *hǫgg*, 'blow,' *starr*, 'stiff,' *hǫggrammr*, 'stout in blows.'

Hǫrr ? *V. l.* to *Hár*. *Hǫrr* means 'linen, bowstring.' The word is here probably only a form of *Hár* or *Hárr*, and should be written *Hǫ́rr*.[42]

Ingi *Vide Yngve infra*, of which it is a *v. l.*

Íri Irish. Cp. *írar*, *idem*.

[38] Naumann, *Altnordische Namenstudien*, 35. Norenn, *Aisl. Gr.*[4], §291, 4.

[39] As to the meaning of *Herrauðr* and *Herríðr* see note to *Dagfinnr supra*.

[40] Fritzner, *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*, *s. v. hleði*.

[41] For a different derivation of *Hlé-* in proper names see Falk, *Odensheite s. v Hléfréyr* and *Hléfǫðr*.

[42] Falk, *Odensheite s. v.*

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Íválde Wielder of the yew-bow, warrior, originally the god Ull. Cp. +*Iwa-waldan*,[43] *idem*. The literal meaning of *Íválde* could still be clear to the poet's audience, but it is not so certain that references to Ull were understood. *Íválde* probably meant 'warrior' to them.

Jaki[44] Ice-floe or ice-berg. Cp. *jaki*, *idem*.

Jari Warrior. Cp. *jara*, 'battle.' If this name was constructed from *Jǫruvellir*,[45] the man who did it probably thought *Jǫruvellir* meant 'battle-plains.'

Kíli Wedge. Possibly, one who uses a wedge. *Vide Fíli supra*. Cp. MnN, D *kile*, S dial. *kila*, borrowed from Frisian or LG *kīl*. This foreign word was victorious on the Scandinavian mainland, but not in Iceland where *veggr* is retained.

Liðskjálfr[46] Shaking in the limbs. Cp. *liðr*, 'joint, limb.' *skjálfr*, trembling,' *liðmjúkr*, 'limber jointed.' The usual translation, 'frightener of the army,' is impossible because *skjálfr* does not mean 'frightener.'

Litr Color, especially reddish color of the face. Cp. *litr*, *idem*.

Ljómi Glow, gleam, shine. Cp. *ljómi*, *idem*, northern S *ljom*, 'aurora borealis,' OE *lēoma*, 'glow, gleam.' Gothic *lauhmuni*, 'lightening.'

Lofarr Stooper. Cp. MnN *luva*, 'to bend down, to walk or sit bent over.' S dial. *luva*, 'to withdraw abashed and ashamed,' MnN *luv*, 'something that hangs down, forelock, thick hair,' *luv* adj. 'with bowed head, with hair over the forhead,' E *lubber*, 'lazy thickset person.' *Lofarr* could also mean 'praiser.' Cp. *lofa*, 'to praise.'

Lóinn Lazy. Cp. MnN *lōen*, 'inclinded to saunter,' *lōa*, 'to go slowly, waste time.'

[43] Mangus Olsen, "Hedenske Kultminder i norske Stedsnavne," *Skrifter utgit af Videnskapsselskapet i Kristiania* 1915, II, *Histfil. Kl.* No. 4, p. 237, n. 1.

[44] FJ says *Iaki* is "vist kun forvansket af *Iari*." Hermann Güntert, *Kalypso* (Halle 1919) 49, remarks on the derviation of *jaki*.

[45] F. Detter u. R. Heinzel, *Sæmundar Edda mit einem Anhang hrsgb. und erklärt* (Leipzig, 1903) II, 22. Elof Hellquist, "Studier över de svenska sjönamnen" (Stockholm, 1903–6), 282, (*Bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmålen och svenskt folkliv*, XX, 1).

[46] For comment on words similar to this in appearance, but not necessarily in origin or meaning, see Erik Brate, "Betydelsen av ortnamnet Skälv," *Namn och Bygd*, I, (1913), 103 ff.

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Loki[47] The closer. Cp. *lok*, 'the close, end,' *lúka*, 'to close, lock.'

Lóni Lazy person. Cp. *lón*, 'place where the water is still because it is protected from the open sea,' MnI *lón*, 'a stopping, a quitting,' S dial. *lōna*, 'to stop work,' Shetlandic *lōni*, 'lazy person with slovenly gait,' MnN *luna*, 'to walk softly as if spying.' *Luna* sometimes has a past tense with long vowel, *loonde*, *loonte*.

Miðviðr The middle board or slat. Cp. *miþr*, 'middle, center,' *viðr*, 'board, slat, log.'

Mjǫðvitnir Meadwolf, *i.e.* toper. Cp. *mjǫðr*, 'mead,' *vitnir*, 'wolf.'

Mjǫklituðr Much colored, or, nearly red. Cp. *mjǫk*, 'much, just about, nearly,' *-lituðr*, variant form of *litaðr*, 'colored, red.'

Móðsognir He who roars in rage. Cp. *móðr*, 'rage,' *svagla*, 'to plash, babble,' *sægr* (+*svōgi*), 'noise,' OE *sweg*, *swæg*, 'noise,' E *sough*, 'murmur of wind in trees,' MnN *sǿg*, 'talk, murmur,' *sǿgja*, 'to plash, babble,' Gothic *swogatjan*, 'to sigh.'[48]

Móðvitnir Ragewolf. Cp. *móðr*, 'rage,' *vitnir*, 'wolf.'

Muninn The reminding one. Cp. *muna*, 'to remember.' The name of one of Othin's ravens.

Mǫndull (1) Axle, shaft, especially of a hand-mill. (2) A handle, especially of a hand-mill. Cp. *mǫndull*, *idem*, early modern German (1499) *mandel*[49] for *mangel*, 'a roller for smoothing laundry,' E *mandle*[50] for *mangle*, Latin *manga*, *mangana*, *manganum*, Greek *μάγγανον*.

Nabbi Nub. Cp. *nabbr*, 'small protuberance on the skin or on the greensward,' *nǫbb*, *idem*, MnI *nabbi*, 'a small boil on the skin.'

Náinn (1) Corpselike. Cp. *nár*, 'corpse.' (2) Relative. Cp. *náinn*, *idem*.

Náli Axle of a hand-mill. Cp. *nál*, (1) 'needle, tree-nail,' (2) = *mǫndull*, 'axle of a hand-mill.'

[47] *Gering* (49) gives bibliography of derivations of *Loki*.

[48] Sophus Bugge, *Fornkvæði* 388. F. Detter, *PBB*, XXI (1886), 107 n. 1. Falk u. Torp, *Norw.- dän. etymol. Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1910), *s. v. suk*.

[49] Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch s. v.*

[50] Vigfusson, *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, *s. v. mǫndull*.

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Nár Corpse. Cp. *nár, idem.*

Narr ? *V. l.* to *nár.* MnI *narr*, 'fool,' seems to be too late a borrowing from German to account for it, though there is no assurance of this. It is apparently a scribal blunder.

Nefi[51] Relative, nephew. Cp. *nefi, idem.*

Níðhǫggr The hatefully striking one. Cp. *nið*, 'hate,' *hǫggva*, 'to strike.'

Niði The one associated with the dark of the moon. Cp. *nið*, 'the dark of the moon.' So far as the form is concerned it might be from *niðr*, 'son, kinsman, relative,' but the context in which it stands (*Vsp.* 11[1]) supports the view that *niði* indicates a phenomenon of nature.

Niðǫtr ? The reading of the *MS* is doubtful. It is probably only an error for *Níðhǫggr.*

Nífengr ? Probably an error for *Nípingr. Vide infra.* But cp. *ni-* for *níu-*, 'nine,' *fengr*, a word used as a name for Othin, for a horse, and for a magic sign.

Niningr ? *Vsp.* 11[6]. *V. l.* for *Nípingr.* Scribal blunder. *Vide Nípingr infra.*

Nípingr Pinch. Cp. MnI *nípingur*, 'a pinch on the nose,' MnN *nypa*, 'to pinch.' The word probably came in with the *nípuleikur*, a game known in other Scandinavian countries.

Norðri The one in the North. Cp. *norðr*, 'north.'

Nóri Little shaver. Cp. MnI *nóri*, 'a small bit of something, a little shaver.'

Nýi The one connected with the new moon. Cp. *ný*, 'the new moon.' *Nýi* could be from *nýr*, 'new,' but the context (*Vsp.* 11[1]) indicates that it refers to a phenomenon of nature.

Nýr New. Cp. *nýr, idem.*

Nýráðr Ingenious. Cp. *nýráðliga*, 'unexpectedly, surprisingly,' *nýráðligr*, 'unexpected, surprising, newfangled, queer.'

Næfr Clever, skilled. Cp. *næfr, idem.*

[51] Occurs in *Þulur* 2[3]. Both *MSS* have *næfi*, which Finnur Jónsson prints *nefi* in *Skjaldedigtningen* B I, 672. This word is immediately preceded by *Næfr* in both *MSS. Vide infra.*

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Oinn Shy. Cp. *óask*, 'to be afraid,' MnN *oast*, 'to be afraid,' *oe*, 'fear.'

Olíus ? "Asmundarsaga Kappabana" in Detter, *Zwei Fornaldarsögur* (Halle, 1891) 81 ff. An imitation of a Latin word. *Vide Alíus supra.*

Ónarr Starer. Cp. MnN *ona*, 'to stare longingly at something.'

Ónn This form is listed hesitantly instead of *ǫnn* by *FJ* but is not sufficiently documented. *Vide Ǫnn infra.*

Onni ? *Vsp.* 11[8]. *V. l.* to *Ái* and *Óinn.*

Óri The violent one. Cp. *óra*, to be quarrelsome,' *ærr*, 'mad, furious,' *óraferð*, *óramaðr*, *óramál*, *órar.*

Orinn Quarrelsome. *Vsp.* 11[7]. *V. l.* to *Ánn. Vide Óri supra.*

Orr Quarrelsome. *Vsp.* 11[7]. *V. l.* to *Ánn. Vide Óri supra.*

Patti Little shaver, little boy. Cp. MnI *patti*, *idem.*

Ráðspakr Wise in counsel. Cp. *ráðspakr*, *idem.*

Ráðsviðr Wise in counsel. Cp. *ráðsviðr*, *ráðsvinnr*, *idem.*

Reginn[52] The potent one, the wielder. Cp. *regen*, 'the highest powers, the gods.'

Rekkr Warrior, hero, man. Cp. *rekkr*, *idem.*

Síarr He who makes the sparks fly, smith. *Vsp.* 13[4]. *V. l.* to *Sviurr.* Cp. *sía*, 'spark from the anvil.'

Sindri The slag-man, smith. Cp. *sindr*, 'slag or dross from a forge.'

Skáviðr Slanting board or slat. Cp. MnI *skár*,[53] 'slanting, crooked,' *viðr*, 'board, slat, rung.' *Vide Blindviðr, Miðviðr supra, Viðr infra.* Finnur Jonsson prints *skáviðr* in *Skjaldedigtningen* B I, 652. FJ has *Skáfiðr*, 'the wry Lapp.' Editions of the Elder Edda have *Skáfiðr* and *Skafiðr.*

Skávaerr Being good, *i.e.* goodnatured. Cp. *skár*, 'good,' adj. *vœrr*, 'being,' *hógvœrr*, 'meekminded.' *Skávœrr* may also mean 'being wry, distorted, slanting.' Cp. *skár*, slanting, crooked.'

Skirvir Joiner who makes herring-bone panelling. Cp. MnN *skjerva*, 'to make herring-bone panelling.'

Suðri The one in the South. Cp. *suðr*, 'south.'

Sviarr ? *Vsp.* 13[4]. *V. l.* to *Sviurr.*

Sviðr Wise. *Vsp.* 13[4]. *V. l.* to *Sviurr.* Cp. *sviðr*, *svinnr*, *idem.*

[52] A. M. Sturtevant, "A Study of the Old Norse Word *Reginn.*" *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XV (1916), 251–266.

[53] Finnur Jónsson, *Afnf*, XLIV (1928), 249.

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Sviurr ? Cp. possibly MnI *svía*, 'to decrease,' used of pain. *sviun*, 'decrease of pain,' MHG *svinen*, 'to disappear.'

Tigvae ?

Tirgr ? *V. l.* to *Tigvæ*.

Tóki[54] Blockhead. *V. l.* to *Jaki*. Cp. MnN S *tok*, MnN *toke*, 'fool.' Possibly it is an early loan word. Cp. LG *token*, 'to play, joke.'

Túta Little nub. *Flateyjarbók*, III, 418, 420. Cp. MnI *túta*, 'a teat-like projection,' *túteyg(ð)ur*, 'popeyed.' *Túta* was a mortal Frisian dwarf who lived among Norwegians in the eleventh century.

Uni The calm one. Cp. *una*, 'to be satisfied.'

Úri The slag-man, smith. Cp. *úr*, 'slack, slag, small splinters of iron which fall from the heated metal in smithing.'

Vali (1) *Vali*, Welchman or man of Valland in Northern France.[55] *Vsp.* 12[3]. *V. l.* to *Náli*. Cp. *valir*, *idem*. (2) *Váli*, a son of Othin. Cp. +*vanilo*.[56]

Varr[57] Wary, cautious, shy. Cp. *varr*, *idem*.

Vegdrasill (1) Road-steed. Cp. *vegr*, 'road.' *drasill*, 'steed.' (2) Glory-steed. Cp. *vegr*, 'honor, glory.'

Veggr Wedge. *Vsp.* 12.[1] *V. l.* to *Veigr*. Cp. *veggr*, *idem*, *veggsleginn*, 'wedge-shaped hammer.'

Veigr Strength. Cp. MnI *veigur*, *idem*. The Old Icelandic word *veig* f, 'strong drink,' seems to be the source of two words in MnI; *veig* f, 'strong drink,' and *veigur* m, 'strength.' As we have no historical dictionary we do not know when this differentiation took place, but it is possible that the masculine form is old, though unrecorded in early times.

Vestri The one in the West. Cp. *vestr*, 'west.'

Viggr Axe-bit. *Vsp.* 12.[1] *V. l.* to *Veigr*. Cp. MnN *vigg* m and n, *idem*. As a masculine it would be *viggr* in the old period. There is also a MnN *vigg* m, 'the opening made in setting the teeth of a saw.' This would also

[54] Elias Wessen, *Nordiske Namnstudier*, 90, n. 3.

[55] Sophus Bugge, *Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse* (Christiania, 1881–89), 207 ff.

[56] Eduard Sievers, *PBB*, XVIII (1899), 582 ff.

[57] Two smiths, both named *Varr*, though not called dwarves, are to be understood as such. In Finnur Jónsson, *Hrólfs saga kraka og Bjarkarímur* (Kjøbenhavn. 1904), 15.

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be *viggr* in the old period. Torp[58] thinks both words are *veggr*, 'wedge,' but as they apparently coexist with *vegg* in Norway they may have been differentiated rather early. *Vigg* n, occasionally *vigg* m, 'horse,' is not a fitting dwarf-name. *Viggr*, 'axe-bit,' is a characteristic dwarf-name.

Vigr Spear. *Vsp.* 12[1]. *V. l.* to *veigr*. Cp. *vigr, idem.*

Viðr Board, slat, rung. Cp. *viðr, idem.*

Vífir *Fututor.* Cp. *víf*, 'woman,' *vífinn*, 'uxorious,' MnI *vífni*, 'uxoriousness,' *vifsyndi*, 'pleasure from intercourse with women.'

Vindálfr Wind-elf. Cp. *vindr*, 'wind,' *álfr*, 'elf.'

Virvir Dyer. Cp. Old Frisian *verver*, 'dyer.'

Vitr Wise. Cp. *vitr, idem.*

Yngvi Frey. Cp. *Yngvifreyr*, 'Frey.'

þekkr Beloved. Cp. *þekkr, idem.*

þjóðreyrir The one buried in the famous stone-heap, or, the famous one buried in the stone-heap. Cp. *þjóð-á*, 'great river,' *þjóð-konungr*, 'great king,' *þjóð-kunnr*, 'very famous,' *þjóð-vitnir*, 'the great wolf,' *reyrr*, 'a heap of stones,' *reyra*, 'to bury in a heap of stones.'

Þjóðreyrir occurs only once, in *Háv.* 160[2], a passage for which there is but one *MS*, *codex regius*. All previous discussions of this word begin by altering it to resemble *Óðrerir* (*Háv.* 107).[59]

þjórr Bull. *Vsp.* 12[3]. *V. l.* to *þrór* and *þrár*. Cp. *þjórr, idem. MS* has *þjor*.

þorinn Bold. Cp. *þora*, 'to dare,' *þoran*, 'daring,' MnI *þorinn*, 'bold.'

þráinn Stubborn. Cp. *þrár*, 'stubborn.'

þrár Stubborn. Cp. *þrár, idem.*

þrasir Snorter, the one in rage. Cp. *þrasa*, 'to snort, rage.'

þróinn The increasing one. *Vide þrór infra.*

þrór Boar. Cp. *þrór, idem, þróask*, 'to increase.'

þulinn The mumbling one, silly person. Cp. *þula*, 'a rhyme, jingle, poem,' *þulr*, 'mumbler, worthless poet,' *þylja*, 'to mumble.'

[58] *Nynorsk etym. Ordbok s. v.*

[59] E.g. *Þjóðrerer*, Finnur Jónsson, *Eddalieder* (Halle, 1888) 25. *Þjóðrører*, *FJ s. v.*, Neckel, *Edda*[2], 43. *Gering* (159). See *Gering* (129, 159) for references to older discussions.

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Qlni The one on the fore-arm. Cp. *ǫln*, 'the forearm from the ends of the fingers to the elbow,' Latin *ulna*. FJ changes *Qlni* to *Qlnir* in order to get a mythical name. It is not necessary.

Q́nn or Qnn (1) ? Cp. **AþawiniR*,[60] *AÞa-*, of undetermined meaning, **winiR-vinr*, 'friend.' *Ánn* (*Án*) and *Q́nn* may be variants of the same word.[61] This is not a suitable dwarf-name, since it is a compound which is no longer transparent, an old heroic name. (2) An (undefined) part of a sword. Cp. *ǫnn*, *idem*. This is the least objectionable explanation. (3) Hard work. Cp. *ǫnn*, *idem*, Gothic *asans*, 'summer (harvest-time).' (2) and (3) do not account for *Ánn*.

C. The Form of Dwarf-Names

It is possible to classify the names as to form. A little more than a fourth of them are compound nouns or adjectives; *Alvíss*, *Alþjófr*, *Andvari*, *Aurvangr*, *Aurvargr*, *Blindviðr*, *Dagfinnr*, *Dólgþrasir*, *Dólgþvari*, *Eikinskjaldi*, *Eilífr*, *Fjǫlsviðr*, *Fornbogi*, *Forve*, *Fullangr*, *Gandálfr*, *Gollmævill*, *Haugspori*, *Heptifili*, *Herrauðr*, *Herríðr*, *Hleiðólfr*, *Hleðiólfr*, *Hlévangr*, *Hlévargr*, *Hljóðólfr*, *Hornbori*, *Hugstari*, *Hǫgstari*, *Ívaldi*, *Liðskjálfr*, *Miðviðr*, *Mjǫðvitnir*, *Mjǫklituðr*, *Móðsognir*, *Móðvitnir*, *Niðhǫggr*, *Niðǫtr*, *Nifengr*, *Niningr*, *Nýráðr*, *Ráðspakr*, *Ráðsviðr*, *Skáviðr*, *Tigvæ*, *Vegdrasill*, *Vindálfr*, *þjóðreyrir*.

There are six among these, *Forve*, *Hleiðólfr*, *Niðǫtr*, *Nifengr*, *Niningr*, *Tigvæ*, which we do not understand, and therefore we do not know into what parts to divide them. The first seems to be composed of *for-vé*. The deuterotheme of the second is-*ólfr* = *ulfr*, 'wolf.' The rest may or may not be scribal errors; at any rate they look like compounds.

If we ignore these six and the names *Herrauðr* and *Herríðr*,[62] which are intruders among the dwarf-names, we will find that each of the rest is composed of two parts, the meaning of which was plain to an Icelander of the time in which the *þula* was composed.

[60] Jóhannesson, *op. cit.* §272, 2.

[61] Noreen, *Aisl Gr.*[4] 116. *Codex regius* of the Elder Edda has *aan*, *Hauksbók* has *án* in *Vsp.* 11[7]. One *MS* of the *þulur* (*A. M.* 748 *II* 4*to*) has the name *Qnn*. In the other *MS* this word is erased; possibly some one removed it who regarded it as an error.

[62] They are the names of the children of a dwarf in a late novelized tale, "Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar" in Rafn, *FAS*, II, 446–448. These two names are

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The compounds could have been made up at any time on the spur of the moment.

Another fairly large group is composed of adjectives,[63] mostly very common ǫnes; *Alvíss, Annarr, Fár, Fjǫlsviðr, Frár, Frægr, Fullangr, Hár, Mjǫklituðr, Nýr, Nýráðr, Næfr, Órr, Ráðspakr, Ráðsviðr, Skáværr, Sviðr, Varr, Vitr, þekkr, þrár.*

The weak masculine names make up over a fourth (29%) of all. A considerable number can be paired with monosyllabic neuter nouns. *Austri-austr, Darri-darr, Dǫrri-dǫrr, Eitri-eitr, Frosti-frost, Haugspori-spor, Loki-lok, Niði-nið, Norðri-norðr, Nýi-ný, Sindri-sindr, Suðri-suðr, Úri-úr, Vestri-vestr, Qlni-ǫln.* A smaller number are related to monosyllabic masculines; *Buri-burr, Eikinskjaldi-skjǫldr, Hornbori-bor, Dóri-dór,* two to feminines, one of which is dissyllabic; *Náli-nál, Jari-jara. Lóni* has beside it *lón* n and *lón* f, *Nabbi* has *nabbr* m and *nǫbb* f. A few are formed from adjectives; *Andvari-varr, Bari-barr, Brúni-brúnn, Hugstari* and *Hǫgstari-starr.* The following can best be compared to verbs; *Dáni-deyja, Dúri-dúra, Glóni* and *Glói-glóa, Óri-óra, Uni-una, Ívaldi-valda.* Of thè thirty-five names in this paragraph only nine are recorded as being used for mortals, *Brúni, Darri, Frosti, Hornbori, Norðri, Nóri, Sindri, Uni,* possibly *Úri.* None of the nine are originally personal names, but all were first occupational names or nicknames, and most of them are recorded mainly as the latter. This shows that names of this class are mostly made up *ad hoc.*

We have also the following disyllabic weak nouns used as dwarf-names; *Ái, Barri, Dólg-þvari, Farli, Fíli, Forn-bogi, Hepti-fíli, Heri, Ingi* and *Yngvi, Íri, Jaki, Kíli, Ljómi, Nefi, Nóri, Onni, Patti, Tóki, Vali.*

A little more than a tenth of the names end in *-inn,*[64] most of them being connected with verbs; *Búinn-búa, Dáinn-deyja, Dulinn-dylja, Durinn-dúra, Dvalinn-dvelja* or *dúra, Eggmóinn-móask, Fáinn-fá* and the adj. *fár, Funḍinn-finda, Glóinn-glóa, Lóinn-MnN Loa, Muninn-muna, Óinn-óask, Órinn-óra, þorinn-þora, þráinn-þrá, þróinn-þróask* and *þrór, þulinn-þylja,* a few

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taken from the stock of old heroic names, and the parts are so fused that only a philologist could tell what each part means. When they are explained they tell nothing characteristic about dwarfs.

[64] Names belonging to more than one group are repeated. E.g., compound adjective are listed among compounds among adjectives.

[64] A. M. Sturtevant, "Old Norse *tig-inn: tíg-inn; fú-inn: lú-inn,*" *Scand. S. and N.* X (1928), 50-55

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with nouns; *Burinn-burr*, *Náinn-nár*, *Reginn-regin*, and one with an adjective; *Bláinn-blár*.

Those ending in *-arr* are mostly affiliated with verbs; *Ánarr* and *Ónarr*-MnN *ōna*, *Galarr-gala*, *Ginnarr-ginna*, *Lofarr*-MnN *luva*, and two with nouns; *Fjalarr-fjǫl*, *Síarr-sía*. Two are primarily adjectives; *Anarr* and *Hannarr*. One is of undetermined affiliation, as its meaning is not known; *Svíarr*.

Of the small group in *-ingr*, *-lingr; Berlingr*, *Billingr*, *Brísingr*, *Dellingr*, *Hildingr*, *Niningr*, *Nípingr*, the second from the last is probably a scribal error. Those in *-urr* are *Bifurr*, *Blǫfurr*, *Bumburr*, *Bǫfurr*, *Svíurr*, in *-ir; Dólgþrasir*, *Dramir* (probably scribal error), *Skirvir*, *Vífir*, *Virvir*, *Þjóðreyrir*, *Þrasir*, in-*nir; Draupnir*, *Dúrnir*, *Mjǫðvitnir*, *Móðsognir*, *Móðvitnir*.[65]

The only considerable form-group left is that of the monosyllabic masculines, over thirteen per cent; *Álfr*, *Ánn*, *Bildr*, *Brokkr*, *Dólgr*, *Dúfr*, *Falr*, *Fiðr-Finnr*, *Grerr*, *Grímr*, *Hǫrr*, *Litr*, *Nár*, *Narr*, *Rekkr*, *Tirgr*, *Veggr*, *Veigr*, *Viðr*, *Viggr*, *Vigr*, *Þjórr*, *Þrór*, *Qnn*.

Túta is the only dwarf name besides the rejected *Herríðr* which is grammatically feminine. It is the name of a male. Seeing it is the name of a mortal it did not have to conform to the conventions of mythical dwarf-names. *Atvarðr* was probably not intended as a name. There are two names in *-ill*, which is frequently used, among other purposes, in the names of sea-kings, e.g. *Gollmœvill*, but it is not clear why *Vegdrasill* gets among the dwarf-names.

Alíus is a Latin word; *Olíus* is an imitation of *Alíus; Álfrigg* is borrowed and adapted from German; *Mǫndull*, which fits none of the form categories above, is a western European cultural loan-word, ultimately Greek; *Bifurr*, *Fíli*, *Heptifíli*, *Kíli*, *Virvir* are loan-words, probably from Frisian, possibly from Low German; *Bumburr* is made on the noun *bumba*, which latter is supposed to be a foreign word,[66] *Dóri* is supposed to be based on a borrowed German *dorn*, *Tóki* possibly on LG *token*.

The ordinary themes which make up the greater part of Old Icelandic names are entirely missing, the names in *Arn-*, *Ás-*, *Berg-*, *Bryn-*, *Hólm-*, *Rún-*, *Sig-*, *Þór-*, in *-arinn*, *-bjǫrn*, *-dan*, *-gestr*, *-kell*, *-leikr*, *-marr*, *-rekr*, and hundreds of others. We are dealing with a very different class of names.

The transparentness of the compound names, the free use of adjectives as dwarf-names, the use of a considerable number of

[65] Finnur Jónsson, "Maskuline Substantiver-på *-nir*," *Afnf*, XXXV (1918),302.

[66] Frank Fischer, *Lehnwörter des Altwestnordischen* (Berlin, 1909), *s. v.* in index.

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weak nouns made up *ad hoc*, the use of loan-words and even of words formed on loan-words all go to show that these names were not handed down from a remote past, but are the product of a contemporary body of opinion. The further fact that aside from the compound names, adjectives, and monosyllabic masculines the dwarf-names are limited to a small number of endings, *-arr*, *-i*, *-ingr*, *-lingr*, *-inn*, *-ir*, *-nir*, *-urr*;[67] *i.e.* that the dwarf-names can be referred to a small number of form-categories, shows that there was a rather definite convention in regard to such names.

D. The Content of Dwarf-Names

The names given dwarves in Iceland show their state and characteristics,[68] according to current tales.

The dwarves are the dead; they are one phase of the Living Corpse, the *draugr*, that has experienced the First Death and will experience the final and Second Death when the body disintegrates.[69]

Many of the dwarf-names describe the Living Dead. The dwarf is called *Nár*, 'corpse,' *Náinn*, 'like a corpse,' *Dáinn*, *Dáni*, 'like one dead,' *Búinn*, 'prepared (for burial),' *Eggmóinn*, 'slain by the sword.' The dead man is *Bumburr*, 'a swollen thing;' as decomposition progresses he becomes *Brúni*, 'dark brown,' *Blâinn*, 'black.'[70] No longer a proud upstanding man, he is *Barri*, 'awkward, butterfingers,' *Dulinn*, 'weak and slow,' *Tóki*, 'blockhead,' *Liðskjálfr*, 'trembling in the limbs,' *Lofarr*, 'bent over,' *Þulinn*,

[67] The intrusive endings *-ill* [two representatives] and *-ull* [one representative] are ignored here.

[68] Fritz Wohlgemuth, *Riesen und Zwerge in der afrz. erz. Dichtung* (Tübingen, 1906), Diss.; August Lütjens, "Der Zwerg in der deutschen Heldendichtung des Mittelalters" Breslau, 1911), (*Germanistische Abhandlungen hrsgb. von F. Vogt*, Heft 38); Josef Riefel, *Der Zwerg* (Dresden-Weinbohl, 1923) contains much materiial, no references; Helmut de Boor, "Der Zwerg in Skandinavien," *Festschrift, Eugen Mogk zum 70. Geburtstag* (Halle, 1924), 536–581; C. N. Gould, "They who await the Second Death," *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, IX (1927), 167–201, and literature cited there, page 167, note 2.

[69] C. W. von Sydow, *Folkminnen och Folktankar*, XII (1925), häfte 2,15–16, doubts that the dwarves have anything to do with the dead. He treats the general subject of the relation of spirits and the dead in an article in the preceding *häfte*, pp. 1–10, and in XIII (1926), 172–174.

[70] Hermann Güntert, *Kalypso* (Halle, 1919), 73 *blár* as color of corpse. K. E. Georges, *Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch* (8th ed., Hannover and Leipzig, 1913) *s. v. aquilus*, 'dark brown, blackish brown,' 'color of death and of the underworld.'

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'a silly mumbler,' *Dúfr*, 'a nodder,' *Dúri*, *Durinn*, *Dúrnir*, 'a sleeper,' *Dvalinn*, 'torpid,' *Lóinn*, *Lóni*, 'lazy,' *Ánarr*, *Ónarr*, 'one who stares at something,' *Uni*, 'one who is calm.'[71,72]

Dwarves with a local habitation are described in terms of the place where the corpse lies buried; *Aurvargr*, 'gravel-outlaw' *i.e.* 'the outlaw buried in the gravel,' *Hlévargr*, 'lee-outlaw,' *i.e.* 'the outlaw buried in the sheltered spot,' *Þjóðreyrir*, 'buried in the great stone-heap.'

The dead dwarf may be described by his activities in life; *Gollmævill*, 'rich sea-king,' *Grímr*, 'mask,' *i.e.* the anonymous stranger who died without telling his name, *Mjǫðvitnir*, 'toper'; or by his activities after death; *Haugspori*, 'howe-treader,' who walks about on his mound, like the benevolent *draugr* of King Hreggvith.[73]

The dwarf may be a relative who lies in the ancestral tomb, the oldest one can remember, *Ái*, 'great-grandfather,' or nearer ones; *Nefi*, 'nephew,' *Billingr*, 'twin brother,' *Buri*, 'son,' *Burinn*, 'one like a son.'

The dead man's good qualities may be told; *Frægr*, 'famous,' *Skáværr*, 'goodly,' *Þekkr*, 'beloved.'[74]

There may have been foreigners buried in Scandinavian soil who were supposed to spook about as dwarves; *Íri*, 'Irish,' *Vali*, 'Welch' or 'French.'

When people thought of the small size of dwarves they gave them names suitable to new-born infants; *Fundinn*, 'found,' *Nabbi*, 'little nub,' *Nóri*, 'tiny,' *Nýr*, 'new,' *Patti*, 'little shaver,' a name for a boy baby like Swedish *Putte*, *Qlni*, 'the one on the

[71] Certain names given the dwarves are also names of Othin, god of the dead; *Brúni*, *Fjǫlsviðr*, *Ginnarr*, *Grímr*, *Hár*, *Hǫrr*, *Reginn*, *Þekkr*, *Þrór*. *Þrasir* resembles the Othin-name *Þrasarr*. *Muninn*, which is not a fitting dwarf-name, is an intruder from the Othin tales. Cf. Falk, *Odensheite*.

[72] It is worth noting that a number of dwarf-names also appear as serpent-names in the *Orma heiti*, *Skjaldedigtningen* B I, 675. They are *grímr*, *móinn*, *náinn*, *niðhöggr*, *óinn*, *óri*. The serpent-name *haugvarðr*, 'guardian of the mound,' is interesting in this connection. Güntert, *Kalypso*, 38. I. Reichborn-Kjennernd, "Ormen i nordisk Folkmedisin belyst ved den klassiske Oldtidsmedisin," *Tillægshæfte til Norges Apotekerforeningens Tidskrift*, 1924, 16. It would be fruitless to include here the few dwarf-names which are also giant-names, horse-names and stag-names, since these categories have not been investigated.

[73] Gould, *op. cit.* 172.

[74] It is possible that the names indicating relationship and good qualities may be noa-terms for spiteful dwarves that would harm the person who spoke their real and evil names.

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forearm,' a pat name for a new-born child, given by some one who had noticed how women carry a tiny infant on the forearm. There is one non-committal name, *Fullangr*, 'long enough,' and one which may go by opposites, *Hár*, 'high.'

The dwarves were lecherous and from the stories told of them we know they lusted after the daughters of men;[75] *Vífir*, 'fututor,' *þróinn*, 'like a *þrór*,' *þrór*, 'boar,' then the symbol of Týr, the god of reproduction. Later Othin assumed the function and symbol of Týr.[76] The dwarves do not readily show themselves, for they fear the light of the sun which turns them to stone, and they have such names as *Heri*, 'hare,' a timid nocturnal animal, *Óinn*, 'shy,' *Varr*, 'wary.'

Though dwarves fear the light of the sun, they have, strange to say, names meaning 'bright colored, shining': *Blǫvurr*, 'the shining one,' *Brísingr*, 'flame,' *Dellingr*, 'the gleaming one,' *Fáinn*, *Fár*, 'shining,' *Glói*, *Glóinn*, *Glóni*, 'glowing,' *Litr*, 'color, red,' *Ljómi*, 'gleam,' *Mjǫkliuðr*, 'much-colored.' There are no tales that account for these names; they might refer to the forge fires of the dwarf smiths, but it is more likely that they point to the *haugaeldar*, the mysterious fires which in Icelandic tradition glow on grave mounds, the places where howe-dwellers are found.[77]

In ancient days the rich put treasures into the grave mound for the use of a departed friend, and daring men would descend into the grave to rob the dead man of his goods. There were stories current of Living Corpses who fought intruders tooth and nail in defense of their wealth. While we have no stories of dwarves who thus defended their property many of the names picture them as fighting in the same manner as the *draugar* fought; *Bari*, 'fiery,' *Bifurr*, 'beaver, one who does things with zeal' (which may apply to an artisan as well), *Dólgr*, 'enemy,' *Dólgþrasir*, 'battle-eager,' *Frár-Frór*, 'swift,' (can apply to an artisan also), *Hildingr*, 'warrior,' *Hugstari*, 'stubborn-minded,' *Hǫgstari*, 'stubborn with blows,' *Jari*, 'warrior,' *Móðvitnir*, 'rage-wolf,' *i.e.* 'violent warrior,' *Niðhǫggr*, 'the hatefully striking one,' *Óri*, *Órinn*, *Órr*, 'quarrelsome,' *Reginn*, 'wielder,' *Rekkr*, 'warrior, hero,' *Þorinn*, 'bold,'

[75] Lütjens *op. cit.* 103; Gould *op. cit.* 198 f.

[76] Falk. *Odensheite, s.v. þror.*

[77] E.g. Jón Helgason, *Heiðreks saga* (København, 1914), 21. Carl Clemen, *Religionsgeschichte Europas* (Heidelberg, 1926), I, 231 remarks concerning Hephaistos "dasz eine aus der Erde aufsteigende Flamme auch sonst auf das mythische Feuer kleiner Erdgeister zurückgeführt wird."

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Þráinn, *Þrár*, 'stubborn.' *Níþingr*, 'pinch,' describes the way *draugar* fight.[78]

Sometimes the name of the warrior is formed from the name of his weapon by adding the weak masculine ending; *Darri-Dörri*, 'spearman,' *Eikinskjaldi*, 'with oaken shield.' Again the unchanged name of the weapon is the name of the warrior; *Bíldr*, 'edged weapon' (can also be artisan's tool), *Dólgþvari*, 'hostile spear,' *Falr*, 'ferrule on shaft of a weapon' (or tool), *Fornbogi*, 'ancient bow,' *Hleðiólfr*, 'sword,' *Vigr*, 'spear,' *Qnn*, 'part of a sword.'

Perhaps the dwarf roared when he fought; at any rate we have a curious group of names indicating that he was noisy; *Galarr*, 'yeller, singer,' *Grerr*, 'roaring,' *Hljóðólfr*, 'howl-wolf,' *Móðsognir*, 'roaring,' 'rage-roarer,' *Þrasir*, 'snorter,' *Þjórr*, 'bull,' *i.e.* 'bellower.' Cp. *dvergmali*, 'echo,' literally 'dwarf speech?

The dead dwelt not only in grave mounds, but in the rocks and mountains, and there they had access to all the riches beneath the surface, and people told tales of dwarves who were master smiths and skilled in all sorts of clever artisanship. They gave the dwarves names that indicate these activities, as names of trades; *Draupnir*, 'goldsmith,' *Fjalarr*, 'splitter of panelling,' *Skirvir*, 'joiner of herring-bone panelling,' *Virvir*, 'dyer,' and curious words for smith; *Brokkr*, 'man who works with broken fragments' (of metal), *Starr*, 'he who makes the sparks fly,' *Sindri*, *Úri*, slag-man.'

We have noticed that *Bifurr*, *Reginn*, and *Frár-Frór* may be artisans. *Hannarr*, 'skilled,' *Nýráðr*, 'ingenious,' and *Nœfr*, 'clever,' should be valuable workmen.

A mechanic may have a name formed on the name of the tool he uses, just as the warrior's name may be formed on that of his weapon; *Dóri*, auger-man,' *Hornbori*, man who works with a horn-boring gimlet.' *Fíli*, *Heptifíli* and *Kíli* may be names of users of the instruments indicated by their names, *i.e.* tool-name plus weak masculine ending; if not the ending, then its function by analogy since the names of so many tool-users and weapon-users were formed with *-i*; or they may be strictly tool-names. They will be treated as such in the next paragraph.

The name of the tool may be used for the artisan; *Berlingr*, 'handspike,' *Bíldr*, 'edged tool' (or weapon), *Falr*, 'ferrule on handle of a tool' (or weapon), *Fíli*, 'file,' *Heptifíli*, 'file with a handle,'

[78] Gould, *op. cit.* 189.
[79] Gould, *op. cit.* 199.

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Kíli, *Veggr*, 'wedge,' *Viggr*, 'axe-bit.' A part of an apparatus may furnish the name for a dwarf; '*Mǫndull*, *Náli*, 'axle or shaft of a hand mill,' *Viðr*, 'board, slat, rung,' *Blindviðr*, 'blind-board,' *Miðviðr*, 'middle board,' *Skáviðr*, 'crooked board.' We are given no hint as what the "boards" formed, of what they were a part; a gate, sled, boat, or what?

The dwarf-names afford strange connections with nature; *Austri*, 'the one in the East,' *Norðri*, 'the one in the North,' *Suðri*, 'the one in the South,' *Vestri*, 'the one in the West,' are the four dwarves that hold up the four corners of the sky, a tale that may not be at all old; *Niði* and *Nýi* 'the waning and the new moon,' *Eitri* and *Frosti*, 'cold,' and the winds; *Andvari*, *Gustr*, 'gentle breeze or puff of wind,' *Vindálfr*, 'wind-elf,' and maybe *Farli*, 'the faring one.' Have we slipped over into a new territory? There is a border-land of elves and dwarves, for we have elf-names for certain dwarves; *Álfr*, 'elf,' *Álfrigg*, 'elf-king,' the borrowed name that we rejected in the beginning, *Gandálfr*, 'magic-elf,' *Vindálfr*, 'wind-elf.'

Those who have passed the gates of the first death have entered into great wisdom; such an one is *Álvíss*, 'exceedingly wise,' *Fjolsviðr*, 'very wise,' *Ráðspakr*, *Ráðsviðr*, 'wise in counsel,' *sviðr*, *vitr*, 'wise.' As dwarves are demonic and evil,[79] a dwarf by his wisdom can be a *Ginnarr*, 'deceiver,' or a master thief, *Alþjófr*, 'wholly a thief.'[80] So far the names have not told us in what direction this knowledge was exerted, upon craftsmanship, fighting, or council; but great wisdom in the North was usually associated with the supernatural, as *Fiðr-Finnr*, 'magician;' the summit of wisdom is probably touched in the aforementioned *Gandálfr*, 'elf of magic.'[81]

There are certain names connected with cult; *Forve*, of which

[80] Lütjens, *op. cit.* 101.

[81] The name *Gandálfr* is probably connected with magic or cult. Nils Lid, "Gand og Tyre," *Festskrift til Hjalmar Falk* (Oslo, 1927), 331 ff., shows that *gand* in MnN tradition may mean a magic ball of hair or other materials that can be put inside an animal to do it harm. Such a *gand* may be called an *alvkule*, 'elf-ball,' or *dvergkule*, 'dwarf-ball,' and may produce the illness known as *alvskot* or *dvergskot*.

A definite connection of the dwarf with magic is shown in *Háv.* 160, which tells of a dwarf chanting charms;

Þat kann ek fimtánda, er gol Þjóðreyrir
dvergr, fyr Dellings durom:
afl gol hann ásom, en álfom frama,
hyggjo Hróptatý.

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we know so little, *Þróinn, Ingi-Yngvi, Ívaldi, Loki,*—if the latter was ever included in cult—the Othin-names and the elf-names already listed.

Certain loan-words call for comment. The first neighboring people of a higher civilization whom the Scandinavians knew intimately were the Frisians, the heirs of Roman commerce.[82] Their trading posts were planted far up in Northern lands long before the settlement of Iceland. The chief ware they sought there was fur, and it is natural that their own name for one of the best furs, "*bever,*" should become not only known to the people with whom they traded, but also adjusted to their phonetic system. The result was *bifurr.* The Romans on the lower Rhine were not only traders but also manufacturers, and the Frisians, who as laborers acquired the Roman technique, would be familiar with the use of tools and would probably, after the Roman departure, manufacture and sell them to the North, bringing the Frisian names with them; *fíli, kíli.* The crowning glory of Frisian commerce was its beautifully woven and dyed cloth. The Frisians furnished the North with a number of words connected with clothing,[83] among them the word for dyer, Frisian *verver,* which the Icelander wrote as *virvir* or *virfir.*

Some of the names were unintelligently chosen: If *Ánn* is an ancient hero name and the equivalent of *Ǫnn* (1) its meaning would not have been understood by the *þulr* or his audience, and so it would not have been suitable for a dwarf-name. *Aurvangr,* 'gravel plain,' and *Hlevangr,* 'protected plain,' suggest nothing connected with dwarves; they are some transmitter's perversion of *Aurvargr* and *Hlévargr. Dagfinnr,* an old and common name, may have been brought in by its deuterotheme, 'magician,' but it does not seem in place. *Jaki,* 'ice-berg,' or 'ice-floe,' is outside the realm of dwarves and is probably a perversion of *Jari. Vegdrasill,* 'road-steed,' or 'glory-steed,' is either misunderstood by modern scholars, or it has come in from some other category of names. *Veigr,* 'strength,' is the only abstract noun in the list. It is probably an error for *Veggr.*

There is a residue of words whose meanings we do not know. Some of them are probably scribal errors, but not all of them;

[82] Elis Wadstein, "Norden och västeuropa i gammal tid" (Stockholm, 1925), (*Populärt vetenskapliga föreläsninger vid Göteborgs Högskola,* ny följd, XXII). See especially chapter X and the bibliography.

[83] I quote them in the forms which Wadstein gives, *op. cit.* 148 f. *kläde, skåt, duk, dok, kjortel, kyrtil, skräddare.*

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Bǫfurr, Dramir, Narr, Niðǫtr or *Niðǫttr, Nifengr, Niningr, Onni, Sviarr, Sviurr, Tigvæ, Tirgr.*

The investigation of the form of dwarf-names made it evident that they were a contemporary product, based on current conventional accounts of dwarf-activities; a study of the meaning of these names provides additional evidence that this is true. If there had been no conventionalized pictures of the nature, manner of life and functions of dwarves upon which the coiners of dwarf-names could base their creations it would not have been possible for us to group the names about a small number of definite ideas. The classification of these names also affords us certain information as to the content of the current tales about dwarves. We learn that his names[84] pictured the dwarf as a corpse in process of decaying, yet living, torpid and infirm. They connect him with his burial place; they specify his activities in life and in death, his kinship, his social qualities, his nationality, his size, his lusts. They picture him as fearing living men and the light of the sun, yet being himself at times bright and shining; they further give him the characteristics of the *draugr* of which he is a specialized type, report his manner of fighting, specify his weapons and describe the roaring that accompanied his hostile acts. The names also describe him as a master workman, state his occupations, describe his skill, specify his tools, indicate his connection with nature and the confusion of elf and dwarf, exhibit his endowment with wisdom, cunning and magic, and show his connection with cult.

[84] It is interesting to watch the transmitters of dwarf-names at the work of creating names. We are herewith chiefly concerned with eight manuscripts representing three streams of transmission, the first and second of which are closely related, though all three are from the same source. 1. *R* (*gl. kgl. sml. n. 2365 4to* (the Elder Edda) in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, and *H* (*Hauksbók, cod. arnam. no. 544 4to* in the Arnamagnaean collection in the University Library of Copenhagen) contain the *Vǫluspá* in versions that differ slightly from each other. 2. Manuscripts of the Younger Edda; *T* (*Trektarbók*, a paper manuscript in Utrecht); *U* (*cod. upsaliensis no. 11, 8 vo.* in the University Library in Upsala) *W* (*codex Wormianus, cod. arnam. no. 242 fol* in the University Library in Copenhagen); *r* (*gl. kgl. sml. no. 2367 4to* in the Royal Library in Copenhagen). These MSS contain the dwarf-name stanzas from the Vǫluspá in a somewhat different version from *R* and *H*. In a few places they agree with *H* as against *R*. 3. Manuscripts containing the *Dverga heiti* from the *þulur; cod. arnam. 748 II 4to* and *cod. arnam 757 4to* in the University Library at Copenhagen. The *Dverga heiti* consist of six stanzas of eight short lines each, alliterative jingles composed of dwarf-names with almost no connective tissue.

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We get this information through the cumulative evidence of numerous names grouped about the same idea.

Not all of these details concerning the life of dwarves are mentioned in the tales about dwarves, and one detail is frequently mentioned in the tales—that the dwarf lives in a rock or under the ground—which is not referred to by a name.

De Boor's study[85] of dwarves in Scandinavia showed that in

One could chart out the relationship of the manuscripts and discover which names were in the original list, the non-existent X back of all these streams.

But the disagreements are also interesting; they are of three sorts, one sort, rare, in which the scribe simply made an error and wrote something that does not exist in the Icelandic language, a second sort, also rare, where the transmitter failed to hear or to read the original correctly and put in a word that was an entirely good word but in no sense a dwarf-name, a third sort, rather frequent and very interesting, where some transmitter who failed to understand the original name made up and put in a good one in its place. All three sorts occurred with a name found in *Vsp.* 15[4]; *TWr* have *Hleðiólfr*, 'door-wolf' *i.e.* 'shield-wolf,' a good kenning for sword, and a suitable dwarf-name. The *Dverga heiti* have *Hljóðólfr*, 'howl-wolf,' also a good dwarf-name. But *Hleðiólfr* is probably the original because it is a kenning and harder to understand than *Hljóðólfr*, and the more difficult reading as a rule is the older. The innovation of the *Dverga heiti* was of the third sort. *U* has *Hleiðólfr*. *Hleið-* means nothing. It is simply a blunder, a change of the first sort. *H* has *Hlévargr*, 'lee-wolf,' *i.e.* 'lee-outlaw,' which may well mean 'the outlaw buried in the sheltered spot,' a possible dwarf-name, but not a brilliant invention. This was again a change of the third sort. The transmitter remembered that the word had to alliterate with *h* and that it contained something about a wolf; he satisfied these conditions. It is very evident that oral transmission played a part here. *R's Hlévangr* must rest on faulty oral or written transmission of *Hlévargr*. *Hlévangr*, 'lee-plain,' *i.e.* 'sheltered plain,' is a normal word but in no sense a dwarf-name. It is a change of the second sort. The *Dverga heiti* contain a fairly good dwarf-name in *Aurvargr*, 'gravel wolf,' *i.e.* 'outlaw buried in the gravel,' but *R* and *H* have *Aurvangr*, 'gravel-plain,' in *Vsp.* 13[7], a sensible word but one that tells nothing about dwarves. It is a change of the second sort from the original *Aurvargr*. In *Vsp.* 15[3] *R* and *H* have *Haugspori*, *UWr* have *Hugstari*, *757* also has *Hugstari* and *748* has *Hǫgstari*. All three are excellent dwarf-names, but *Hugstari*, being in *MSS* of two separate streams of transmission, was evidently the original name. These changes are of the third sort. In *Vsp.* 12[1] *R* has *Veigr*, 'strength,' decidedly suspect as a dwarf-name because it is the only abstract noun in the lot, *H* has *Veggr*, 'wedge,' *U* has *Viggr*, 'axe-bit,' *Wr* have *vigr*, 'spear,' three suitable dwarf-names. On account of the name *Kíli*, 'wedge,' one suspects that *Veggr* is here the original, but there is no proof. The change to *Veigr* was of the first sort, and if our suspicion is correct, those to *Viggr* and *Vigr* are of the third. There are other such changes, but these instances are sufficient to show that transmitters have again and again put in suitable new dwarf-names for old ones that were not well transmitted to them. The transmitters could draw independently from a fund of living tradition.

[85] See n. 68 above.

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modern times an actual belief in the dwarf as evidenced by local traditions is limited to certain districts in northern Jutland, that there were in earlier modern times in the Scandinavian countries certain sporadic instances of local traditions well known to the North which may be survivors of a former richer store, that however the concept of the dwarf and pictures of his life and activities were through wandering tales, *Märchen*, creations of fancy rather than belief, the stock of these tales was increased by import. De Boor's study of the old period convinced him that also the former conditions did not differ greatly from the present. The results of my own study agree with those of de Boor. Setting aside a few exceptions for which reasons can be found and an added few due to the ineptitude of author or scribe, the dwarf-names are contemporary transparent creations which could be understood by any Icelander of the time. Most of them were undoubtedly created on the basis of descriptions of dwarves in current imaginative tales.

The fact that, with the exceptions which have been already noted, no ancient heroic names were applied to the dwarves—no old compounds which linguistic changes had fused into a unit separable only by trained scholars—shows that the naming of dwarves was not an ancient custom. It is rather a part of the learned Icelandic renascence of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This same fact raises a further question which our material does not enable us to answer: do the dwarves belong to ancient Scandinavian lore or are they an importation from elsewhere?

De Boor makes certain minor exceptions to his general statement; he finds that some details do go back to a real folk-belief, *viz.* the dwarf as a skilled craftsman and as a dweller in a rock. I would add to the exceptions certain details that did not occur in his material; first, a group of names that from its very nature goes back to local traditions and therefore to real belief, the names constructed in terms of the place where the corpse lies buried second, in all probability, the group of names which describes the dwarf's activities in life or after death. Such names may have originally belonged to local traditions of *draugar*, and have been attracted to the dwarf-names because the dwarves are also *draugar*.

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XLIII

MARIE DE FRANCE: PSYCHOLOGIST OF COURTLY LOVE

IF ONE wishes to bother, one may divide mankind into two classes: those who judge their fellows by predetermined laws of conduct, and those who merely observe their fellows for what they are. Bunyan and Tolstoy are typical of the former class; Shakspere and Jane Austen of the second.

Marie de France was a sort of mediæval Jane Austen. Both women knew their set, they knew their sex, and they knew little more of life. But that little they knew well, and of that little they wrote well, for both had the knack of story-telling. Both steered a sure course between sentimentality and cynicism; their writings reveal a general deftness, a perfect tact—"restraint," as it is sometimes called—and a nice analysis of motives, from which spring plots that fit the characters as inseparably and yet as flexibly as the skin fits the hand. Jane is dryer, and more steadily ironical, though *Chaitivel* indicates that Marie could also be ironical; indeed, we might label their chief spiritual difference by saying that Jane is British through and through, but Marie is French.

Marie's great strength lies chiefly in the fact that she was a woman in an age when the cult of womanhood was becoming all but a religion. The predetermined laws of conduct for her set were being carefully formulated by the Courts of Love. To understand her work, we need not memorize the elaborate rules, the essential virtues, which soon turned the art of love into a science; for Marie, being woman, could not idealize her sex as the men did; and once the essential adoration was punctured, the heart was gone out of the whole system. She respected her sex, of course; but she had enough cattiness in her not to respect all of it. Her heroines fare a shade worse than her heroes at times, though none of the men are wholly perfect, either.

The inevitable result was that Courtly Love could interest her only for its actual results, not for its theoretical possibilities. She did not judge (whether to praise or condemn) her characters by its laws,—which indeed were still fluid; she observed, rather, the effect of those laws upon them. She was a Realist, not a Moralist. No elaborate formality confused her; no intoxicating ideal fooled her. Real love interested her above all things; true lovers always

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had her sympathy. But love was not inevitably the source of all good: it might elevate, it could also brutalize. Her heroes seldom feel called upon to display their devotion in extravagant adventure or equally extravagant displays of emotion; her heroines knew no need of appearing cruelly indifferent across the years; her husbands, if hateful—and that not always—are so because of genuine incompatibilities. Always Marie kept in touch with men and women as they actually are; cool of brain, tender of heart, keen of eye, she knew her world and recorded it faithfully.

This constant reference to reality is precisely what made her lays seem so fresh in her day as well as in ours. Contemporary readers might have noted that the characters departed occasionally from the established laws of courtly conduct; none the less as all such departures were towards reality, they were welcome. For the lays are primarily human. And as humanity is too various, too subtle, to be pigeon-holed easily, students have had difficulty in fitting Marie's lays into the set traditions.

None the less, she *was* a formalist in her way. She had all the mediæval instinct for classification; yet since her instinct had been shifted from the laws of love to types of human beings, she classified human beings, not as they should have acted according to code, but as they really did. And here, I think, lies the key to her method of composition. In all the lays, there is not one main character which does not stand out distinctly from all the others.[1] At first glance, of course, they do look alike. All the knights are *pruz* and *curteis*, all the ladies are *beles* and *sages*; but these are only the stock ideals with which lovers even of today endow their beloved. The real test comes in how they act, not in how they first appear through the glamour of an emotion notoriously deceptive.

These differences in Marie's characters can hardly be accidental, for as we compare and contrast them, we discover an extraordinary state of affairs. The lays fit together into distinct couplets or quadruplets, as though one suggested the next by the simple process of inverting the situation or the characters. This process is so marked that it can easily be reduced to a chart.

[1] In saying this, I am aware that I am contradicting predecessors. Emil Schiött devotes pp. 29–66 of his *L'Amour et les Amoureux dans les Lais de Marie de France* (Lund, 1889), to pointing out similarities. W. A. Neilson (*Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, [Harvard] *Stud. and Notes in Phil. and Lit.*, VI, 185) is content to quote Schiött's list of eight adjectives commonly applied to the knights, and let it go at that.

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1. The Realistic Lays

The simplest case is to be found in *Laustic* and *Chievrefueil*, which one naturally associates if only because they are the two shortest lays—both under two hundred lines. They are both anecdotes, not stories such as the others are; that is, they are single incidents, culminating in one neat touch. In each case there are the usual three agonists: the two lovers and the unsympathetic husband. In *Laustic* the lovers are faithful and innocent; in *Chievrefueil*, the lovers are faithful but not innocent. In *Laustic*, the lovers have arranged a means to converse; in *Chievrefueil*, the lovers' means of conversing has been stopped. In *Laustic*, the suspicious husband learns of the meetings; in *Chievrefueil*, the suspicious husband does not learn of one particular meeting. In *Laustic*, by a delicate device, the lady explains to the man that their meetings must cease; in *Chievrefueil*, by a delicate device, the man explains to the lady that they can arrange a meeting. Now these two lays are the shortest and the simplest; and since the whole point depends upon the delicacy of the devices, the emphasis for once is laid upon the plot. But when we get into the longer lays, the characters have a chance for development.

Eliduc and *Chaitivel* group themselves together (in spite of discrepancy of length) because these are the two most individualistic in their psychological analyses. They also fit in other ways. *Eliduc* is a tale of unselfishness rewarded; *Chaitivel* is a tale of selfishness unrewarded. The chief character in *Eliduc* is a polygamous knight; the chief character in *Chaitivel* is a polyandrous woman. The adjectives are harsh, maybe; but cannot be applied with much justice to any other of Marie's characters. The hero in *Eliduc* is a good husband, but weak before another love; the hero in *Chaitivel* is a good lover, but weak in being unable either to win or to abandon love. The heroine in *Eliduc* is unselfish, yet capable of choosing and winning her love against his will; the heroine in *Chaitivel* is selfish, yet unable to choose her lover for all his willingness, and even when fate does that for her, she cannot give herself to him. In neither lay is there a villain. In *Eliduc* the rivals live; in *Chaitivel* the rivals die. In *Eliduc*, the man enjoys both women; in *Chaitivel*, the women does not enjoy any of the four men. *Eliduc* ends, after much exchange of pity, with all the characters making the final sacrifice by devoting their lives to God; *Chaitivel* ends, after much self-pitying, in singular state of futility, with selfishness still triumphant,—as strong a contrast to *Eliduc* as could possibly be imagined.

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The next pair of lays, *Les Dous Amanz* and *Equitan*, is rather simpler to compare. The lovers of both lays seek the same thing: marriage to each other. In the first lay they are unmarried; in the second they are adulterers. The first couple are excellent sports (the girl refuses to elope, for fear of grieving her father, and the youth refuses to drink the potion that will magically strengthen him); the second couple are the reverse: an unscrupulous, sensual king, and a weak, erring wife, who far from being good sports, are willing to commit murder if by that means they can arrange matters a trifle better. *Les Dous Amanz* ends with the lovers dying together (the man first, the girl afterwards, of grief) in an attempt to fulfil the condition which hinders their marriage; *Equitan* ends with the lovers dying together (the man, first the woman afterwards, of shame) in an attempt to get rid of the person who hinders their marriage.

These four lays, *Eliduc*, *Chaitivel*, *Les Dous Amanz*, and *Equitan*, form together a complete treatment of selfishness and its opposite. *Eliduc* is concerned with unselfishness rewarded; *Chaitivel*, selfishness unrewarded: *Les Dous Amanz*, unselfishness unrewarded; and *Equitan*, selfishness rewarded but punished.

Equitan, as one of Marie's two lays in which her sympathy is with the husband and against lovers, is also closely connected to *Bisclavret*, as we shall see later.

Milun and *Le Fraisne*, the last of the realistic lays, as distinguished from the lays dealing with the supernatural, are grouped together by Schiött, because they are the only two in which love does not completely dominate the story: in *Milun* we are also interested in the combat between father and unknown son; in *Le Fraisne* in the hatred of the mother for the unknown daughter.[2] These secondary motifs, it may be pointed out, are satisfactorily adjusted in both lays, when the parents recognise their children: Milun his son, and the mother her daughter. The main plots also show the same parallels. The hero in *Milun* is a perfect lover, except that he cannot arrange a marriage; the hero in *Le Fraisne* is a perfect lover, except that he agrees to a marriage of convenience. In *Milun* it is the heroine who, though a perfect mistress, agrees to her lover's marriage of convenience; the heroine in *Le Fraisne* is a mistress so perfect that she is willing to sacrifice all for the marriage for her *ami* to another. In neither lay is there a real villain. Milun, separated from his son, whom he has never seen, finally encounters him unexpectedly, feels a premonitory

[2] Schiött, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

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affection, inquires, discovers that the supposed enemy is his child, accepts him gladly and the family lives happily together thereafter. The mother in *Le Fraisne* is separated from her daughter at birth, finally encounters her unexpectedly, feels a premonitory affection, inquires, discovers that the supposed enemy is her child, and accepts her gladly, with the result that all goes happily thereafter. In *Milun* the son learns the situation and offers to arrange matters so that the two lovers can be married. In *Le Fraisne* the mother plays this rôle.

There is a complication in parallelism here, however, for the father-son situation at the end of *Milun* is a direct contrast to the father-son situation at the end of *Yonec*. But this must be dealt with later.

So far, I think, it is perfectly obvious how Marie's mind has been working, whether or not she was conscious of it. Her workmanship, however, is usually so cool and deliberate that to imagine her completely ignorant of all this parallelism is going a bit far. This same parallelism moreover, disproves Schofield's contention that Marie did virtually nothing to the materials of which she built her stories. "For originality in conception or combination, we look in vain in her work," he wrote. "The great success she achieved, was apparently due to her graceful, flowing style, her good taste, and possibly to her unusual opportunities."[3] And elsewhere: "She does not seem to have done more than recount what she has read or heard."[4]

Professor Schofield came to this conclusion, I think, because in his search for analogues he noted the similarities but not the differences. Now when a writer uses well-known themes, his art lies in subtilizing the original or in varying from it. The variation is in itself an emphasis. So we judge the Greek dramatists; so we must judge Marie. But when Professor Schofield discovers a variation, he is likely to find it inexplicable.[5] Thus, Marie's Guingamor comes upon a lady bathing, and takes possession of her clothes, but when she reproves him he is so abashed that he gives them back, after which she commends his courtesy and accepts him as a lover. The obvious analogue is the lay of *Graelent*, where under similar circumstances, Graelent acts like a boor, forcing the

[3] W. H. Schofield: "The Lays of Graelent and Lanval," *PMLA*, xv (1900), 163.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 151; also, his "Lay of *Guingamor*" ([Harvard] Stud. and Notes Phil. and Lit., V), pp. 224, 235–6, 237, 238.

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lady to come out of the water for her clothes, and then ravishing her. Marie, then, changed the original brute (if we take Graelent as nearer the original characterization)[6] into a blushing, courteous youth on the verge of his first love; the fact that he acted so much more decently than Graelent was probably a delightful surprise that seemed like a stroke of genius to Marie's courtly audience, who were much concerned with the laws of knightly behavior just at that time. At least, such is my theory.

Let us take a specific incident that puzzled Professor Schofield. The "Potiphar's Wife episode" in Guingamor is named for its familiar analogue, and is indeed a stock situation. But how does Marie handle it? The queen, having caught at Guingamor, is left holding his cloak. She has evidence which she can use against him, in true Biblical fashion. "In the poem however, the point of the incident is lost. The queen, unlike Potiphar's wife, makes no use of the mantle. She simply returns it by a messenger," says Professor Schofield.[7] But is the point lost? Is it not rather that the queen here is deliberately contrasted to the wife in *Genesis*? Is she not a lady, terrified at her act, and getting rid of the incriminating evidence, without one thought of making a public row over it? Indeed, may she not be acting as courteously about Guingamor's garment as he does later about the fairy's? May not Marie have intended this parallelism? And if the earlier part of my paper be sound, then Marie certainly had it in her mind to contrast this queen (who is evidently not evil, though dominated by her feelings twice: the first time when on the way to chapel she sees Guingamor, and the second time when after dinner she fears his moodiness will betray her) with the sensual and more experienced queen in *Lanval* (Guenevere, who was notorious as an adulteress, who breaks out into shocking speech at the time of her disappointment, and who then in a fit of rage attempts the Egyptian trick, though without the evidence).

Dr. Tom Peete Cross, writing since Professor Schofield, has indicated several places where Marie's original plots have been rationalized or modernized.[8]

There is little need to labor the point further. We are safe in

[6] G. L. Kittredge: "Launfal," *Amer. Journ. Phil.* x, (1889), 17.

[7] Lay of *Guingamor*, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

[8] "Celtic Elements in the Lays of Lanval and Graelent," *Mod. Philol.*, xii, (1915), 25; "The Celtic Origin of the Lay of Yonec," *Revue Celtique*, (1910) pp. 47, 48–9.

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saying that Marie did not merely write down in rime the stories that she had heard. She selected material, combined and compressed it, bringing it up to date, refining it, and making it sensible, and all this with a sense of short-story structure that is modern rather than mediæval. Her remarkable intuition developed most of the devices catalogued in modern hand-books of short-story technique: exposition, characterization, motivation, setting, economy,[9] proportion, suspense, climax, but above all, characterization. We can almost be sure how she conceived these stories. Having observed one personality, equipped him with an appropriate heroine, and led the two to the appropriate solution of the plot, she then took his opposite, placed him in the same situation, with an appropriate heroine, and demonstrated how tragedy replaced the former triumph. Then she might reverse the sexes, putting the woman in the same plight as the man had been in, and work out a new set of solutions; and by that time she had ideas which would serve for another couplet of lays. The plights and situations were, of course the stock ones into which all heroes and heroines fell; consequently, scholars have found analogues aplenty. But as the characters face them in new ways, and as there is no duplication of characters, we may reduce the whole business to a chart which is, in a way, a map of her creative sense. And unless we understand this attitude of hers towards her lays, we shall not make much of the remaining supernatural lays; for they, too, are primarily character-studies, and extremely curious ones at that.

[9] Arthur O'Shaughnessy (*Lays of France*, 2nd ed., London, 1874) retold after his own fashion five of Marie's lays. He required 840 lines to translate Marie's 160 in *Laustic;* 868 for the 254 of *Dous Amanz;* 1206 for the 240 of *Chaitivel;* 2164 for the 1178 of *Eliduc;* and 887 for the 562 of *Yonec.* Marie told the tale of *Lanval* in 664 lines; Thomas Chestre required 1045; and John Moultrie (*Poems*, London 1837), after writing 2670 lines, had got only as far as the union of Lanval with the fairy, whereupon he left his tale unfinished.

It is true, however, that the two modern poets were deliberately voluble and digressive, Moultrie after the fashion of Byron and O'Shaughnessy after the fashion of Keats. The former believed that digression was the very marrow of wit, the latter that poetry consists in lingering over mediaeval furniture and love's delights.

We might insert here another case of Marie's influence on later literature. Her *Chievrefueil* furnished the title, motto, and background for D'Annunzio's tragedy in French, *Le Chevrefeuil* (Paris, 1913), which was translated into English as *The Honeysuckle* (London, 1915). His Italian version of this play, *Il Ferro* (Milano, 1914) changes the names and omits all references to Marie.

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2. The Supernatural Lays

These lays—*Bisclavret*, *Guigemar*, *Lanval*, *Guingamor*, and *Yonec*—the most popular of them all, if one may judge by the manuscripts, appear at first reading to be nothing but very pleasant fairy-stories. I intend, however, to prove that Marie wrote these with the acknowledged purpose of including "more than meets the ear"—that they are, in short, *symbolic;* that so understood, the lays are also character-studies; that Marie used symbolic supernaturalism as the fittest setting for a particular type of person (known to modern psychiatrists as "introverts"); and that these lays were constructed by the same literary methods as the other lays; and that consequently they fit quite as well into the chart.

Let us begin with Marie's avowal of her purpose. This occurs in lines 9–22 of the *Prologue* to the lays. The passage reads as follows:

Custume fu as anciëns.
ceo testimoine Preciëns,
es livres que jadis faiseient
assez oscurement diseient
pur cels ki a venir esteient
e ki aprendre les deveient,
que peüssent gloser la letre
e de lur sen le surplus metre.
Li philesophe le·saveient,
par els meïsmes l'entendeient,
cum plus trespassereit li tens,
plus serreient sutil de sens
e plus se savreient guarder
de ceo qu'i ert, a trespasser.

It may be rendered thus: "The custom was with the ancients (to this, Priscian testifies) in the books which they anciently made, to speak quite obscurely for those who were yet to come, and who should study them, that they could gloss the letter and fill in the sense [for themselves]. The philosophers knew this; they understood it among themselves, that the more time should pass, the more subtle would [people] be in sense, and the more they would understand how to keep thenselves from passing over what was therein."

Although this passage in Priscian has never been found,[10] there can be no doubt that Marie was talking of symbolic writing.

[10] Warnke, in his *Lais der Marie de France* (3d ed., Halle, 1925, pp. 259–260), quotes the formidable opening sentence of the *Institutiones Grammaticae;* unfortunately, when disentangled, this refers merely to clearing up the grammatical

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The "ancients" indeed did write after that fashion, especially in the days of the Neo-Platonists: Iamblichos dated it back through Pythagoras to the Egyptians (*Vita Pythag*, XXIII). Origen, that early anti-Fundamentalist, insisted that so the Bible was to be read. Symbolism and allegory became popularized early by the Church; they spread rapidly and grew exceedingly intricate. By the fifth century, no less than four meanings were allowed to profound writing.[11] How symbolism and allegory fairly swamped various types of literature is in itself a study. H. O. Taylor (*Mediæval Mind* II, 43) goes so far as to write: "Allegory and symbolism were to impress the Middle Ages as perhaps no other element of their inheritance. The mediæval man thought and felt in symbols, and the sequence of his thought moved as frequently from symbol to symbol as from fact to fact." The curious reader will also find much curious material in J. Huizinga's *Waning of the Middle Ages*, especially in chapter XV, "Symbolism in its Decline."

In an age of symbolism , then, Marie challenged symbolic interpretation; yet no one hitherto has heeded that challenge. The reason I think, is simply this: in her day, symbolism was limited chiefly to religious and alchemical writings, while polite literature when it had ulterior meaning at all, ran rather to allegory. Marie's lays were obviously of a totally different *genre* from let us say, the *Roman de la Rose;* lays as a rule meant nothing but what they seemed to mean; why then look further?[12]

Through Marie's lays are obviously not allegory, they are none the less written in the obscure "philosophical" manner (as her *Prologue* indicates); consequently they were symbolic, and she knew it. Interpreted symbolically, they are as human as the rest of her lays, for the symbolism conceals the analysis of human motivation that we have found elsewhere. The fundamental laws

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errors of his predecessors, and does not explain Marie's text in any way. As Warnke failed to find the right passage, and as Priscianus Grammaticus was hardly the type of person to understand the philosophical method of secret writing, one may well suspect that "Preciens" is the wrong reference.

[11] Dante explains his four-fold system in *Il Convito*, II, 1; and the letter to Can Grande. Harry Caplan, in "The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation" (*Speculum* IV, July 1929, pp. 282–290) shows how ancient and wide-spread such systems were. The alchemists (also known as "philosophers") considered it a moral duty not to explain their sacred science clearly: their works are filled with warnings that the surface meaning was not the real meaning.

[12] The difference between symbolism and allegory is too intricate a subject for discussion here. I must reserve my material for a forthcoming article.

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that obtain in her Brittany also obtain in her Avalon. Her literary technique differs only in the use of symbolic supernaturalism, which was appropriate because she was dealing with another class of persons: that class which lives so much more in the brain-world than in the world of matter, that they may become pathological cases.

Let us start with *Bisclavret*, which has its complement in *Equitan*. Bisclavret is a were-wolf,—a mediæval Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. As a Dr. Jekyll he is known to his spouse and loved by his neighbors; but when he feels Mr. Hyde emerging, he leaves them, to roam as a beast, naked in the forests of the night. His clothes he conceals in an old chapel, which is as though he resigned his humanity into God's safe-keeping. We might even go farther and say that his return, after his beastly adventures, to the chapel for his clothes suggests confession, after which he emerges clothed and in his right mind.

His wife coaxes the secret of his absence from him. He trusts her love enough to tell her of his double life, but he has overestimated her affection. She is so horrified that at once she confides in a lover, who hitherto had been kept courting her ineffectually. Then, when the baron is in one of his fits, they steal the clothes and thus leave him exposed naked to the world. (In modern times, such a woman would expose her husband in court, and let the world think that the man was permanently lost.) Henceforth he seems a mere beast, and is considered fair game.

Bisclavret, thus disguised, is defenceless against the world. The king himself hunts him, but is disarmed by the beast's gentleness and humility, which indeed wins him back a place in human life at the court. Only twice does he exhibit rage: once at the lover, and once at his faithless wife, whom he marks as an adulteress by tearing off her nose, for such was the traditional punishment. Had he not yet been in bestial form, he might not have done so. His actions rouse suspicion; the whole tale comes out; his clothes are restored; and he is a man clad once more in respectability. The king banishes the lovers, the mark of whose sin continues among their descendants:

> plusurs des femmes del lignage,
> c'est veritez, senz nes sunt nees
> e si viveient esnasees.
>
> L'aventure qu'avez oïe
> veraie fu, n'en dutez mie.

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The parallels with *Equitan* are simple.[13] In spite of the difference of the characters Marie's sympathy lies with husbands and not with the lovers, though in *Bisclavret* the husband is hardly the decent person that the husband in *Equitan* is. The rôle of the lovers is reversed: in *Bisclavret* the wife plans the whole thing and calls in the lover to help her; in *Equitan*, the adulterous king is the aggressor, while the wife is chiefly weak. Yet it is also true that both wives plan the scheme to get rid of their husbands for the sake of their lovers; both lovers actually execute the schemes; and both pairs, caught in their own devices, are eliminated, while both husbands come into their own again.

Bisclavret presents no particular symbolic difficulties; in fact a summary is virtually sufficient to establish the meaning hidden beneath the tale of the loup-garou. But with the four remaining lays, *Guigemar*, *Lanval*, *Guingamor*,[14] and *Yonec*, one must tread warily indeed, for they are very dextrously interwoven and contrasted, and very subtly though painstakingly symbolized.

All four lays deal with repressed persons. Guigemar, Lanval, and Guingamor have not yet known woman,—in fact, the first two have actually become notorious for their abstinence; while Guingamor has escaped scandal only because of his extreme youth.[15] The heroines of *Guigemar* and *Yonec* have both married old men, so they are almost as badly off. The fairy mistresses and hawk-knights represent ideals, whether in or out of the flesh; for only in Avalon (the imagination) are their lovers usually made happy.

Let us begin with *Guigemar*. He is a perfect knight, except for his coldness towards women:

Plusurs l'en requistrent suvent,
mais il n'aveit de ceo talent:
nuls ne se pout aparceveir
que il volsist amur aveir.
Pur ceo le tienent a peri
e li estrange e si ami.

[13] Schiött (*op. cit.*, p. 24) has also noted their similarity.

[14] *Guingamor* is not included in the manuscript collections of Marie's lays, but so many have accepted it as the only anonymous lay which really seems to be of her composition, that I hope its place in my chart may be considered as an additional grain of evidence for ascribing it to her.

[15] Professor Schofield explains Marie's sophistication on this subject by the theory that she had been reading Geoffrey of Monmouth. See his "Lays of Graelent and Lanval," *op. cit.*, page 148, note. See also W. Hertz: *Spielmannsbuch*, (2nd ed., Stuttgart, 1900), p. 375, note 7.

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The story starts as Guigemar sets out to go hunting. This chase is the search for love (as also in *Guingamor*; later it developed into the stock form known as the *Jagdallegorie*).[16] Guigemar takes the attitude that love is a game, a chase, wherein all women are but animals, and consequently fair prey. His first victim is an appropriate one: it is a white (innocent)doe, but with the horns of a stag. (One must assume, I think that the animal was made epicene to correspond to Guigemar's taste). He shoots at the doe, succeeds, but the arrow rebounds and wounds him in the thigh. And suddenly his victim, whom he thought a mere beast, cries out in human agony, cursing him, and prophesying that the wound in his thigh shall never be cured except by a woman who truly loves him, and whom he loves in return.

Guigemar's adventure, then, has failed. In brutal sensuality he has tried to cure his soul; but far from proving his manhood, he finds that he has given it an all but mortal wound, which needs all but a miracle to remedy it:

Il set assez e bien le dit
qu'unkes femme nule ne vit,
a qui il aturnast s'amur
ne kil guaresist de dolur.

In his anguish he rides away to hide from all his comrades (141-144); he wanders vaguely until he comes to an empty ship. Before he knows it, he finds himself drifting, alone and helpless at the mercy of fate. On the boat is a marvelous bed made by Solomon;[17] thereon Guigemar lies in agony and prayer, until he sinks into profound unconsciousness.

[16] See Neilson, *Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, pp. 120–123.

[17] In fact, the whole ship is the Ship of Solomon, later famed in Grail legend; and as such this is its first appearance in literature. As the dates of Marie and the sources of the Grail material are all so vague, we must welcome the Ship as one more positive fact tending towards the solution of a great puzzle.

The Ship of Solomon does not appear in the works of Chrétien de Troyes or his immediate followers, but it does appear in the *Queste del Saint Graal* (ed. Pauphilet, Paris, 1923, pp. 222–6) and in the *Lestoire del Saint Graal* (ed. Sommer, *Vulgate Version Arthurian Romances*, Washington, 1909, I, 133–7) where the passages are virtually identical; Malory's corresponding version is to be found in Bk. XVII, chs. 2–7. I am indebted to Mr. John Marshall for starting me on this note by calling my attention to the Ship in Malory.

What interests us here, however, is that Marie is using what was probably a recognized symbol: a fact which lends support to the theory that these lays are symbolic. In the *Lestoire del Saint Graal* the symbolism has been allegorized at great length. If we could only find Marie's source, we could speak positively on

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The story now shifts to the predestined lady, the young wife of a *vielz gelus*, who is so fearful of being cuckolded that he forces her to live behind high walls and see no man but himself and an old priest, who was hardly a man at all, for "les plus bas membres out perduz" (257). The lady's bed-chamber, however, was frescoed all about with subjects one might have thought the husband or priest would have censored:

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just what that Ship meant to her and to her auditors. Solomon, of course, was noted as a pessimist, on account of *Ecclesiastes;* after having been deceived by a woman, he became a woman-hater. These facts would cause the bed to signify complete despair and chastity. And these facts appear in the later versions of the Ship.

Marie's account of the Ship differs from these later accounts chiefly by omission. She includes the beauty of its workmanship, its emptiness, its power of self-motion, the exquisite bed, and the name of Solomon (which, however, she applies only to the bed and not to the ship). She adds merely two golden candlesticks at the head of the bed. But she omits the sword of David, the crown of Solomon, the three spindles from the Tree of Life, and the elaborate explanations. Were all these things added after her day? Or did she eliminate those details not to her purpose (in accordance with what is usually supposed to have been her literary method)? I tend to favor the latter theory: I suspect that the drifting was sufficiently significant for her not to dwell upon the Ship longer; and that she attached Solomon's name to the bed rather than to the Ship, because she wished to emphasize the fact that Guigemar's soul was lying exhausted on a bed of pain.

The later explanations of which we have spoken do not contradict this conclusion, though they expand it into rather startling religious directions. According to *Lestoire del Saint Graal:* "par la nef dois tu entendre [saint eglise] & par la meir le monde" (*op. cit.*, p. 139). With this interpretation in mind, Guigemar is drifting through the world in the arms of the Church; and Marie certainly represents him as in prayer. The bed, however, comes to mean the Cross itself: "or te dirai que li lis senefie qui en mi la neif estoit [li lis qui tant estoit &] biaus & riches & aournes de toutes uertueuses coses senefie la sainte table ou li fiex dieu est cascun iour sacrefijes la ou li uins est mues en sanc & li pains en char par la force des saintes paroles & des hautes qui amenteues i sont par la bouce de la boineuree persone qui de ce sentremet. par le lit dois tu entendre la sainte crois ou li fiex dieu par sa grant deboinarete fu sacrifies por raenbre de la pardurable paine lumain lignage qui par pechie mortel uient de iour en iour & plus estoit trebuchies es tenebres dinfer. par le lit dois tu entendre signe dassouagement & de repos par quoi on doit le lit a la crois comparer por samblable cose. Car tout ausi comme apres le lassete del trauail requiert chascuns terriens hom le repos du lit. tout ausi dois tu entendre que apres le laseche & le trauail des grans paines & des grans angoisses dinfer prist le lignage humain repos & souagement en large don que li fiex dieu fist de soi meismes en la uraie crois a cel iour quil sousfri mort por peceours oster de la tenebreuse prison" (pp. 139–140).

From this passage we can guess what tremendous significance any one of Marie's symbols may have meant to her.

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Venus, la deuesse d'amur,
fu tresbien mise en la peinture;
les traiz mustrot e la nature
cument hom deit amur tenir
e leialment e bien servir.
Le livre Ovide,[18] u il enseigne
coment chascuns s'amur estreigne,
en un fu ardant le getout,
e tuz icels escumenjout,
ki ja mais cel livre lirreient
ne sun enseignement fereient.

Such, I take it, was the lady's real attitude in the inmost chamber of her mind, though outwardly she was proper and timorous enough. For when the ship comes floating up to the little beach of her walled garden, she is so terrified that she wishes to flee at the strange sight. Her *meschine* or confidante, however, for all her youth is a woman of the world: she climbs on board, sees Guigemar, and thinks him dead. To her, he seems absolutely frigid. But the lady has gained courage now; she pities him (296) and discovers that he is not quite cold (300), but that his heart really beats(300–1). At the touch of her hand, he opens his eyes and sees her (303).

Mult en fu liez, si la salue;
bien set qu'il est venuz a rive.

The fearful trip is done; at last he sees woman in her true form. He confides his past to her, and adds:

Ne sai u jeo sui arivez,
coment a nun ceste citez.
Bele dame, pur Deu vus pri,
cunseilliez mei, vostre merci!
Kar jeo ne sai quel part aler,
ne la nef ne puis governer.

He need drift no longer: she brings him into the frescoed chamber —her inmost heart—but there is still a curtain between them, for being wounded, he occupies the second bed there, which hitherto has been her companion's.

Love has struck him to the quick at last; and, marvel of marvels!

[18] *De Remedia Amoris.*

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383 De sa plaie nul mal ne sent;
mult suspire anguissusement.

The original wound in the thigh has shifted to one in the heart. But he dares not speak—a contrast to the gay hunting of yore!

The lady also suffers from the same complaint. Her maid (being as we said, worldly wise) sees through them both and warns Guigemar not to be too reticent (446), for "ceste amurs sereit covenable" (451); in truth—

481 Mes ki ne mustre s'enferté
a peine puet aveir santé.
Amurs est plaie . . . . .

So Guigemar explains his new "talent" (500), easily overcomes her objections, and henceforth is at ease (530).

The doe had prophesied great sorrow to them both, but for year and a half they live together, without being discovered by husband, priest, or anybody else in the castle. Knowing that the time of discovery will come, they pledge their faith to each other: she ties a knot (a true-lover's knot?) in his shirt, which she alone can untie, and he locks a chastity-girdle about her. (These devices must also be symbolic: no man would lock his mistress up in such a girdle with no immediate and apparent cause.) They are then caught together; Guigemar appears so dangerous that he is let depart on the mysterious ship; and the lady is confined more closely yet in a tower.

Guigemar has given up drifting; he is welcomed home at once, where they pray him to marry; but no woman can untie the knot. Meanwhile the lady suffers for over two years in the tower, until she is upon the verge of suicide. Then, to her (and our) astonishment, she discovers that there is neither key nor lock to her cell (675), nor is there any guard to hinder her (677). Forth she goes, to drown herself; and lo! there, fastened to the very rock from which she had planned to plunge, is the mysterious ship! She climbs aboard—is unable to stand— lets herself drift in agony—and lands in the power of the wrong man, one Meriadus. Meriadus seizes her by the mantle, carries her off to his castle (tries to take her by force), but is baffled by the girdle. Angrily he tells her of a knight living nearby, in something of the same predicament,—in fact, he suspects her of tying the knot. The rest of the story may be cut short. Guigemar appears at a tournament; she undoes the

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knot, and he feels her girdle still in place; Meriadus observes their affection, but refuses to give her up; so Guigemar besieges the castle, takes it, and wins his mistress for good.

The surface irrationalities of *Guigemar* are certainly striking. Even if we accept the supernatural does and ships, there are still some surprising difficulties, all of which could have been removed so easily! There is an arrow-wound to be cured only by love. There is a husband who tries to keep his wife from deceiving him, yet decorates her bed-chamber with amorous frescoes, leaves free passage to any boat that cares to touch at her sea-garden, and eventually imprisons her in a cell with neither lock nor guard. We must also believe that the wife unhesitatingly lodged the first man she could in her very bed-chamber; that the two lived there undiscovered for a year and a half; that he was willing to lock her up in a chastity-girdle simply because she had a premonition that some time they must part; and that she suffered hell in prison for over two years without ever trying the door!

Now these marvels are not romantic absurdities such as delight the heart of man and child: they are absurdities pure and simple, which could all have been corrected without the slightest change in the essential plot. The arrow-would could have required a special salve, of which she alone had the recipe; the frescoes might have been anything else, or even nothing at all; Guigemar could have climbed the wall into her garden; they might have met there only by night, and with great precautions; the snapping of the lock of the girdle might have been delayed just a few seconds, until there really was occasion for it; the faithful *meschine* might have stolen the key to the lady's cell, and let her out; in fact, all these things could have been rationalized completely.

Can one possibly conclude that Marie had lost the easiest elements of her exquisite short-story technique which she has displayed in all the lays hitherto considered? Is it not more reasonable to suppose that she was deliberately irrational?—that she really intended the absurdities, to call attention to a meaning below the surface? Certainly, if we take the chase and the wound and the ship and the chamber and the prison to represent states of mind, then we discover a real and a subtle analysis of a human problem with its solution. Otherwise, nothing is left us but delightful nonsense.

In *Lanval*, Marie used the same sort of scandal about quite a different sort of person, who finds happiness in quite a different

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way. Lanval is just the opposite of Guigemar. Guigemar, whether consciously or not, tried to remedy his state of mind by treating lust as a sport; the trouble with Lanval is, on the contrary, that his ideals are rather too high. The selfish Guigemar is cured by suffering; the unselfish Lanval is nearly ruined by it. The two represent respectively the sensualist and the idealist. Guigemar learns to idealize a woman; Lanval learns to humanize an ideal.

Lanval, a knight of Arthur's court, is brave, handsome, and generous; yet somehow he is not popular (20). He is lonely and poor—"luin ert de sun heritage" (28)—though a prince in his own land. Even Arthur, "li pruz e li curteis," overlooks him at the division of the booty of the last war.

Troubled about his resultant poverty, Lanval rides out of the city. When he dismounts by a running stream, his horse trembles strongly (apparently in premonition of the strange events about to take place). Lanval lets him pasture at will; meanwhile he lies down:

> Le pan de sun mantel plia
> desuz sun chief, si se culcha—

whereupon beings from fairy-land appear. I think that we may assume that Lanval is dreaming; though it matters little whether these beings appeared to him during real sleep or a mere reverie.

These beings are two lovely damsels who have been sent by their fairy mistress to fetch Lanval. She is close by, in a very expensive pavilion, where she is lying "en sa chemise senglement" (99) and looking very lovely indeed. But her words are more enchanting yet.

She tells him that she has come far, forth from her land (Avalon) to seek him for a lover; that she will make him richer than an emperor; that she will come to him whenever he is alone and thinks of her; that discovery is impossible, for no man can see or hear her. Surely, she is the ideal mistress, young, beautiful, rich, with superhuman powers, and completely willing. There is but one condition: he must never betray his state of mind to anyone, "ne vus descovrez a nul hume!" (145)—or he will lose her forever.

Lanval agrees, swearing to give up all others for her (128). Here lies the unsuspected danger, reasonable though it may seem; for one cannot live in this world and yet sacrifice it to an ideal. It is nearly the cause of a great tragedy.

When Lanval returns, he discovers that a great change has come

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about. Everything is strangely enriched: his clothes, his horse's trappings, his men. At last he is genuinely admired and popular, although he prefers to be alone with his thoughts (255-260). He helps all those in trouble. The queen herself makes advances to him: but he, faithful to his ideal, will have nothing to do with the notorious Guenevere.

What follows is painful. The queen loses her temper; without mincing words, she tells him that he is a scandalous person, according to popular rumor:

'Lanval,' fet ele, 'bien le quit,
vus n'amez guaires tel deduit.
Asez le m'a hum dit sovent,
que de femme n'avez talent.
Vaslez amez bien afaitiez,
ensemble od els vus deduiez.'

In his indignant denial, Lanval forgets his promise to his mistress; he tells the queen of his true love, adding that one of her serving maids is better than Guenevere at any and all points. The queen goes away weeping with rage, takes to her bed, and refuses to get up until the king shall have avenged this insult. Of course her version of the affair is that Lanval attempted to force her; indignantly rejected, he then insulted her verbally.

When the case is given to the court, the barons decide that if Lanval can produce this fabulous mistress and she is all that he has boasted then his version is to be credited. But how can he exhibit to them a mistress whom no man can see or hear? His dream is broken against reality, and is ended: he invokes her fruitlessly. He can never produce her in the outer world.

As the trial proceeds, the courteous Walwain calls Lanval's attention to two girls who have just arrived; but Lanval denies that he ever saw them before. They have come to tell King Arthur to make ready for their mistress, who is on the way. The trial is hardly resumed when two more, still lovelier, appear. Walwain assures Lanval that one of them must be the famous mistress, but Lanval denies that also. The miracle is close at hand, however; the lady herself enters, wins the verdict for Lanval, and bears him off to Avalon, where presumably he lives in happiness for ever. We must surmise, I think, that, thanks to Walvain's kind prompting, Lanval at last found his ideal in the flesh, and that she welcomed him safely into the dream-world which she could make reality.

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So Lanval, in contrast to Guigemar, is the man with the ideal so intense that for long it dims reality; his difference from other men does in reality start some breath of wholly unjustified scandal (which the queen no doubt exaggerated); he suffers for it; but finally attains the ideal wife which he deserves and of whom he has so fervently dreamed.

Guingamor is the third lay which deals with masculine virginity; but in this case there is no hint of abnormality, for Guingamor is exceedingly young. The study of this blushing boy on the verge of his first love is done so sympathetically that surely only a woman could have managed it.

3 Veritez est ceo que dirai.

Guingamor is the beloved nephew of the king. One day he cannot go hunting—he has just been bled; so he plays chess at the castle with his close friend, the seneschal. The queen, on her way to chapel, sees him and is instantly struck with his beauty.

Une grant piece s'arestut,
n'ala avant ne ne se mut:
45 beals li sembla de grant mesure
de cors, de vis e de faiture.
Cuntre une fenestre seeit:
uns rais de soleil li veneit
el vis, ki tut l'enluminout
50 e bone colur li donout.
Tant l'a la reïne esguardé.
que tut en change sun pensé;
pur sa bealté, pur sa franchise
de l'amur de lui ert esprise.

This queen, as we have said elsewhere, is a complete contrast to Guenevere. Though but a thumb-nail version, she is rather liker to Chaucer's Criseyde. We see her first on her way to chapel; we must pity her that "ariere s'en vait" (55): for, after all, Courtly Love approved such turnings aside.

She sends her maid for Guingamor; he comes, but—

68 cil ne se pot aperceveir
pur quei li fet si bel semblant.

She tells him that he can set his hopes high; that he is loved by a lady of the greatest worth in the kingdom. He answers that

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he has never even heard speak of her. The queen then says that he should love her, the queen; the stupid boy answers that he does, for is she not the king's wife? A third time she speaks, and kisses him; he understands at last, blushes, is speechless, and flees. She tries to stop him, but catches only his mantle. Terrified lest the king hear of it, she tells her maid to return the mantle. The maid puts it round his shoulders again, but he is so upset that he never notices it.

The king returns from hunting; at the feast that follows, Guingamor is patently silent. That kiss, one must conclude, has opened new possibilities to him. The queen's momentary affection, however has been turned to a natural resentment: her one impulse is to get rid of him. She taunts the barons with the fact that, for all their boasting, not for a thousand pounds would they dare hunt the white boar in a certain forest.

165 Guingamors a bien entendu
qu'ele a pur lui cest plet meü;

although the king says that the adventure is too dangerous—already he has lost ten knights in that forest—Guingamor finally persuades the king to let him go.

Guingamor is not the perfect huntsman, however; he soon loses boar and dog in the beautiful morning. Then he finds them again, and the boar leads him across the perilous river, where he comes upon a marvelous palace. Forgetting the boar, he enters. The rooms seem made of the very stones of Paradise, but no living creature can he find. He goes out,—but the boar is lost again.

401 Or est Guingamors escharniz:
'Par fei', fet il, 'jeo sui traïz.'

Again the boar passes; again he follows; again he is diverted. For he comes upon a naked maiden of great beauty, bathing in a fountain.

By this time the reader will have guessed that this chase is another *Jagdallegorie*. Guingamor, remembering the queen's kiss, and ashamed of his flight and her taunts, is out to seek proof of his own virility. Hence he is represented as hunting a boar (white, as Marie charitably paints it); not a doe, for his desire is wholly uncentered as yet. He has not learned that virile self-assertion is subordinate to true love. The palace must be identified with its mistress, the bathing beauty. When he meets her first, the cham-

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bers indeed suggest paradise, but he can find nothing human there: that is why he feels "traïz" and turns from this marvelous adventure (395) back to hunting the boar. He wants to sow a few wild oats, but that appears impossible with this woman: consequently he feels that he is wasting his time. This whole business of catching and losing sight of the boar seems carefully planned to symbolize the alternation of his selfish instincts and the disclosure that love is unselfish. But at the fountain, by accident he has caught the woman in an unguarded moment, and for the first time sees what the nature of woman is.

His first impulse is to steal her clothes and hold her at his mercy.[19] She tells him, however, to be a gentleman, and offers to lodge him. So he gives back the clothes, but—what a stupid boy!—refuses the invitation. She, too, must not veil her meaning; consequently, her speech is particularly revealing as to the symbolism of the boar:

Amis, tuit cil ki sunt el munt
nel porreient hui mes trover,
tant ne s'en savreient pener,
se des mei n'aveient aïe.
Laissiez ester vostre folie;
venez od mei par tel covent,
e jeo vus promet leialment
que le sengler pris vus rendrai . . .

No boar can be got without her aid; let him forget his folly and go with her, and she will give it to him.

He goes with her, back to her enchanted palace (obviously the palace of the later love-allegories, but without its formidable detail), where all is feasting, and love-making for two days. On the third he bethinks himself that he must bring the boar home as proof of his success; indeed, she had promised him he should. But in reality the three days have been three centuries. Against her advice he goes, only to find nothing but a wild forest.

Tant la vit laide e halt creüe
que tute l'a desconeüe.

From a charcoal-maker he learns the truth: all that ancient nobil-

[19] Cf. the symbolism of the clothes in *Bisclavret*. We may go even further and suggest that the cloak episode which starts the action of *Guingamor* may typify the queen's attempt on Guingamor's virtue.

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ity is dead these many years. He himself is a legend. He sends the boar's head to the reigning king as proof of his adventure (Guingamor is concerned about his reputation to the last!) and starts to return.

This episode represents the reaction after the glamour of first love. Guingamor's mistress is a fairy simply because he sees her as such; her enchanted land is ideal through the power of love alone. The world outside is a place of disillusion; now he has learned enough to know that the court of noble lords and fine ladies is not exactly what it pretends to be. He cannot help being cynically pessimistic when he contrasts his own glorious intoxication with desolate fact.

The world outside is also a place of hunger. He has been warned to eat no worldly food; nevertheless, he helps himself to the fruit of a wild-apple tree along the road. At once he himself is infected; he becomes so old that he falls from his horse. The fruit of this world has aged his soul; he cannot return of himself to Avalon. Alas! our first parents made the same mistake with the same fruit;[20] as doubtless Marie intended us to recall.

Guingamor's mistress is merciful: as any good woman should, she drags him out of it—across the river—back to her own land.

[20] Analogues are always popular with scholars, but they seem to have overlooked the Japanese analogues to *Guingamor*. Supernatural bathing beauties whose clothes men steal are common the world over, of course; yet one must mention that masterpiece of Japanese No-drama, Seami's *Hagoromo*. (See Arthur Waley's *No-Plays of Japan*, N. Y., 1922, pp. 177–185.) A fisherman finds on the shore a robe of feathers. An angel claims it as hers, but he refuses to give it up. She cannot return to heaven without it; she cannot even keep her status as angel. When Hakuryō, the fisherman, sees her withering, he gives back the robe on condition that she show him some of the dances of heaven. She revives, dances, and finally vanishes among the clouds.

It is to be noted that Hakuryō, like Guingamor, but unlike Graelent, acts as a gentleman should. Marie, after all, is of the same sex as the Wife of Bath.

A more striking parallel to Marie's lay, however, is to be found in the ancient Japanese ballad of *Urashima*, to be found in the *Manyoshu* (early ninth century) but originally much earlier. (See W. G. Aston's *History of Japanese Literature*, Lond., 1899, pp. 39–40.) Urashima, a fisher boy, wins the love of the sea-king's daughter, and lives with her in her submarine palace for what seems to be three years. Then, against her protests, he decides to return and see his parents. She gives him a casket, with injunctions not to open it while he is away. He returns to this world, finds that he has been away three centuries, opens the casket (out of which flies a white cloud), and at once dies of old age.

Stravinsky's Soldier (*Histoire du Soldat*) also discovers that his three days with the Devil were really three years.

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We hear no more of them; yet one cannot help hoping that in Avalon old age is impossible for very long.

Yonec, the last of Marie's lays, is the most brutal and the most strange of them all. It reverses the situation in *Guigemar*, *Lanval*, and *Guingamor*, for here it is the woman who attempts to live in a world of imagination; and unlike the men's, her little attempt fails miserably. In *Guigemar* and *Guingamor*, the supernatural element always had as a core a living human being (though Guigemar undervalued his doe and Guingamor probably overestimated his bathing girl); even in *Lanval*, the day-dream finally materialized. Consequently we may guess that the hawk-prince in *Yonec* also has a core of reality, all the more as he engendered a son. Since there is virtually but one other man in the poem, my guess is that the tragedy consists of a lonely woman's attempt to idealize her husband, of his brutal smashing of the dream, and of her eventual revenge. This theory is further justified by the fact that the husband, *vielz gelus* though he be, is by no means impotent: that point is carefully emphasized. He marries for the purpose of getting an heir (19–20); he loves her beauty (24, 51); unlike the husband in *Guigemar*, he sleeps in her room (45–48); his wife complains of his vigor (93–94); he expresses no surprise when the son is born (461–462).

The woman, however, is unhappy. Her husband is old (12); he married only to get an heir (20); they sinned greatly who gave her to him (28); she is shut up in a tower with but an old widow for companion (31–36); she feels that she has married her husband's body only (88). Consequently, for all his vigor, she is given to day-dreaming about the happy, illicit ways of Courtly Love (95–104), until she frankly admits her desires to herself:

105 'Se ceo puet estre ne ceo fu,
se unc a nul est avenu,
Deus, ki de tut a poësté,
il en face ma volenté!'

The wish is parent of the thought; at once her prayer is answered. A hawk flies in the window and is transformed into a lover quite as ideal as the lady in *Lanval*. He, too, has come from a far land to seek her; he, too, has all the virtues of body and soul; he, too, ensures perfect discretion; he, too, can and will appear whenever she thinks of him (203–204). Indeed, he is of such nature that religion itself could hold no objection (such I take to be the mean-

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ing of the scene in which he receives the sacrament). Obviously, the lady's imagination has given to her desires an ideal form; the aggressive nature of the hawk suggests the powerful nature of her hidden life.

The lady now is happy, though she knows that her secret cannot last forever. She attends to her toilet once again, and recovers all her beauty (219–220); she is content in her tower.

This happiness is what betrays her. The husband, being a brute, resents even such imaginative happiness. He sets his sister, the widow, to pry out his wife's secret, and of course the widow is wholly successful. Then he fixes pointed irons all about his wife's window (without her noticing it!); and the next time the ideal lover arrives, he is mortally wounded. So the husband discovers and kills the dream.

In her despair the lady escapes from the prison into fairy-land; there she attends the death of her imaginary lover, and finally returns. As she had escaped through a window which she had never tried before, and as she returns without having attracted any attention by her absence, we must assume that the whole episode is mental. The fairy castle of silver is her own brain. There her dying dream bequeaths to her the sword of revenge and the ring of discretion, and moreover gives her a dress which covers the nakedness of her agony,—a dress which we may name 'proud reserve'. The sword is for her unborn son.

The son is born, without suspicion of paternity, although the widow had seen the hawk-knight and the lady embracing, and had told her brother, the husband. The explanation of this apparent contradiction seems to be that, though the husband is the boy's fleshly father, his father in the spiritual world was the dead dream.

The rest of the tale is brief. The boy Yonec comes of age and is dubbed knight. He travels with his parents to Carleon for the feast of St. Aaron; on the way they come to a rich abbey, where is the tomb of the hawk-knight. There the tale of his death is told them; the lady produces the sword (which apparently she had conveniently concealed about her person, though she had no warning that they were about to find the tomb); tells her son the tale of his true father; gives him the sword; and falls dead on the tomb. The son cuts off her husband's head, buries his mother in the tomb, and is made lord of the land.

Symbolically speaking, the lady bides her time till her son comes of age; she tells him the truth about her husband; then the hus-

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band is "killed" in the realm of the affections, the lady "dies" to him alone, and the ideal lives on in her son.

Yonec is the only one of the lays in which the details seem at times to be chosen merely for their marvelous nature. The trip through the "hoge" to the supernatural realm; the elaborate description of the fairy city; the two sleeping knights that the lady creeps past in the silver castle, before she finds her dying lover; and the decapitation at the tomb—all these appear rather like material from earlier legend. Usually Marie prefers happy endings, and elsewhere her decorations have complete symbolic significance. Consequently I agree with Dr. Cross ("Celtic Origin of the Lay of Yonec", *op. cit.*, p. 48) "that Marie used a very early form of the story and follows her original closely," although I do not base my conclusion upon the incongruities which he points out. Such incongruities Marie tolerated deliberately, I believe, to point more clearly towards the underlying significance.

On the other hand, if we had the original tale, we might find that the silver castle of sleeping or dying knights was a symbol at least as well-known as, say, Solomon's Ship. Marie's auditors would then have leapt at a significance which we may only suspect. As Dr. Cross has found no analogues for the castle, however, we are helpless.

Schiött (*op. cit.*, p. 21) has noted the contrast afforded by the endings of *Yonec* and *Milun*. It is even more striking than he perceived. In *Milun*, the son escapes killing his real father; offers to kill his mother's husband, but escapes that, too; and the lovers are permanently united. In *Yonec*, the son revenges the death of his dream-father by killing his mother's husband, and the lovers are permanently united—in the same tomb.

But otherwise *Yonec* belongs to the fourfold group of supernatural lays: *Guigemar*, *Lanval*, *Guingamor*, and *Yonec*. The complication of character-contrast is somewhat interwoven. Of the four heroes, Guigemar is the perverse sensualist, Lanval the supposedly perverse idealist, Guingamor the normal, innocent youth, and Muldumarec the imaginary ideal which is killed. Of the four heroines (all nameless), Guigemar's is a suppressed puritan, Lanval's an imaginary ideal which comes to life, Guingamor's an idealized but unrepressed non-puritan, and Muldumarec's a suppressed non-puritan. In *Guigemar*, the third character, who starts the complication of plot, is the doe—innocence betrayed; in *Lanval*, it is a sensual queen rebuffed; in *Guingamor*, a queen of

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higher moral character rebuffed; and in *Yonec*, a sensual old husband not rebuffed. The solutions of *Guigemar*, *Lanval*, and *Guingamor* (excluding *Yonec*, which we have tied up with *Milun*) are also interrelated by contrast. Guigemar, suffering from his acts, by pity learns love, proves his manhood, and wins his bride. Lanval, suffering from his abstention, by fidelity to his ideal wins his bride. Guingamor, without suffering, by courtesy wins his love, proves his manhood, but lapses from fidelity and suffers for his acts.

Thus we may outline, in general, a symbolic interpretation of the supernatural lays of Marie de France. This interpretation perhaps seems in part fantastic, and may indeed not agree wholly with Marie's own intentions. But that she had at least similar intentions is (I believe) definitely proved by her prologue, where she deliberately challenges investigation of symbolic meaning. Moreover, the symbols she uses are often made conspicuous by the presence of irrational features, such as do not appear in her realistic lays; and finally, elsewhere during or immediately following Marie's own time these same symbols are recognised as such.

It is not to the purpose to argue that her plots were not original, and consequently can bear no such meaning. The Faust legend has been made to bear cosmic significance; and what little evidence we have justifies us in supposing that Marie also manipulated her plots to suit herself, just as Goethe did. It is worth mentioning, perhaps, that Goethe read Marie with gusto in his old age.[21]

Nor is it to the purpose to argue that the folk-lore on which she built her tales can also bear much symbolic interpretation. We must admit that, in spite of Max Müller (who translated everything into terms of the weather) and Sigmund Freud (who preferred the phallus), fairy tales do indeed cater to unconscious and unrecognised human desires and interests. The difference lies simply in this: fairy tales do unconsciously what Marie's lays do consciously. We have her word for their consciousness.

Nor is it justifiable to say that such treatment had not adequate literary preparation. Leaving aside some modern psychologists, who argue that this very sort of symbolism is one of the essential processes of the human soul, as anyone who will bother to watch his own dreams can verify, we might point out that Marie's

[21] Goethe: *Annalen* (1820) *Sämt. Werke*, Jubiläums-Ausgabe, xxx, 345, 488.

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Fables are moral allegories (not symbols, to be sure; yet tales that require some looking below the surface); that her *Espurgatoire* points towards Dante and his elaborate system of fourfold meanings; and that if Marie was an abbess, she probably was familiar with those subtle theological works that split the very fibres of the human brain and turn the whole visible universe itself into a symbol of the unseen. If she was a psychologist by preference and training, we need exhibit no surprise that she applied symbolism to the lay.

Our real difficulty in believing that she could have worked as she did lies in our inability to get back into that state of mind when people thought quite naturally in symbols; when any object, however humble, might suddenly be opened as a window into the Platonic realm of Ideas. Our miserably scientific minds call for a dictionary of symbology, such as have been attempted from the time of Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons (who died in 450), Rabanus Maurus, Alaine de l'Ile of the twelfth century,[22] down through Swedenborg and Freud of our own days. But such efforts are foredoomed to failure. Symbols vary according to author and circumstance; consequently we must judge as far as possible by the intent of the author. The best symbols perhaps can never be explained in full. We cannot even be sure that Solomon's Ship, as used symbolically by Marie, means the same thing as the same Ship used allegorically a mere half century or so later, in the Arthurian Vulgate. Our surest guide to the meaning of symbols is in the story itself.

Moreover, one cannot always say where an object is used with intentional symbolic effect. Shall we assert that in *Laustic* the dead nightingale which the baron carries forever after, enclosed in a little casket, symbolizes the dead love, the memory of which he always carries locked in his heart? The correspondence is obvious, once it is pointed out, yet we cannot say that Marie felt it to be anything more than appropriate. In short, it is symbol on the verge of being understood as such. But one cannot doubt that in *Eliduc* Marie deliberately made both the weasels feminine because Guildeluëc and Guilliadun were also both feminine; the episode of the weasels is a clear prefiguration of the one woman's bringing the other back to life.

Such symbolism, however, is only incidental in all the realistic

[22] H. O. Taylor, *op. cit.*, II, 73.

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lays; but when the supernatural world intrudes, the symbolism becomes apparently irrational, and so must be dealt with as some thing more than mere appropriateness.

Yet how about the marvelous irrationalities in the other lays and romances of Marie's day? On turning to such a lay as *Tyolet*, we see at once that it is a crazy-quilt of astounding doings that have lost their original significance, though the original significance peeps through at times—but meaninglessly. Or take a work like Chrétien's *Yvain:* the rain-making fountain is merely a bit of primeval magic, remembered and utilized because the hero needs some extraordinary adventure. Heroes go forth merely to prove their prowess; they embark on no Odysseys. The forest of Broceliand is a mere forest; it is not the forest "*nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita,*" or even the forest where Guingamor goes a-hunting. But in Marie's lays, every action, almost every object, corresponds to some fact in the souls of her characters.

As a classifier of these souls, Marie takes her place as a forerunner of Chaucer. But since she was a woman of noble blood, her knowledge of life was much more limited. She would have loved Madame Eglantyne, forgiven Criseyde without effort, and ignored the Wife of Bath. She lacked Chaucer's breadth and gusto, his pervading humor, his deep sense of ironic drama. She did not know the world at large. Consequently she could elaborate no Canterbury pilgrimage. Her lays form no "Human Comedy."

Yet they do form a "Courtly Comedy," and in this small sphere she is exceedingly fine. Her subtle analyses of human love, her well-organized plots,her sensitiveness to pleasant sights and sounds —all these are her own. But when in using traditional material in traditional form, she modifies it with her keen sense of life as it was actually lived about her,—then her analysis and classification of her little world place her far beyond her contemporaries, and well in sight of Chaucer.

A terminal word about *les contes que jo sai verais.* Showing the knowingness of a trained story-teller, Marie peppered her text with assurances that all she tells is true—*la verité mun escïent.* This fact would hardly be worth the noting did we not find all her critics taking her for a fool. A contemporary, Denis Piramus, was careful to remark that her tales *ne sunt pas de tut verais.* Now, as tetrameter couplets such as he was writing tempt one to pad, and as the taste of the times did not object to padding, he may merely have been filling out his couplet. Surely tales of hawks

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who turn into knights, and husbands who turn into wolves should raise no such controversy. Yet Mrs. Ann Radcliffe, in her archeological romance, *Gaston de Blondeville*, echoed Piramus! "Maria the French Poetess . . . . had presented her book to the King, full of marvelous histories, right pleasureful to hear, although they were not all true, nathless she had said to the contrary in the preamble to her book."[23] Perhaps Mrs. Radcliffe took Piramus too seriously, and found his stern regard for truth a bit of mediæval naïveté which made a neat touch for her romance. That should have been an end of the matter.

Yet modern critics have also branded Marie a fool. Gaston Paris (*Romania* XIV, page 607) wrote: "*Elle les croyait absolument vrais*;" a remark quoted and amplified by Emil Schiött at the very beginning of his essay to which we have referred so often.

We prick up our ears. Of course we are heartily weary of the old theory that the Middle Ages were times of complete naïveté; yet perhaps Marie insisted on the truth of the tales with more deliberation than one might guess at first. Perhaps they *were* true, though not true as history; perhaps her warnings were but another device to call our attention to the deeper meaning.[24]

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[23] Ann Radcliffe: *Gaston de Blondeville* (Lond., 1831) II, 110–111. In III, 85–86, she adds a historical note on Marie.

[24] I wish to express my indebtedness to Professor F. P. Magoun, who not only introduced me to Marie de France, but also gave me the great advantage of his advice on my manuscript.

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XLIV

RIME AND REASON

WHEN we say that an act or a statement is without rime or reason, we mean, I suppose, that the thing said or done was utterly without justification or excuse, that there was no reason or occasion for it. Alliteration makes the phrase emphatic. The appropriateness of "reason" in the formula seems obvious enough; but the meaning of "rime," in this connection is more obscure. The purpose of this brief discussion is to suggest a plausible origin of the formula and to explain the meaning of "rime" in the phrase—in other words, to show that the formula itself is not "without rime or reason."

So far as I can discover, there has been very little discussion of this alliterating combination of words. Many years ago the question was raised in *Notes and Queries* in this fashion:

> Rhyme nor Reason—These words are used together of course for alliteration's sake, as we say 'sense and sound.' The exigencies of rhyme might possibly be admitted as an excuse for want of reason, but that which is 'without rhyme or reason' admits of no excuse whatever. There is something like this in Samuel Rowland's 'The Knave of Clubs,' 1600 (Percy Society, IX, 27). An unfaithful wife on the point of detection, forms a plan to save herself, and instructs her gallant thus:
>
> Drawe out your weapon, and goe not swearing downe,
> Look terrible (I neede not teach you frowne),
> And vow you'le be revenged some other time,
> And then leave me to make the reason rime.[1]

One might remark in passing that the verses quoted do not seem very apt for the writer's purpose. However that may be, the note called forth this letter from Professor Skeat:

> "I merely write 'to make a note' that the phrase seems to be of considerable antiquity, and is probably of French origin. In a Ms. written before 1500 (Camb. Univ. Ll 2, 5, fol. 9b) is this line,
>
> *En toy na Ryme ne Raison*, i.e., there is neither rime nor reason in thee."[2]

And there the discussion ended, no new light having been thrown on the formula except Skeat's suggestion of its antiquity and probable French origin. I believe that the juxtaposition of the two words

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, X, 116.

[2] W. W. Skeat in *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, X, 236.

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is very ancient and that for an explanation we must go back to medieval Latin.

Now the medieval Latin words that gave us *rime* and *reason* were respectively *rithmus* (*rythmus*) and *ratio*, terms commonly used by the medieval grammarians in their discussions of prosody and verse. *Rythmus* meant accentual as distinguished from metrical verse, as in the following passage from Marius Victorinus (Lib. I, *Artis Gram.*):

Rythmus: est pedum temporumque junctura velox, divisa in arsi vel thesi, vel tempus, quo syllabas metimur . . . . . Differt autem Rythmus a metro, quod metrum in verbis, Rythmus in modulatione ac motu corporis sit, et quod metrum pedum sit quaedam compositio, rythmus autem temporum inter se ordo quidam; et quod metrum certo numero syllabarum vel pedum finitum sit, rythmus autem numquam numero circumscribatur. Nam ut volet, protrahit tempora, ita ut breve tempus plerumque longum efficiat, longum contrahat. Unde et rythmus, id est a rhysi et fluore quodam, nuncupatur.[3]

From this it appears that *rythmus* was verse not composed in accordance with fixed laws regulating the number of syllables and the alternation of longs and shorts, but relying upon modulation, i.e., intonation or inflection involving pitch and stress. A short syllable might be lengthened and a long syllable shortened, and either might receive the accent or be stressed. Thus from the metrical point of view *rythmus* lacked *ratio*: it was *sine ratione* (sans raison). It was rime without reason.[4]

This distinction between metrical verse (metrum) and modulated verse (rythmus) is made by other grammarians:

Rhythmus, quid est? Verborum modulata composita [sic] non metrica ratione, sed numerosa scansione ad judicium aurium examinata, ut puta sunt cantica poetarum vulgarium. . . . . metrum est ratio cum modulatione, rhythmus sine ratione metrica modulatio. Plerumque tamen casu quodam etiam invenies rationem metricam in rhythmo, non artificii observatione servata, sed sono et ipsa modulatione ducente.[5]

[3] Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, VI, 41 f.

[4] Cf. Muratori, *Antichità Italiane* IV, 81 f.: Scrive Leone Allacci [1586–1669] nella Dissertazione de Simeon. che l'uso de' versi ritmici, chiamati politici, duravano presso i Greci anche al suo tempo. Jambicis (dic' egli) et Anacreonticis ut plurimum constant; ita tamen ut nulla quantitas syllabarum (quod accuratissime veteres observabant) *ratio* habeatur; tantum earum numerus, declinationesque accentuum attendantur.

[5] *Ars Palaemonis de Metrica Institutione:* Keil, *Op. cit.*, VI, 206.

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Furthermore, the number of syllables in *rythmus* was not fixed. As we have seen one of the ways in which *metrum* differs from *rythmus* is "quod metrum certo numero syllabarum vel pedum finitum sit, rhythmus autem numquam numero circumscribatur." "Distat enim metrum a rhythmo, quod metrum certa qualitate ac numero syllabarum temporumque finitur certisque pedibus constat ac clauditur, rhythmus autem temporum ac syllabarum pedumque congruentia infinitum multiplicatur ac profluit."[6] For this reason also, *rythmus* lacked *ratio*: it was *sine ratione*.

Bede's restatement and illustration of the distinction between *metrum* and *rythmus* is clear and interesting. He says:

Videtur autem rhythmus metris esse consimilis, quae est verborum modulata compositio, non metrica ratione, sed numero syllabarum ad judicium aurium examinata, ut sunt carmina vulgarium poetarum. Et quidam rhythmus per se sine metro esse potest, metrum vero sine rhythmo esse non potest, quod liquidius definitur: *metrum est ratio* cum modulatione, rhythmus modulatio *sine ratione*. Plerumque tamen casu quodam invenies etiam rationem in rhythmo, non artifici moderatione servata, sed sono et ipsa modulatione ducente, quem vulgares poetae necesse est rustice, docti faciant docte. Quo modo et ad instar iambici metri pulcherrime factus est hymnus ille praeclarus,

Rex aeterne domine,
rerum creator omnium,
qui eras ante saecula,
semper cum patre filius.

Et alii Ambrosiani non pauci.[7]

Notice that *metrum est ratio* cum modulatione, *rhythmus* modulatio *sine ratione*.

Here it is pertinent to examine the translation of Bede's definitions in the 16th century by Fauchet:

Il y a (dit il) apparence que les Rhythmes tiennent du Metre: pource que c'est une harmonieuse composition de parolles, non par mesure et certain ordre tel que celuy se garde en la composition des Metres ou vers, ains par nombre de syllabes, selon qu'il plaist aux oreilles. Et tels sont les cantiques des Poetes vulgaires. De vray le Rhythme peut estre par soy sans Metre: mais le Metre ne peut estre sans le Rhythme, ou mesure. Ce que l'on peut dire plus clairement, Metre est un chant contraint par certain *raison:* Rhythme un chant libre et non suiject a aucune loy. Vrai est que bien souvent vous trouverez de la raison ou mesure certaine au

[6] Diomedes: Keil, *op. cit.*, I, 474.
[7] Bede, *De Arte Metrica:* Keil, *op. cit.*, VII, 267.

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Rhythme: non pource que le compositeur s'y soit assubiecti mais pource que le son (ou ton, selon Victorin) et harmonie l'a paradventure conduit et mene jusques a cestre *raison*.[8]

Turning to Wülcker's *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, we find this 10th-century meaning of *ratio*: "Dicio, vel arbitrio, judicio vel ratione, lege, vel *dihte*;" and *dihte*, according to Bosworth-Toller, means "order, arrangement, disposition of material," while *dihtan* means to "set in order, dispose, arrange, appoint, direct, compose." And the 15th-century *Catholicon Anglicum* (1483) defines *reson* (reason) by *ratio*: "reson—animus, calculus, *racio*."

Now as to *rythmus* and *rime*. In the 15th century each of these terms is regularly used to define the other. The *Promptorium Parvulorum* (ca. 1440) gives "Ryme: Rythmus;" "Rymyn: Rythmico, -as, -avi." The *Catholicon Anglicum* has "a Ryme—rithmus;" "to Ryme—rithimicare." A 15-century vocabulary in Wülcker's *A. -S. and O.E. Vocabularies* has "ritmus: ryme."

It should be noted that in all the discussions and definitions of *rythmus* (rime) and in the distinctions between *metrum* and *rythmus* there has been so far no mention of consonance, of identity of sounds, of rime in the modern sense. And Bede's illustration of a *rythmus* (the *hymnus praeclarus* that he quotes) has no consonance at all. The emphasis is always upon modulation, as distinguished from the regular recurrence of longs and shorts in a verse of a definite number of syllables. To be sure, the presence of consonance or homophony (end-rime in the modern sense) in early Latin hymns and Goliardic verse, as well as the increasing frequency of its use in verse characterized by modulation (rythmus) as distinguished from metre (metrum), make it highly probable, not to say certain, that consonance early became closely associated with *rythmus* (rime); nevertheless the *essential* characteristic of *rythmus* was modulation instead of quantity.[9] A

[8] Claude Fauchet, *Recueil de l'Origine de la Langue et Poesie Francoise*, p. 61; Paris, 1581.

[9] Naturally the meaning of *rime* did not remain fixed: like many other words, the term acquired new connotations somewhat different from those attached to the original *rythmus*. In the Ormulum (v. 44 f.),

> Icc hafe sett her a þiss boc amang Goddspelles wordes
> All þurrh me sellfenn, manig word þe *rime* swa to fillenn

the word *rime* certainly does not mean consonance (modern end-rime), for that does not exist in the painstaking versification. I should say that it comes from

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rythmus might or might not have consonance (end-rime). In any case it was the only kind of verse (besides *metrum*) to be seriously considered.[10]

To have said, then, of a composition purporting to be verse, that it had neither *rythmus* nor *ratio* would have meant that it belonged to neither of the only two recognized types, that therefore it was not verse at all, and that, from the point of view of form at least, it was without justification or excuse.

As we should expect, we find in the lively Elizabethan essays on versification evidence that in the 16th century the word *rime* was ambiguous. Webbe says: "For Ryme is properly the just proportion of a clause or sentence, whether it be in prose or meeter, aptly comprised together." And again: "—the falling out of verses together in one like sound is commonly called in English, Rhyme, taken from the Greek word Ῥυθμός, which surely in my judgment is verye abusively applyed to such a sence."[11] Gascoigne: "For furder explanation hereof, note you that commonly now a dayes in English rimes (for I dare not call them English verses) we use none other but a foot of two sillables.—whereby our poems may justly be called Rithmes and cannot by any right challenge the name of verse."[12] Sidney: "Nowe for the ryme, though wee doe not observe quantity, yet wee observe the accent very precisely: which other languages eyther cannot doe or will not doe so absolutely."[13]

From this it appears that in the minds of the critics thinking of classical versification (*metrum*), rime (or rithme) retained the early sense of *rythmus* as defined by Bede and his predecessors: that is, it meant a pleasing recurrence of stress or accent, and not primarily consonance or modern end-rime. Verse had a quantitative basis; rime was accentual.

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rythmus through the Old French, though in this case as in others in the Ormulum, *rime* meaning number (from A.-S. *rim*) would make good sense. In the 14th century, when Chaucer complained of the scarcity of rime in English, he meant the scarcity of English words having the same terminal sound; yet he called one of the Canterbury Tales "The Rime of Sir Thopas." Because European vernacular verse in general came to be fashioned after the model of the Latin *rythmus* (not *metrum*), the word *rime* was often used in the generic sense of poem.

[10] For further evidence of the recognition of *rythmus* and of its relation to *metrum* cf. Muratori, *op. cit.*, IV, ch. 40.

[11] G. Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, I, 267.

[12] *Op. cit.*, I, 50.

[13] *Op. cit.*, I, 205.

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And yet Gascoigne in his *Certayne Notes of Instruction concerning the Making of Verse or Rhyme in English* (1575) appears to use *rime* in the sense of consonance also:

Your Invention being once devised, take heede that neither pleasure of rime, nor varietie of devise, do carie you from it.[14]

And later:

I would exhorte you also to beware of *rime without reason:* my meaning is hereby that your rime leade you not from your firste Invention, for many wryters when they have layed the platforme of their Invention, are yet drawen sometimes (by ryme) to forget it or at least to alter it, as when they cannot readily finde out a worde which may rime to the first . . . . , they then do eyther botche it up with a worde that will ryme (howe small reason soever it carie with it) or els they alter their first worde and so percase decline or trouble their former Invention.[15]

Daniel is explicit in his statement:

. . . . it [rime] is likewise number and harmonie of words, consisting of an agreeing sound in the last silables of severall verses giving both to the Eare an Eccho of a delightfull report and the Memorie a deeper impression of what is delivered therein. For as Greeke and Latine verse consists of the number and quantitie of sillables, so doth the English verse of measure and accent. And though it doth not strictly observe long and short sillables, yet it most religiously respects the accent: and as the short and the long make number, so the Acute and Grave accent yeelde harmonie: And harmonie is likewise number, so that the English verse then hath number, measure, and harmonie in the best proportion of Musicke.[16]

For him rimed verse has all the good points of metrical verse and others besides. He continues the argument:

But could our Adversary [Campion] hereby set up the musicke of our times to a higher note of judgement and discretion, or could these new lawes of words [rules of quantity] better our imperfections, it were a happy attempt; but when hereby we shall but as it were change prison, and put off these fetters to receive others, what have we gained, as good still to use ryme and a little reason, as neither ryme nor reason . . . . .[17]

It should be noted also that in French the connotation of consonance became attached early to the word *rime*. That is, conso-

[14] *The Posies* (Cambridge, 1907), p. 466.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 469.
[16] Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 360.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

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nance was regarded as a characteristic of vernacular verse written after the fashion of the Latin *rythmus*. The Anglo-Norman Robert of Gretham says (ca.1250):

Si rien i ad a amender
U del fraunceis u del *rimer*,
Nel tenés pas a mesprisoun
Mes bien gardez la *raisoun*.[18]

Gauthier Arbalestrier de Belle-perche, qui a composé le Roman de Judas Machabee avant l'an MCCLXXX fait aussi mention de ces deux sortes de ryme tout au commencement de son oeuvre:

Je dis pas k'aucun biau dit
Ni mette por faire le ryme
Ou consonante ou Leonime.[19]

And Fauchet quotes from a fabliau entitled "Des Trois Dames":

Ma peine metray et m'entente
Tant com' seray en me iouvente,
A conter un fabliau par ryme
Sans coulour et sans Leonime:
Mais s'il y a consonantie
Il ne me chault qui mal en die.
Car ne peut pas plaisir a tots
Consonancie sans biaux mots.[20]

And Clément Marot (1495–1544) in his rondeau on writing a rondeau uses *rythme* probably in the sense of consonance:

Bien inventer vous fault premièrement,
L'invention deschiffrer proprement,
Si que *raison et rythme* ne soit morte
En un rondeau.[21]

Nevertheless, the fundamental and basic characteristic of *rime* is that of non-quantitative (non-metrical) composition, which might please by modulation but not by reason (*ratio*), i.e., by a systematic arrangement of long and short syllables. As Bede says, "Metrum (i.e. regular quantitative verse) est ratio cum modulatione, rhythmus modulatio sine ratione;" that is, Rime is modulation without reason.

[18] *Miroir des Domées*, in *Romania*, XV, 300.
[19] Fauchet, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] Marot, ed. Jannet, II, 128.

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This non-quantitative verse was early composed with consonance by unlettered poets (Bede's "vulgares poetae") in Latin and became common and familiar through the influence of Goliardic verse and especially the popular rimed, accentual hymns of the Church, through which it gained recognition and approval. Such songs were rime without reason: they pleased by their modulation and consonance but lacked systematic metrical arrangement. If, however, a composition purporting to be verse lacked not only modulation and consonance but also systematic metrical arrangement, it would be *without rime or reason*: it would belong to neither of the two recognized types of verse and would have no justification or excuse for its existence.

It would seem plausible, then, that the formula "Without rime or reason" (or its French equivalent and probable source) was a critical phrase first applicable to verse and that it came to mean *without justification or excuse*. The extension of the meaning beyond the field of literary criticism is not hard to understand.[22]

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[22] For illustrations of the use of the phrase since the 15th century cf. *N. E. D.* under *Rime;* also Larousse, *Dictionnaire Universel du XIX^e Siècle*, under *Rime.* Cf. also the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Françoise* (Paris, 1814): "On dit proverbialement et figurément d'un raisonnement, d'un discours de travers, d'un ouvrage d'esprit mal fait, d'un ouvrage ou l'on a mal observe les règles de l'art, etc., qu' *il n'y a ni rime ni raison. Il n'y a ni rime ni raison a tout ce qu'il dit. Cet Auteur a fait une pièce ou il n'y a ni rime ni raison. Cet Architecte a fait un bâtiment ou il n'y a ni rime ni raison.*"

For this last note I am indebted to Professor G. M. Fess of the University of Missouri, and for the two following notes to Professor Richard Jente of Washington University:

"*Sans rime ni raison:* Se dit d'un ouvrage, ou de la conduite de quelqu'un, lorsqu'on n'y voit que désordre. A l'époque de la décadence de la langue latine, les poètes, non contents d'observer la quantité, autrement de se conformer à des régles pour l'emploi des syllabes longues et brèves, prirent à tâche de faire rimer les vers entre eux, quelquefois même le milieu d'un vers avec la fin: il en résulta de mauvaises rimes et l'altération du sens." (*Dictionnaire des Proverbes Français* par M. de la Mésangère, Troisiéme Édition, Paris, 1828, p. 544 f.)

"Ce sont gens plains de deraison,
En eulx n'a rime ne raison. (Gace de la Bigne [ca. 1310–1380])"

(*Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien language françois* etc., par La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, vol. IX, p. 239.)

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XLV

NATURE AND THE COUNTRY IN SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY FRENCH POETRY

THE statement is often made that the Pléiade sang nature with exuberance and freshness. The feeling for nature, which virtually passed out of French literature when the *poêsie courtoise* finally died with Charles d'Orléans, began to reappear early in the sixteenth century with Jean Le Maire de Belges. This reëmergence was at first very slow, and the new feeling did not attain its fullest development until the second half of the century. It is perhaps well to say at the outset that the words "a feeling for nature" applied to the poetry of the sixteenth century are not the equivalent of "a nature poetry," and must not be taken to mean that the century of the Renaissance in France created a genuine poetry of nature. If we define this as consisting essentially in a sincere love and a spontaneous, as opposed to a conventional, treatment of nature; a concern with nature for its own sake instead of using it merely as an ornament in poetry with a primarily human interest; and a sympathetic interpenetration between the soul of man and the soul of things,[1] we shall not find these conditions fulfilled in the French poetry of this period. In the first part of this paper I shall endeavor to trace the origins of the feeling for nature exhibited in sixteenth-century French poetry, to define its

[1] This definition implies a distinction between *nature* poetry and *descriptive* poetry. Victor de Laprade, *Le sentiment de la nature chez les modernes*, 1868, p. 24, says: "La nature et les divers êtres qui la composent ont une vie propre, une signification propre, une valeur indépendante de l'homme comme l'expression de la vie et de la pensée de Dieu . . . . Oui, la vie et le sentiment sont partout dans l'univers, l'homme n'est pas la seule image de Dieu que renferme la création." When this conception of nature became translated into poetry nature poetry was born. Victor Hugo, *Les Voix intérieures*, x, "A Albert Dürer," offers a good illustration of this interpenetration between the soul of man and the soul of things:

> Aux bois, ainsi que toi, je n'ai jamais erré,
> Maître, sans qu'en mon coeur l'horreur ait pénétré,
> Sans voir tressaillir l'herbe, et, par le vent bercées,
> Pendre à tous les rameaux de confuses pensées,
> Dieu seul, ce grand témoin des faits mystérieux,
> Dieu seul le sait, souvent en de sauvages lieux,
> J'ai senti, moi qu'échauffe une secrète flamme,
> Comme moi palpiter et vivre avec une âme,
> Et rire et se parler dans l'ombre à demi-voix,
> Les chênes monstrueux qui remplissent les bois.

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limits, and to explain why the Pléiade did not create a true nature poetry; in the second part I propose to show that the interest in nature was diverted in the last quarter of the century into another channel, to assume the form which may be called the *solitude* and *desert* motif, its predominant mode of expression in the next century, and to set forth the causes of this deviation.

I. *NATURE AND ITS EXPRESSION IN RENAISSANCE FRENCH POETRY*

A clear insight into the character of the feeling for nature in the poetry of the Renaissance, and its modes of expression, has been obscured under loose language and vague generalities, by false perspective and unsystematic thinking. The question requires to be restated in such a way as to set out distinctly the various elements that entered into the composition of this feeling; to show how these elements were fused by the Renaissance into a form that remained from Boccaccio to Ronsard its most artistic mode of expression; and how eventually in Ronsard the idea of the sympathy between nature and man, an idea not altogether foreign to the *poêsie courtoise* and to classical poetry, acquired new vitality and gained new extension.

After the dismal period of the *grands rhêtoriqueurs* nature found its way back into French poetry from three sources.

The first source is the Old French courtly poetry. The feeling for nature is virtually absent in the Old French *bourgeois*, or satiric, poetry, and very attenuated in the heroic poetry before its contamination with romance and lyrical elements. In the heroic poem in its pure form the poet does not tarry to describe the natural background, often very striking, of the exploits of his heroes. He hurries on as quickly as he may, giving of the landscape where the action unfolds itself only such a picture as is necessary to its understanding. Renaud thus describes to Roland the spot where he will fight it out with him in single combat (*Renaud de Montauban*, 244, 4):

> Si passons la riviere de desos Balençon,
> El bois de la Sarpente u autiv sunt li mont,
> La valée parfonde et li brueillet reont;
> La nos porrons combatre a bandon.

Such are the typical descriptive passages in the epics; their aim is to give a true picture in as few words as possible. Of an æsthetic

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and artistic interest in nature there is no sign; and of that sympathy between it and man that fugitively appears in the *poêsie courtoise* and that was to be so characteristic of the romantic period, there is barely a trace.

In the courtly literature it is otherwise. The feeling for nature in the Middle Ages assumed its most characteristic form in the lyrical poetry, from which it passed into the later epics[2] and the romances. This ampler rôle of nature in the lyric poetry is probably attributable to the fact that the medieval lyric had its origin in the *reverdie*,[3] a poem which celebrated some aspect of nature, usually the return of spring with its green foliage and the song of birds.

But already in this primitive lyric poetry nature is conventionalized. It is always *la nature cultivée* or *la belle nature champêtre*, never *la nature sauvage*. Nature in its wilder and freer aspects was too common a sight then to interest the poet, and he viewed it without emotion and passed it over in silence. On the other hand he delighted to paint, though in a few brief strokes, nature artistically arranged by man, which constituted the usual *décor* of the adventure which he related. The poet, or it may be a knight, sets forth one fine morning and soon finds himself in a *vergier*, or perchance a *jardin*:[4]

[2] Contrast with the lines from *Renaud de Montauban* the opening lines of *Berte*, which are in the conventional lyric style:

A l'issue d'avril, au tens douc et joli,
Que herbeletes pongnent et pré son reverdi,
Et arbrissel desirent que il fussent parflori,
Tout droit en cel termine que je vous ai di,
A Paris la cité estoie un vendredi . . . .

[3] See Gaston Paris, *Mêlanges de litt. franç. du moyen âge*, 1912, pp. 553–554, 556, 597–601.

[4] We find a full description of this inevitable *vergier* or *jardin* in the *Roman de la Rose*, 1355 ff.:

Ou vergier ot arbres domesches,
Qui chargoient et coins et pesches,
Chastaignes, nois, pommes et poires,
Nefles, prunes blanches et noires,
Cerises fresches vermeilletes,
Carmes, alies et noisettes.
De haus loriers et de baus pins
Refu tous pueplés li jardins,
Et d'oliviers et de ciprés
Dont il n'a gaires ici prés;

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En un vergier lez une fontenele,
dont clere est l'onde et blanche la gravele[5] . . . . .

L'autrier un lundi matin
m'an aloie ambaniant;
s'antrai an un biau jardin . . . . . (Bartsch, I, 34)

The adventure may occur also in a *pré*, a *bois*, or a *forest*:

Renaus et s'amie
Chevauchent par un pré . . . . . (Bartsch, I, 18).

Or vienent pasques les beles en avril
florissent bois, cil pré sont raverdi . . . . . (Bartsch, I, 13).

En mi forest entrai l'autrier
pour moi deduire et solacier . . . . . (Bartsch, II, 28).

There is usually water near by, a *fontenel*, a *ruxel*, or a *riviere*:

Chevauchai lez le rivage
d'une riviere bruiant . . . . . (Bartsch, I, 39).

The season is usually spring, and the month is April or May:

En avril a tans paskour
ke nest la fueille et la flour . . . . . (Bartsch, I, 30a).

En mai au douz tens nouvel
que reverdissent prael . . . . . (Bartsch, I, 27).

In the *forest* or the *bois* there is a variety of trees, the favorites being the *aubespin* and the *aiglentier;* others are the *ente* and the *coudroie*. Many birds are singing in the trees *en lour latin*, the sweetest songster being of course *lou rosignor:*

An avril a tans paskour,
ke nest la fueille et la flour,
l'aluete a point dou jour[6]
chante et loie son signor.

Ormes i ot branchus et fos,
Codres droites, trembles et chesnes,
Erables, haus sapins et fresnes.

[5] Karl Bartsch, *Rom. et pastourelles franç. des XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, 1870, I, 9.

[6] Beside this description of dawn the fine passage from *Partenopeus de Blois*, 10, 576 ff., deserves a place:

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pour la dousour
dou tans novel
si m'antrai an un jardin,
s'oi chanteir sor l'abrexel
les ozeles en lour latin.
Je vi l'oriour
et lou rosignor,
si vi lou pinson
et l'esmerillon
et tant des altres ozillons
dont je ne sai dire lou non,
ke desor l'arbre s'asisent:
Chascuns chantant sa chanson . . . . (Bartsch I, 30a)

In this *décor* the knight finds the heroine, who has come out to enjoy the trees, the song of the birds, or to gather flowers,—"la violete qui tant est sadete" or "la rose panie"; or she may be a *pastourelle* watching over her sheep in a meadow.

Often it is a *mal mariée* whom he finds weeping over her tribulations, or he himself is heard lamenting the indifference of his lady-love. But in general nature remains insensible to their grief. In Reynaud de Coucy and Blondel de Nesle we find good examples of this lack of sympathy of nature with man. It is sweet spring when Reynaud chances to bethink himself again of his lady, who, naturally, must be cruel to him in accordance with the code of *amour courtois:*

Molt m'est bele la dolce comencence
Del novel tans a l'entrer de Pascor
Que bois et pre sont de mainte semblance
Vert et vermeille, covert d'herbe et de flor . . . .[7]

Par matin, al aube esclarcie,
Li airs fu purs, l'aure serie:
L'aloete vole en cantant,
Son sa nature Deu louant;
Et fu moult grande la rousée
Sor les erbes verdes montée.
Li praiere crie en volant,
Ses pies contreval estendant;
Cant li quaille par ces blés
Bien samble tans renovelés:
Cascuns oiseaus, nes la crouiere,
Fait cant ou crie en se maniere;
Moult par en est li tans seris,
Par bruelles et par plaiseis . . . . .

[7] Jules Brakelmann, *Les plus anciens chansonniers français*, 1870–1891, p. 123.

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and nature remains gay in spite of his grief:

> Quant voi li dolz tens et la flor,
> Que l'herbe vert s'espant aval la prée,
> Lors me sovient de ma dolce dolor
> E del dolz liu ou mes cuers sovent bee . . . .[8]

More expressive still of this insensibility of nature is the passage in Blondel de Nesle, who complains at finding himself alone in his sadness amid this universal gladness of nature and man:

> Li rosignors anonce la novele
> Que la saison del dolz tens est venue,
> Que tote riens renaist et renovele,
> Que li pré sont covert d'erbe menue.
> Por la saison qui se change et remue,
> Chascuns, fors moi, s'esjoist et revele . . . .[9]

These quotations run over the gamut of the feeling for nature in the literature of the Middle Ages: its entire baggage is composed of *jardins*, *vergiers*, *prês*; *bois*, *forests*; *ruxels*, *rivieres*, *fonteneles*; and *flors* and *ozeles*. As it was the at beginning, in the twelfth century, it remained in the fifteenth, as we shall now see in René of Anjou's *Regnault et Jahanneton*, in the prologue of which are brought together all the formulas that characterize the courtly poetry. *Regnault et Jehanneton* (composed after 1457) is the outstanding specimen of the poetry of rusticity that was inspired by the *Traité de l'estat, science et pratique de l'art de bergerie* of Jehan de Brie, the "bon berger" of Charles the Fifth. It depicts an authentic *bergerie*, which antedates those of the eighteenth century and Versailles by three centuries.

After his marriage with Jeanne de Laval, who fondly loved the country, René set up at Gardanne a model farm with fish hatchery, sheepfold, dairy, and piggery, and there he and Jeanne spent most of their time. *Regnault et Jehanneton* gives an idealized picture of rustic life and love, Regnault being René, of course, and Jehanneton Jeanne de Laval.

The first three hundred lines are almost entirely devoted to a description of spring. It is the month of April, as with the *trouvères:*

> Vers my avril, ou temps que la verdeur
> Ja apparoist, commençant par doulceur

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 128.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

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Du renouveau issir la fueille et fleur
En boutonnant de laquelle l' odeur
Fait devenir l'air serain trop meilleur
Qu'il n'a esté par la dure froideur
Que le soleil a si fort combatue . . . .

Next the birds sing their joy, as in the lyric poetry, to see again after winter's cold the green of the trees and the flowers:

. . . . pourquoi tous en bonheur
Les oisillons, si n'ont plus de peur
D'encommencer leur doux chans sans demeur
Par amourettes, qui leurs gens cuers argue
Faisans oyr leurs voix qu'a bouche mue
Avoit esté et celeement tenue
Sans s'esgayer, renclose pis qu'en mue . . . .
Pour ce que voyent la gente herbe menue
Ja verdoyer et la branche ramue
Devenir lors espressement fouillue . . . .
Tant s'esjoyssent ainsi en leur chanter
Que deux a deux vont les buissons hanter,
Dedans lesquelx ung chascun lamenter
On les orroit, et d'amours guemanter,
En verboyant, sans nuit ne jour ester,
Si doulcement que c'est a escouter
Plus d'autre rien certes grant melodie.

The insects too delight in this sweet time of the *renouveau:*

Les mouchettes, le gresillon,
La sigalle et le papillon
Et l'avette qu'a l'esguillon,
La sincelle et le moucheron,
La grosse mouche et le taon,
L'escharbot et autres qu' ont nom
Estrange, que nommer ne scay mie.

The shepherds come to mingle their voices with the song of the birds and the droning of the bees; for their merrymaking they choose the neighborhood of a spring

Dont l'eau estoit doulce, clere et seraine,
Qui la couroit, sur la greve ou araine,
Moult gentement . . . .

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and this spring, which waters a *pré*, beflowers it with violets:

> C'un pré mouilloit tout plein de violete
> Qui croissoit la, sur l'erbe joliete . . . .

In his treatment of nature René differs from the *trouvères* only in the great expansion of the descriptive parts of his poem. With him, the romanesque manner of treating nature, as the manner of the Old French courtly poetry may be designated, reaches its fullest development. The romanesque manner will persist long after René, but under a modified and expanded form. When they will use it the poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will avoid René's prolixity, but this conciseness will be offset by an expansion in another direction. Under the influence of the Ancients and the Italians they will enlarge the horizons of the *belle nature champêtre* of the courtly poetry, diversifying and enriching it by the introduction of many aspects of nature which the medieval poets had ignored; and they will give more polish to their lines and pour into the ancient formulas a new emotional content.

In spite of the few notes the medieval poet had learnt to play on his rustic lyre, of the three centuries during which he incessantly sang them, and under their conventional expression, one can detect a naïve, if narrow, feeling for nature, that had to await the Renaissance for ampler but still incomplete expression.

The second source is Antiquity. The Middle Ages had seen in nature only a background for man: its landscapes serve merely as a *décor* for the incident that furnishes the primary interest of the poem. The poet did not dream that in nature lay founts of song ready to gush forth at the touch of the skilful hand. This is equally true of the ancient poets. To say that the Greeks and Romans felt a genuine love for nature but that they differed from the moderns in their mode of expressing it seems almost a useless repetition.[10] One ancient poet at least gave voice to this love in a way which the nineteenth-century poet would not have disavowed. Several fragments of Alcman express a feeling for nature in a way quite different from the classical mythological manner. Fragment 36, for instance, which "for its loving sympathy with nature is almost unique in Greek poetry",[11] is a description of night in the vale

[10] J. A. Symonds (*The Greek Poets*, 3d ed. 1893, II, xxi) has excellent remarks in this connection.

[11] George S. Farnell, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, 1891, p. 126

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of Lacedemon, from its peaks to the sea that washes the foot of its mountains:

Asleep lie mountain-top and mountain-gully, shoulder also and ravine; the creeping things that come from the dark earth, the beasts whose lying is upon the hillside, the generation of the bees, the monsters in the depth of the purple brine, all lie asleep, and with them the tribes of the winging birds.

Although this note, with its deep and full vibrations, is seldom heard in ancient poetry, pure descriptive passages, or with only a slight admixture of the mythological element, are not uncommon in the ancient poets.[12] But descriptive poetry is after all exceptional in the Greek and Latin poets. It is trite indeed to say that the Ancients did not deem nature a proper subject for artistic treatment. What claimed the ancient poet's chief interest was the ethical and rational study of man. To this study the feeling for nature was consistently subordinated,[13] and, in the first place, when nature

[12] A few random examples, among the Greeks, are: Anacreon's *Ode to Spring*, the description in the *Œdipus Coloneus* of the grove of the Eumenides, the picture in the *Odyssey* of the woodland around Calypso's grotto (V, 63 ff.), of the gardens of Alcinoüs (VII, 110 ff.); in Theocritus, "who drew straight from nature," we find flowers, springs, trees, meadows, babbling brooks, and on occasion he can indulge in description for its own sake, as in VII, 135–146, which is a description of a farm with its trees full of songsters, its springs, and its orchards with their fruit-laden trees, and XXII, 34–43, which describes a spring sheltered with trees and surrounded with fragrant flowers. Among the Latins, the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics* of Virgil frequently give snatches of the countryside "with its mossy fountains and grass softer than sleep," the hue of wild flowers, the shade of the oak, and the gold of the ripening wheat; it was in some rustic spot, in some cool or shady nook, that Tibullus and Propertius placed the scenes of their elegies; the long poem of Ausonius, *The Moselle*, deserves to be placed in the category of descriptive poetry. Pliny the Younger had a keen sense of the beauties of nature. In his *Letters* he shows his delight in the hills with their crown of immemorial forests, with the meadows on their slopes brightened with flowers. He dearly loved the scenery of Como, on whose shores he had two villas. His description of the Clitumnus is said to be the best picture of romantic scenery in classical literature. See *Letters* V, 6; I, 3; IX, 7; VIII, 8; and Samuel Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, 1919, pp. 174 ff.

[13] J. A. Symonds, *op. cit.*, II, 258: "Humanity was always more present to their minds than to ours. Nothing evoked sympathy from a Greek unless it appeared before him in a human shape, or in connection with some human sentiment. The ancient poets do not describe inanimate nature as such, or attribute a vague spirituality to fields and clouds. That feeling for the beauty of the world which is embodied in such poems as Shelley's *Ode to the West Wind* gave birth in their imagination to legends, involving some dramatic interest and conflict of passions."

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was allowed to creep in, it was by way of ornament only; in the second place, the quick fancy of the Greeks led them readily to effect transpositions from nature to man: in a tree, for instance, the Greek poet, and the Roman poet after him, saw a dryad, in a hill he saw an oread, he peopled his woodlands, his meadows, and his fields with sylvans, satyrs, and fauns. It was a constant convention of classical poetry to draw between man and nature the mythological veil, until every natural phenomenon became expressed in human terms. In this anthropomorphization the ancient mind was undoubtedly more aware of the symbol than of the aspect of nature it humanized. Such a turn of mind was inevitably bound to preclude the creation of a true nature poetry, the non-existence of which is often wrongly assumed to mean that the Ancients had no love for nature[14].

The third source is the Italian poetry of the Renaissance. For our purpose we may limit ourselves to Petrarch and Boccaccio. These two artisans of the *Risorgimento* stand on the frontiers between two epochs, looking, so far as their works presently concern us, in opposite directions. In his outlook on nature Petrarch belongs to the Middle Ages, Boccaccio to the Renaissance. In magic lines Petrarch shows us his Laura in green meadows, in fields of flowers, in shady groves, beside murmuring waters. This feeling for the nature of meadows, woodlands, and brooks is one of the distinctive traits of the *Canzoniere*. Petrarch's landscapes are primarily the landscapes of the *trouvères* and troubadours, expanded with details and reminiscences from the ancient idyllic and elegiac poets and, as might be expected, are quite conventional. From a wealth of illustrations sonnet CLXII (Scherillo edition) might be given:

> Lieti fiori e felici, e ben nate erbe
> Che madonna pensando premer sòle;
> Piaggia ch'ascolti sue dolci parole,
> E del bel piede alcun vestigio serbe;
>
> Schietti arboscelli e verdi frondi acerbe;
> Amorosette e pallide viole;
> Ombrose selve, ove percote il sole
> Che vi fa co' suoi raggi alte e superbe;
>
> O soave contrada, o puro fiume
> Che bagni il suo bel viso e gli occhi chiari;
> E prendi qualitá dal vivo lume;

[14] *Ibid.*, II, 257, 258, 259.

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Quanto v'invidio gli atti onesti e cari!
Non fia in voi scoglio omai che per costume
D'arder co la mia fiamma non impari.

In the second quatrain of sonnet CCCIII Petrarch resumes his nature, with its mixture of medieval and classical elements, in an enumeration which the poets of the Renaissance were to echo again and again:

Fior', frondi, erbe, ombre, antri, onde, aure soavi,
Valli chiuse, alti colli e piaggie apriche,
Porto de l'amorose mie fatiche,
De le fortune mie tante e sì gravi.

Sonnet CCCX is a good illustration of Petrarch's style when he mingles the romanesque and classical manners of treating nature:

Zefiro torna, e 'l bel tempo rimena,
E i fiori e l'erbe, sua dolce famiglia;
E garrir Progne e pianger Filomena,
E primavera candida e vermiglia.

Ridono i prati, e 'l ciel si rasserena:
Giove s'allegra di mirar sua figlia;
L'aria e l'acqua e la terra è d'amor piena:
Ogni animal d'amar si riconsiglia.

Ma per me, lasso!, tornano i più gravi
Sospiri, che del cor profondo tragge
Quella ch'al ciel se ne portò le chiavi;

E cantar augelletti, e fiorir piagge,
E'n belle donne oneste atti soavi,
Sono un deserto, e fere aspre e selvagge.

Boccaccio, too, in his mode of expressing nature has the two manners; but with him the classical manner, which is not obtrusive in Petrarch, begins to crowd out the romanesque. In *Le Rime*, sonnet XII, in which the situation is one common in the medieval lyric, the opening lines reproduce the *décor* familiar to us in the *poésie courtoise*:[15]

Intorno ad una fonte, in un pratello
Di verdi erbette pieno e di bei fiori,
Sedeano tre angiolette . . . .

[15] See also sonnet XXXIII; sonnets XXVIII and XXXI show the classical manner.

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With the *Ninfale fiesolano* and the *Ninfale d'Ameto* Boccaccio introduces us into the midst of the classical idyll and its golden age; we find ourselves in its pastoral setting, with its cortège of deities, nymphs, fauns, and satyrs. Yet in these two pastorals there are many passages, both in the prose and the poetic parts, that illustrate how Boccaccio could mingle the two manners. In this prose description of spring from the *Ameto*,[16] the words in italics appear to be merely transpositions from the *poésie courtoise*:

> Ma poi che Febo venuto nel Montone Fresseo rende alla terra il *piacevole vestimento di fiori innumerabili colorate* a lei dal noioso autumno . . . . spogliato, e gli alberi di gratiose frondi e di *fiori ricoperti sostennero lieti uccelli*, e le occulte caverne renderono a'prati gli amorosi animali, e i campi l'ascosa Cerere fecero palese, e *le Alodolle imitanti l'humane cetere col loro canto gaie* cominciarono a riprendere il cielo, e *tutta la terra dipinta da argentali onde rigata si mostra allegra*, e a zefiro soavissimo fra le nuove foglie senza sturbo furone rendute le fresche vie, e in cielo ugualmente porgeva segno di gratioso bene . . . .

Bearing in mind the greater concentration and condensation of poetry, we may regard lines like the following as transpositions into verse of prose passages like the one above:

> Ne la fronzuta e nova Primavera,
> In loco spesso d'herbette e di fiori,
> Da folti rami chiuso posto m'era
> Ad ascoltare i lieti e vaghi amori
> Nascosamente de la Ninfe belle,
> Quei recitanti, e de loro amadori . . . . .[17]

Though after Petrarch and Boccaccio the Italian poets did not definitely cease to see nature through the eyes of the *trouvères* and troubadours, they saw it far more generally through the eyes of the Græco-roman world. The poets of the later Renaissance did little more than to perfect, with Theocritus and Virgil as their masters, the manner inaugurated by Petrarch and continued and developed by Boccaccio. With Pontanus and Politian this new manner was definitely established in Italian poetry. In them, the fusion between the romanesque and classical manners is so artis-

[16] At pp. 43–44 of the Venice 1586 ed.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

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tically effected, the transitions are so skilfully managed, that it is not often easy to separate the two elements.[18]

Charles d'Orléans had been enough of a poet to infuse new life and new color into the stereotyped nature of the *poésie courtoise*.[19] However, with the *grands rhétoriqueurs*, who were a pitiable breed of versifiers, the feeling for nature disappeared from French poetry. Among the *grands rhétoriqueurs* the sole exception is Jean Le Maire de Belges, the only one of them who really was a poet. With him began the effort of the sixteenth century to restore nature to her rightful place in French poetry.[20] Though to be sure Jean Le Maire and his successors went to school with the Italians, we must not lose sight of direct influences. In the first place, the ancient classical poetry was not precisely a sealed book to Jean Le Maire and other French poets of the first half of the century; in the second place, the frequent similarity in language, and ideas, and tone between the Renaissance poetry and the courtly poetry

[18] Vestiges of the Old French poetry are obvious enough in Politian's *La Giostra di Giulano de' Medici*, for instance. In proof, the last line of I, xliv, which is a direct transposition from the medieval lyric, may be given:

E canta ogni augelletto in suo latino.

Giulano meets his nymph, I, xlvii, under the same circumstances and in the same *décor* as does the knight in the Old French lyric; in the allegory and personifications of I, lxx-lxxvii, and in the description of the kingdom and the palace of Venus the influence of the *Roman de la Rose* is evident.

[19] The best out of many excellent poems on nature by Charles d'Orléans is probably his rondeau *Le Printemps:*

Le temps a laissé son manteau
De vent, de froidure et de pluie,
Et s'est vêtu de broderie,
De soleil luisant, clair et beau.
Il n'y a bête ni oiseau
Qu'en son jargon ne chante ou crie
Le temps a laissé . . . . .

Rivière, fontaine et ruisseau
Portent en livrée jolie,
Gouttes d'argent d'orfèvrerie
Chacun s'habille de nouveau
Le temps . . . . .

[20] Joseph Vianey, in a review of Léon Séché's edition of the *Oeuvres poétiques de Jacques Peletier du Mans* (1904), with "Notice biographique," etc. by Paul Laumonier, says: "M. Laumonier n'a peut-être pas dit assez nettement qu'elles [the odes of Jacques Peletier] marquent une date dans l'histoire de notre poésie: celle

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justifies the inference that the recollection of the *poésie courtoise* remained alive throughout the sixteenth century.

In substantiation of this statement, the description of a "lieu joly" in Jean Le Maire's *Epistre de l'Amant vert* may be quoted. The parrot asks that his body be buried

> . . . . en quelque lieu joly
> Bien tapissé de diverses fleurettes,
> Où pastoureaux devisent d'amourettes,
> Où les oiseaux jargonnent et flageollent
> Et papillons bien coulourez y vollent,
> Près d'un ruisseau ayant l'onde argentine
> Autour duquel les arbres font courtine
> De feuilles verd, de jolis englentiers
> Et d'aubespines flairans par les sentiers.

Obviously this description is done in the romanesque style; it contains all the commonplaces of the *belle nature champêtre* of the courtly poetry: flowers, birds, water, foliage, down to its favorite trees, the *englentiers* and the *aubespins*.

But in general Jean Le Maire sees nature through the mythological veil. More typical of his usual style is the exclamation of the Amant vert when he learns of the departure of his mistress:

> O Demy-dieux, o Satires aggrestes,
> Nymphes des bois et fontaines proprettes,
> Escoutez moy ma plainte demener,
> Et tu Echo, qui faiz l'air resonner
> Et les rochers de voix repercussives,
> Veuillez doubler mes douleurs excessives.

In the *Amant vert*, as well as in other poems, Jean Le Maire uses the two manners side by side. A fusion of the two, which he attempts at times but with no great success,[21] if skilfully done, produces a more artistic effect.

This reappearance of nature in French poetry remained timid through the first half of the century; it is only in the second half, with the Pléiade and the School of Ronsard that the feeling for nature found widespread expression. Ronsard's was the voice heard above all others. His poetry resumes all the tendencies in the treatment of nature that manifested themselves during the

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de l'apparition du sentiment de la nature" (*Revue d'hist. litt. de la France*, XL (1904) 335). This statement seems to need revision.

[21] As in the *dixains* from his *Chanson de Galatée*, in which the first is in the romanesque style, the second in the classical, and the third is a mingling of the two but the details are not very happily chosen.

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Renaissance. In his response to nature he shows more breadth and depth, more feeling and sympathy, than any poet before the romantic period. For this reason in the present discussion the other poets of the sixteenth century may be passed over in silence.

The feeling for nature normally found expression in Ronsard in the classical manner. The example that at once comes to mind is, of course, his ode *A la forêt de Gastine:*

Couché sous tes ombrages verts,
Gastine, je te chante,
Autant que les Grecs, par leurs vers,
La forêt d'Erymanthe:
Car, malin, celer je ne puis
A la race future
De combien obligé je suis
A ta belle verdure,
Toi qui, sous l'abri de tes bois,
Ravi d'esprit m'amuses;
Toi qui fais qu'à toutes les fois
Me répondent les Muses;
Toi par qui de l'importun soin
Tout franc je me délivre,
Lorsqu'en toi je me perds bien loin.
Parlant avec un livre,
Tes bocages soient toujours pleins
D'amoureuses brigades
De Satyres et de Sylvains
La crainte des Naiades!
En toi habite désormais
Des Muses le collège,
Et ton bois ne sente jamais
La flamme sacrilège.

Each tree in Gastine is a living thing, a nymph, he says in the companion piece of this poem, *Contre les bûcherons de la forêt de Gastine:*

Ecoute, bûcheron, arrête un peu le bras,
Ce ne sont pas des bois que tu jettes à bas;
Ne vois-tu pas le sang lequel degoutte à force
Des nymphes qui vivaient dessous la dure écorce?

Yet at times Ronsard uses the romanesque manner exclusively, as in his ode *A un aubépin*, one of the rare purely descriptive poems of the sixteenth century:

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Bel aubépin verdissant,
Fleurissant,
Le long de ce beau rivage,
Tu es vêtu jusqu'au bas
Des longs bras
D'une lambrunche sauvage.

Deux camps drillants de fourmis
Se sont mis
En garnison sous ta souche;
Et dans ton tronc mi-mangé
Arrangé
Les avettes ont leur couche.

Le gentil rossignolet,
Nouvelet,
Avecques sa bien-aimée,
Pour ses amours alléger
Vient loger
Tous les ans en ta ramée.

Sur ta cime il fait son nid
Bien garni
De laine et de fine soie,
Où ses petits éclorront,
Qui seront
De mes mains la douce proie.

Or vis, gentil aubépin,
Vis sans fin
Vis sans que jamais tonnerre
Ou la cognée, ou les vents
Ou les temps
Te puissent ruer par terre.

Frequently he discreetly mingles the two, as in the opening lines of his *Voyage de Tours*:[22]

C'estoit en la saison que l'amoureuse Flore
Faisoit pour son amy les fleurettes esclore
Par les prés bigarrez d'autant d'esmail de fleurs,
Que le grand arc du ciel s'esmaille de couleurs:
Lors que les papillons et les blondes avettes,
Les uns chargez au bec, les autres aux cuissettes,

[22] See also his *Dieu vous gard, messagers fidèles, Odes* IV, XXIIII.

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Errent par les jardins, et les petits oiseaux
Voletans par les bois de rameaux en rameaux
Amassent la bechée, et parmy la verdure
Ont soucy comme nous de leur race future . . . .

In these examples from Jean Le Maire and Ronsard we have seen in what modes the Renaissance poet expressed the feeling for nature. Speaking more specifically of Ronsard now, we have to touch upon a tendency, which, so far as my knowledge extends, is fully exemplified only in him: I mean, mutual sympathy between man and nature. Sympathy between nature and man was not unknown to the ancient or the medieval poets. The ancient poets often represent nature as weeping over the death of some hero, or rejoicing over his elevation to the rank of the gods; the medieval poets attempt on occasion to establish a consonance between the aspect of nature and the situation of their personages.[23] The

[23] In Theocritus I nature weeps over the death of Daphnis:

When Daphnis died the foxes wailed and the wolves they wailed full sore,
The lion from the greenwood wept when Daphnis was no more,
O many the lusty steers at his feet, and many the heifers slim,
Many the calves and many the kine that made their moan for him.

This is imitated in Virgil, *Eclogue* v, 27–28:

Daphni, tuum Poenos etiam ingemuisse leones
interitum montesque feri silvaeque loquuntur.

In the same eclogue (56–61) Virgil represents the joy of nature at the deification of Daphnis (*i.e.* Julius Caesar), and in *Eclogue* x nature weeping over the death of Gallus.

These quotations are illustrations of the pantheistic doctrine of the "sympathy" between all things in nature, which plays a rôle in the OF epic also. Nature could sympathize with man on more familiar occasions also. Taking nature into one's confidence, and calling upon it as a witness, is common in the classics. Cf. Propertius, I, xviii, 19–20:

vos eritis testes, siquos habet arbor amores,
fagus et Arcadio pinus amica deo.

The indifference of nature to man is the rule in medieval poetry. Thibaut de Champagne expresses this indifference in these lines:

Feuille ne flors ne vaut riens an chantant
Fors par defaute sans plus de rimoier . . . .

However, exceptions are not hard to find. The earliest illustration is found in the *Song of Roland*, ll. 814–815: the army of Charlemagne is passing through the defiles which were to be the scene of the death of Roland and the twelve peers; the poet shudders at the thought of the tragedy soon to be enacted there and seeks to infuse his emotion into the gloomy gorge:

Halt sunt li pui e li val tenebrus,
Les roches bises, les destreiz merveillus.

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Adenet li Rois in his *Berte* often shows nature under an aspect consonant with the heroine's situation:

Cil jour fist moult lait tans et de froide maniere
E Berte gist a dens par deseur la bruiere;
Paour a de Tybert que il sor li ne fiere,
Notre dame reclaime, la dame droituriere (607 ff.);

when Berte is helpless in the forest

Il esclaire forment et roidement tonna,
Et pluet menuement et gresille et venta,
C'est hideus tans a dame qui compagnie n'a (706 ff.);

and when she and Pepin are reconciled all is sunshine again:

Li jours fu biaus et clers, qu'il ne pluet ne ne vente (2675).

In Bartsch II, 98 nature is invested with consolatory power: springtime with its flowers and the song of the birds makes the lover forget his sorrows:

Au douz tanz seri
Que pre sunt flori,
Que n'est mais nois ne gelee,
Qu' oxeilon par la ramee
Sunt si resbaudi,
Levai me une matinee,
Ma voie accueilli
Les un bois par mi la pree,
Por mettre en oubli
Le mal qui me destraint si,
Que trai por celi
Qui j'ai de fin cuer amee,
N'ainc ne li failli.

But springtime may have the opposite effect of quickening an old sorrow that had become lulled; Bartsch II, 67:

Quant voi la flor novele
Paroir en la praele,
Et j'oi la fontenele
Bruire seur la gravelle,
Lors me tient amors novele
Dont ja ne garrai:
Se cist maus ne m'assoaige,
Bien sai que morrai.

The best expression of nature's sympathy with man in medieval poetry is perhaps Charles d'Orléans' rondeau:

Le premier jour du mois de may
S' acquitte vers moy grandement;
Car ainsi qu'à présent je n'ay
En mon coeur que dueil et tourment,
Il est ainsi pareillement,
Troublé, plain de vent et de pluie;
Estre souloit tout autrement,
Ou temps qu'ay congneu en ma vie.

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sixteenth-century poets show an extension of this idea: they represent nature as taking a sympathetic interest in the sorrows of man, as in Ronsard's sonnet:[24]

Sainte Gastine, ô douce secrétaire
De mes ennuis, qui respons en ton bois,
Ores en haute, ores en basse voix,
Aux longs soupirs que mon coeur ne peut taire:

Loir, qui refreins la course volontaire
Du plus courant de tes flots Vendomois,
Quand accuser ceste beauté tu m'ois,
De qui toujours je m'affame et altère . . . .

But the poets, so far as I am acquainted with them, do not in turn extend to nature the same sympathy that they demand of her.[25] Ronsard is an exception and in him we find this clean-cut example of the sympathy of man with nature, *Amours*, II, lxxii;

Je mourrais de plaisir voyant par ces bocages
Les arbres enlassez de lhyrres espars
Et la verde lambrunche errante en mil pars
Sur l'aubespin fleury près des roses sauvages.

Las! j'ay veu may joyeux et gay
Et si plaisant a tout gent
Que raconter au long ne scay
Le plaisir et esbatement
Qu'avoit en son commandement;
Car Amour en son abbaye,
Le tenoit chief de son convent
Ou temps qu'ay congneu en ma vie.

Thus we find in germ in the *poésie courtoise* the various conceptions of nature the romantic poets were to develop: consoling nature, hostile or indifferent nature.

[24] Belleau's *Promethée* makes an appeal to the stormy sea, an extremely uncommon note in poetry before the romantic period:

Fleuves, prés, monts et bois, et toy mer courroucée
De mon triste malheur fièrement hérissée:
Flots sur flots entassez, raboteux, pleins d'horreur,
C'est à vous que je parle, escoutez ma douleur.

[25] Traces of this sympathy of man with nature may be found in the poetry of the troubadours. Bernard de Ventadour says: "Quand je vois poindre l'herbe verte et la feuille, les fleurs éclore par les champs; quand le rossignol élève sa voix haute et claire et s'émeut à chanter, je suis heureux du rossignol et des fleurs, je suis heureux de moi-même et plus heureux de ma dame. Je suis de toute part enveloppé, pressé de joie; mais joie d'amour passe toutes les autres." It is plain that Bernard recognized certain analogies between the joy of the flowers and birds in springtime and the joy in his heart, and wished here to express a spiritual oneness with rejuvenated nature.

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Je mourrais de plaisir, oyant les doux ramages
Des hupes, des coqus, et des ramiers rouhars
De sur un arbre verd bec en bec fretillars,
Et des tourtres aussi voyant les mariages:

Je mourrais de plaisir voyant en ces beaux mois
Debusquer au matin le chevreuil hors du bois,
Et de voir fretiller dans le ciel l'alouette . . . .

A touch of love makes the world kin. In this sonnet the poet thrills in the contemplation of the happiness that nature everywhere feels and yearns to be one with it. This is not the sympathetic interpenetration between the soul of man and the soul of things, mentioned in the opening paragraph of this study as an essential, the most essential, characteristic of the poetry of nature, but it is the nearest approach to it made by the Renaissance.

After Ronsard the feeling for nature virtually disappeared a second time from French poetry, for two hundred years, and was replaced by the cult of the country, which is not the same thing. At first sight it might seem that if Ronsard had left worthy successors what was in germ in him might have been developed, and the seventeenth century, instead of banning nature from poetry would have created a nature poetry a hundred and fifty years before Rousseau and the romantic poets. But upon reflection this appears unlikely, and I see four reasons for making this assertion. First, in so far as poetry vies with painting it remained at a hopeless disadvantage until the nineteenth century because it did not possess a *picturesque vocabulary;* the nature poetry of the romantic period *painted*, the sixteenth and seventeenth century poets could only suggest. The forging of a picturesque vocabulary was a task which the seventeenth century could not have undertaken, much less achieved. Second, veiling nature under the garb of *mythology* was sure to be fatal to the creation of a genuine poetry of nature. Third, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not centuries of *observation;* they ran to synthesis, meaning here seeing things as a whole, whereas analysis, in the sense of seeing things in their details, is an essential of nature poetry. Fourth, another essential is an *introspective sensibility*. Daniel Mornet says: "Après Rousseau, la nature devient décidément ce qu'elle est pour nos âmes modernes, la vie confuse et profonde où s'épuise et s'épanche tout l'inexprimable de nous-même."[26]

[26] *Le Sentiment de la nature en France de J.-J. Rousseau à Bernardin de Saint-Pierre*, 1907, p. 255.

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This type of sensibility did not appear anywhere in the world before the eighteenth century and Rousseau.

II. *THE SOLITUDE AND DESERT MOTIF IN 16TH AND 17TH CENTURY POETRY*

The poetry of the Renaissance shows the frequent recurrence of a number of motifs, the commonest being: the warfare between youth and beauty and old age; the immortality conferred by poetry; the vanity of all things human; the golden mean of Horace; the *carpe rosam* motif, which is the development of the epicurean ideal of life of the same poet; and the *solitude* and *desert*[27] motif, the mode of expression in the last quarter of the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth century of the cult of the country, into which the sixteenth-century feeling for nature

[27] In Old French *désert* meant simply, according to Godefroy, *un lieu défriché* This seems to be the meaning in *Girart de Roussillon*, 372, (Paul Meyer's translation): "Après avoir quitté le comte Arbert, Begon passa la nuit dans un désert sous le toit d'un saint hermite." This meaning of an isolated spot in the country was preserved till the end of the sixteenth century. In *Heptameron*, Prologue, the spot where the personages daily met to relate their stories is called a *désert*. It is thus described: "Ce beau pré le long de la rivière du Gave, où les arbres sont si foeillez que le soleil ne sçaurait percer l'ombre ny eschauffer la fraîcheur." However, the term in the *Heptameron* seems to be elastic enough to take in the monastery (Notre-Dame de Servance) in which Margaret and her companions are guests. In the seventeenth century two new meanings are added to the original meaning. A *désert* becomes synonymous with convent or monastery (Racan, *Bergeries*), thus linking back with the meaning implied in the *Heptameron;* it becomes synonymous also with a country estate. In his *Letters*, in the one to Lamotte-Aigron, Sept. 4, 1622, Balzac gives a description of his *désert*. He refers to it also as "cette agréable solitude." In Cyrano de Bergerac, *Letters*, Cyrano describes, in letter 11, to a nobleman in Paris, who so many years before left it that he had forgotten how it looked, his *solitude*, that is his château with its domain. Since the words *solitude* and *désert* had now come to mean an habitation or estate, secular or religious, distant from the city, in the second half of the seventeenth century, when the urban and social ideal of life had replaced the rural, these words took on the added meaning of any place, urban or rural, where the graces and refinements of a cultured society were unknown. This is the meaning in *Télémaque*, XXII, where on his return to Salente Télémaque says: "D'où vient qu'on n'y remarque plus cette magnificence qui éclatait partout avant mon départ? Je ne vois plus ni or ni argent, ni pierres précieuses; les habits sont simples; les bâtiments qu'on fait sont moins vastes et moins ornés; les arts languissent; la ville est devenue une solitude." The abbé Galiani, when an "exile" in Naples from the eighteenth century Paris salons, where he was a welcome visitor, referred to that city as a *désert*. The original and derived meanings of the two words were preserved throughout the eighteenth century and even down into the early part of the nineteenth.

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had largely become transformed. In this second part I shall try to trace the origin and development of the solitude and desert motif, and to show under what influences and conditions it superseded nature as a theme in Renaissance poetry.

The literature of rusticity has a very ancient origin; the Arcadian ideal was ever a dream of the human race; any one will readily recall a dozen poets of antiquity who sang of the peace and contentment of life in the country. Lucan's

> . . . . exeat aula
> Qui vult esse pius . . . . (*Phar.* VIII, 493)

is the pithy expression of the idea that happiness resides far away from the turmoil of cities and courts.

With the elegiac poets a new turn is given to the theme. They seek not so much recreation, moral repose, and intellectual relaxation from the life of city and court as solace from the sorrows of love. Hence, not only do they desire to avoid the bustle of life in the city, but they yearn after some solitary and desert spot in which they might freely exhale their grief:

> Haec certe deserta loca et taciturna querenti,
> et vacuum zephyri possidet aura nemus:
> hic licet occultos proferre dolores,
> si modo sola queant saxa tenere fidem.
> Propertius I, xx, 36 ff.

Tibullus assures his beloved that with her at his side solitude would have no terrors for him:

> sic ego secretis possum bene vivere silvis
> qua nulla humano sit via trita pede (IV, xiii, 9f.).

These quotations suffice to show that already in ancient poetry a solitude and desert motif was in process of formation, and the similarities in verbiage[28] and situation which we find in many Renaissance poets indicate clearly enough the ultimate source of the modern motif.

The opposition between city and country must have been very early in the Middle Ages a theme with the French poets. I find what I presume to be a trace of it in two lines from the *Fabliau du*

[28] For instance compare with the *secretis . . . . silvis* of Tibullus "le secret des bois" in Claude Binet's *Chant forestier.*

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Dieu d'Amour, one of the sources of the *Roman de la Rose*, which Jubinal dates about the second half of the twelfth century:

> Je me seoie, trestous seus, sous cele ente;
> Ki seus se siet volentiers se demente.

In the *Roman de la Rose*, the statement of this opposition is expanded, thus indicating the actuality of the question in Jean de Meun's time. The fact that these lines are put into the mouth of Faux-Semblant suggests that they are a satire on life at court:

> Si n'ai mais cure d'ermitages,
> J'ai laissié deserz et boschages,
> E quit a saint Johan Baptiste
> Dou desert e maneir e giste.
> Trop par estaie loinz gitez;
> Es bours, es chasteaus, es citez
> Faz mes sales e mes palais,
> Ou l'on peut courre a plein alais;
> E di que je sui hors dou monde,
> Mais je m'i plonge e m'i afonde,
> E mi aaise e baigne e noe
> Meauz que nus poissons de sa noe. (11701-12).

In the next century, the literature contrasting the peacefulness of life in the country with the turmoil of life in the city and at the courts of princes becomes common. It is the period of the Hundred Years' War; its preludes are Crécy (1346), the loss of Calais (1347), Poitiers (1356), the *Jacquerie* (1358), and the disorders in Paris which ended in the murder of Etienne Marcel (1358). The country is disorganized and society in disintegration. The selfishness, incapacity, and corruption of the ruling class bid fair to hand over the country permanently to the invader. Patriots are in despair. All this is reflected in literature by the desire to seek in the peacefulness of life in the country surcease from the vexations that irk the souls of men.

The second half of the century produced two famous poems giving voice to this aspiration after the rustic life. These poems enjoyed a tremendous vogue, were many times imitated and translated, and were still printed and read in the seventeenth century. The first is the *Dits de Franc Gontier* of Philippe de Vitry, bishop of Meaux from 1350 to 1361, who was considered by Petrarch as the great French poet of his day. In the *Dits* Philippe shows us Franc Gontier, a wood-chopper, and his wife eating their mid-day

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meal in the wood where he is at work. The couple are young, loving, and happy; the sky is blue overhead; birds are singing in the trees. After their frugal meal Franc Gontier kisses his wife, and setting again to work, thanks God for the happiness and security they enjoy at that distance from the courts of tyrants. The poet, who overhears his words, exclaims:

> . . . . helas! serf de cour ne vaut maille,
> Mais Franc Gontier vault en or jame pure.

Philippe painted the joys of rustic life. Pierre d'Ailly, bishop of Cambrai, completed the picture by depicting the "tyran assis a haulte table," whose life is poisoned by envy, malice, and fraud. His poem, *Combien est misérable la vie du Tyran*,[29] concludes with these lines:

> Las! trop mieulx vault de Franc Gontier la vie,
> Sobre leesse et nette povreté,
> Que poursuir par orde gloutonnie
> Court de thirant, riche maleurté.[30]

An important document in the debate of country versus city is Alain Chartier's *Le Curial*, a letter written, in the early years of the fifteenth century, to his brother in order to dissuade him from coming to court. The *Curial* is a vigorous satire on the life of the courtier, with its slavery and perfidy. Alain lived at court in the unhappy days of Charles the Sixth (1380–1422) and Charles the Seventh (1422–1461). After the wise and successful reign of Charles the Fifth (1364–1380) France was again distracted by civil and foreign strife. The treasury left by him was soon dissipated; fresh taxes brought on the revolt of the *Maillotins* and the *Cobochiens*; after the madness of Charles the Sixth the country was rent by the bloody rivalry of the Bourguignons and the Armagnacs; the English, with the help of the Bourguignons, again became masters of France; Charles the Seventh was too indolent for any exertion save dancing attendance on Agnes Sorel. Such is the background of the *Curial*, in which Alain bitterly stigmatizes the selfishness and hypocrisy of the nobility. "La cour," he says, "est un couvent de genz qui soubz faintise du bien commun se assem-

[29] See A. Piaget, *Romania* 1898, pp. 61–65 for a critical edition of Philippe's and Pierre's poems.

[30] Eustache Deschamps' *chanson: Le vrai bonheur est aux champs*, (ed. *SATF* III, 1) is the most successful imitation of Philippe's and Pierre's poems.

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blent pour s'entretromper." He then proceeds to give a picture of life at court:

> Et se me demandes que c'est que vie curialle, je te respons, frère, que c'est une pouvre richesse, une habondance misérable, une haultece qui chiet, ung estat non estable, une sureté tremblant et une morvieuse vie, et ainsi peut elle estre appellée de ceulx qui sont veritablement amoureux de saincte liberté.

The *Curial* was translated into English by Caxton in 1484 and left its impress on subsequent discussions of this nature in European literature.

The city side of the debate, in behalf of which the *Fabliau du Dieu d'Amour* had already put in a word, had to wait a hundred years, until Villon, for a champion. Villon opposes to Philippe's and Pierre's ideal of the simple life in the country his epicurean ideal of a life of luxury in the city, incarnated in the well-fed *chanoine* of the *Contrediz de Franc Gontier*.

In *Le Testament* (1459–1460) Villon refers disparagingly to Pierre's tyrant:

> Quant du tirant seant en hault,
> A cestuy la riens ne demande

but he does demand ease and comfort of life, in the refrain of the *Contrediz*, which expresses his worldly philosophy:

> Il n'est trésor que de vivre à son aise.

It is in the sixteenth century that the debate came to a head. The outstanding documents are Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* (1528), the very opposite in tendency of the *Curial*, in which is depicted the Renaissance ideal of the perfect courtier, and which, besides being at once translated into the various languages, provoked a vast number of imitations;[31] Guevara's *Dispraise of Court Life* (1539), in which are summed up the advantages of life in the country over life in a city and at court, and which, between 1543 and 1568, went through at least eleven editions in French translations, and four more between 1591 and 1621; and Stephen Guazzo's *Civil Conversation* (1574), four editions of which appeared in French between 1579 and 1592.

Guazzo's thesis is that "man is created for the use of man" and that the man "who avoideth civil conversation," which is defined

[31] See Pietro Toldo, "Le Courtisan dans la littérature française et ses rapports avec l'oeuvre du Castiglione," in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen*, CIV, 75 ff. 313 ff. and CV, 60 ff.

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as "an honest, commendable, and virtuous kind of living in the world," and "who leaveth the civil society to place himself in some solitary desert, taketh on as it were the form of a beast, and in a certaine manner putteth on himself a brutish nature."[32]

In his essay *On Solitude* (I, 39), written sometime between 1572 and 1580, Montaigne undertook to liquidate the long discussion. He says: "L'ambition, l'irrésolution, la peur et les concupiscences ne nous abandonnent point pour changer de contrée . . . . Ny les déserts, ni les rochers creusés, ni la hère, ni les jeûnes ne nous en débarrassent." His advice is to change *oneself* rather than one's abode, for "notre mal nous tient en l'âme: or elle ne se peut échapper à elle-même." He disapproves of solitude if it is used as Cicero and Pliny used it, that is in order to devote oneself to pursuits that will bring one glory and reputation in the world upon which one has ostensibly turned his back, but he approves of it if it is resorted to in order to "fuir en général les passions qui empêchent la tranquillité du corps et de l'âme."

Montaigne begins his essay with these words: "Laissons à part cette longue comparaison de la vie solitaire à l'active." In his day, it is true, the comparison was some two thousand years old and worn thin. But at the moment when he was writing a new lyrical feeling, a new lyrical note, were being put into it, which were to give it new body and a new lease on life for half a century and more, in the course of which it inspired two or three masterpieces and some excellent verse.

Before the middle of the sixteenth century it is the relative merits of city life and country life which are discussed. But about 1547 we find the idea of *solitude* and the *desert*—in the primitive sense of an isolated spot—being injected into the literature of rusticity, being superposed, so to say, on the old theme of life in the country, to constitute in this new combination the Renaissance motif of solitude and the desert. The poetry of rusticity abounds in sixteenth-century French poetry, especially after 1550,

[32] So far as I know this idea that the solitary life transforms man into a brute is expressed in French literature for the first time in Maurice Scève's *Saulsaye, Eglogue de la vie solitaire* (1547):

> Et pour ce ceux, qui les villes habitent,
> Ou les cités, certes ilz se habilitent
> Modestement en marchés, jeux et festes,
> Pour estre veuz différer loing des bestes.
> Qui fait de soy aux bestes différence,
> Aura honneur, et foy en révérence.

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but the poems in which our motif plays a part are relatively few before the last quarter of the century.

I have already mentioned the Roman elegiac poets as the remote source of the motif. To their influence must be added Petrarch's. Few writers have celebrated the charms of solitude more persistently than he. In his *Epist. fam.* VII, 4, he says: "Utinam scire posses quanta cum voluptate, solivagus ac liber, inter fontes et flumina, inter libros et maximorum hominum ingenia respiro." These words constitute the text of his long work *De vita solitaria.* In B. I, chap. 3, he declares his purpose to show in his treatise "the felicity of solitude" and "the sufferings and unhappiness" which are inseparable from all gatherings of men.[33]

This desire to flee the haunts of man finds frequent expression in the *Canzoniere.* In no. CCXXXVII Petrarch categorically asserts his dislike of the city:

> Le città son nemiche, amici i boschi
> A' miei pensier' . . . .

In no. XXXV he says that this dislike extends even to man:

> Solo e pensoso i più deserti campi
> Vo misurando a passi tardi e lenti;
> E gli occhi porto, per fugire, intenti,
> Ove vestigio uman l'arena stampi.

In no. CCLIX he affirms that the love of solitude has always been a passion with him:

> Cercato ho sempre solitaria vita.

In solitude he finds surcease from the passions that devastate the soul of man, he tells us in no. CXXIX:

> Se 'n solitaria piaggia, rivo o fonte,
> Se 'n fra duo poggi siede ombrosa valle,
> Ivi s'acqueta l'alma sbigottita.

[33] I, iiii, 4 is entitled "De commendatione solitudinis: "Quod et dum licuit semper feci et quamcupide nunc faciam vides, solitudo aequidem sancta, simplex, incorrupta vereque purissima rerum est omnium humanarum: cui etenim sese ostentet in sylvis, cui si comat inter vepres? quem praeter pisces hamo, quem praeter feras ac volucres visco fallat aut laqueo? quem cantu, quem gestu mulceat, quem coloribus delectet? cui purpuram explicet, cui oleum vindicet, cui verborum florida ferta contexat? cui demum sese approbet, cui placere studeat, praeter illum cui in intimas solitudines penetranti, solitarium nihil est? neminem illa vult fallere nihil simulat aut dissimulat, nihil ornat, nihil palliat, nihil fingit."

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Remembering his great vogue throughout the Renaissance we may safely venture the assertion that far more than the Roman poets Petrarch it was who fathered that numerous brood of sixteenth-century French poets who sang the joys of solitude in the desert.

In the elaboration of the solitude and desert motif three stages may be discerned in the poetry of the century. This statement must of course not be taken in too absolute a sense; there are overlappings; but on the whole it is safe to say that these stages followed one another chronologically.

In the first stage, the poet is *seul*, or *seulet*, but the idea of solitude is not specially emphasized.

In *Le Printemps* of Michel d'Amboise (?–1547) the poet relates that one day, being "pensif et douloureux," the desire came upon him to stroll in a nearby wood:

> En ce vert bois doncques m'acheminai
> Et ci et la, seulet, me promenai
> Dessous rameaux et branches verdelettes:
> Me promenant, pensais mille chosettes.[34]

In the second, or *solitaire*, stage the poet represents himself as fleeing from some sorrow or tribulation.

Louise Labé (1525-1565), whom scandal and gossip had driven from Lyons to her country estate, sang of the balm that solitude brings to an aching heart. In sonnet XVI she says that she finds boresome all those things which once had given her happiness, and she seeks forgetfulness in

> Des bois épais . . . . le plus solitaire.

In Jacques Tahureau's (1527–1555) ode, *Si en un lieu solitaire*, we find a situation suggesting that of Alceste with regard to Célimène. Tahureau begins his lament thus:

> Si en un lieu solitaire
> Les ennuis me font retraire
> Pour me plaindre tout seulet,
> Si je cherche les montagnes,
> Ou des plus vertes campagnes
> Le murmurant ruisselet,

[34] See also Vauquelin de la Fresnaye's sonnet, *Ici seul je me plains, ô Fresnaye-au-Sauvage*, and Ronsard's elegy, *Six ans étaient écoulés, et la septième année.*

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and after five more stanzas in good nineteenth century romantic style he concludes:

> Mais que me sert faire entendre
> Mon chant pitoyable et tendre,
> Si une hélas! n'en croit rien,
> Que sur toute autre j'admire
> Et que seule je désire
> Se convertir à mon bien.[35]

In the third stage solitude is held out as a refuge from the disillusionments of life. The prevailing note is one of stoïcism: let man learn to reduce the scope of his desires to what he can attain and happiness will be his.

This is the lesson that Jean de la Taille seeks to inculcate in his *Courtisan retiré* (1572–1574):

> O combien plus heureux, celui qui, solitaire,
> Ne va point mendiant de ce sot populaire
> L'appui ni la faveur; qui paisible, s'étant
> Retiré de la cour et du monde inconstant,
> Ne s'entre-mêlant point des affaires publiques,
> Ne s'assujettissant aux plaisirs tyranniques
> D'un seigneur ignorant et ne vivant qu'à soi,
> Est lui-même sa cour, son seigneur et son roi;
> Qui n'étant point tenté d'avarice, d'envie,
> D'orgueil, d'ambition, hameçon de la vie,
> Et ne cherchant qu'en soi-même son heur,
> Est plus riche et content que le plus grand seigneur.

In this third stage the poets make a stark assertion of their personalities against the conventions and compromises imposed by society. Rather than sink their individuality into that of the crowd, they flee to the *désert*, where they can live, think, and speak as they wish.

We saw how the literature of rusticity was stimulated by the miseries of the Hundred Years' War. The anarchy of the civil and religious wars of the last third of the sixteenth century had a like repercussion in the poetry of the time. The corruption at court, the insecurity of life and property, the universal distrust of one's fellows engendered a yearning in many souls to live all to

[35] See also Belleau's *L'ombre;* Jacques Bereau's sonnet, *Poètes divins et saints, vous suivez la grandeur;* Etienne de la Boétie's *Ce jourd'hui, du soleil la chaleur attirée;* Jean Antoine de Baif's, *Déjà l'aurore deux fois et trois fois la lumière.*

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oneself far away from the usual haunts of man. All this is reflected in the poetry of the end of the century. Many a poet paints in the gloomiest colors the condition of the country during these years of internecine strife. Amadis Jamyn says in his poem, *Sur les misères de la France,* that the nobility and the people both are perishing under the sword; that old men, women, and children, all are indiscriminately massacred; that even the churches are reeking with the blood of the defenseless. He ends with this note of despair:

> Mais hélas! c'est assez de pouvoir à cette heure
> Mourir, car aujourd'hui la mort est la meilleure.

Claude Gauchet, in his *Plaisirs des Champs* (1583) puts in the mouth of two peasants a strong condemnation of the soldiers of the crown. Both agree that they are as pernicious as the enemy against whom they are ostensibly protecting the people and the country. One of them expresses this sentiment:

> Autant à l'ennemi comme à eux je me fie,
> Ils mourront pour leur Roy; mais ce sera bien tard.[36]

But bad as conditions are in the country, says Rapin in his *Plaisirs du gentilhomme champêtre,* one is better off there than in the city and at court, because at court, in addition to the disorders of civil strife, there are the enmity and perfidy of courtiers to add to one's tribulations.

Such then is the ambiance in the seventies and eighties of the sixteenth century. An insistent note in the poetry of this period is one of weariness, despair, and the desire to escape from conditions that incessantly threaten disaster. This ambiance was eminently favorable to the definitive constitution of the solitude and desert motif, the form under which this aspiration after a life of tranquillity in the country manifested itself in the poetry of the French Renaissance.

[36] Robert Garnier's *Elégie à Desportes* (1585) has an energetic recital of the horrors of civil war:

> Les meurtres inhumains se font entre les frères,
> Spectacle plein d'horreur!
> Et déjà les enfants courent contre leurs pères
> D'une avengle fureur;
>
> Le coeur des citoyens se remplit de furies;
> Les paysans écartés
> Meurent contre une haie; on ne voit que tûries
> Par les champs désertés.

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In 1583 appeared, besides Claude Gauchet's *Le Plaisir des Champs*, the *Plaisirs de la vie rustique, qui sont divers poèmes sur ce sujet, extraits de plusieurs excellens autheurs de nostre temps.* This anthology contains in addition to a considerable number of poems in Latin, four French poems: (1) *Le Voyage d'Hercueil*, anonymous but attributed to Ronsard; (2) *Les Plaisirs de la vie rustique et solitaire* of Claude Binet; (3) *Les Plaisirs du gentilhomme champestre, augmentés de quelques nouveaux poèmes et epigrammes.* Par N.R.P. i.e. Nicolas Rapin Poitevin; (4) *Les Quatrains du Seigneur de Pibrac . . . . Avec les plaisirs de la vie rustique, extraits d'un plus long poème par ledit S. de Pibrac*[37] (i.e. *Les Plaisirs de la vie rustique*, 1574). This anthology went through an extremely large number—over 100—of editions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Moreover, each one of the main poems it contains enjoyed numerous separate editions. The great vogue of these works establishes clearly enough that the cult of the country, which had been growing side by side with the poetry showing a feeling for nature, was now outstripping it as a theme with the poets and in the favor of the public. Henceforth, the poetry exhibiting the feeling for nature is relegated to the background, and becomes ancillary to the solitude and desert motif.

Originality is not a quality of the poetry of rusticity. Poet after poet, in no wise deterred by the monotony of the performance, catalogue these as the pleasures of rustic life: to be far removed from great lords and princes; to be dispensed from following the soldier's life; the hunt with horses, dogs, and hawks; fishing; the pleasant cares of husbandry; promenades in woods and beflowered meadows enlivened by the song of birds.

The poetry of rusticity concerns itself in general with the pleasures of the rural gentleman who has shaken off the fetters of cities and courts. Binet goes further and sings the happiness of the peasant who is

> Plus heureux que celuy qui prent grant avantage
> Pour se dire seigneur de nostre gros village.

But before proceeding further with Binet, who marks the final

[37] The copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale is entitled: *Les Plaisirs du gentilhomme champêtre.* Rapin. In the catalogue it is found under Claude Binet, *Les Plaisirs de la vie rustique et solitaire.* Being a *recueil factice*, the title and arrangement vary with the different editions.

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term in the evolution of the solitude and desert motif, let us cast a retrospective glance over some milestones leading to him.

First among the poets who gave the motif the particular turn and cast that Binet was to fix is Du Bellay. In sonnet 38 of the *Regrets* (1558) he declares that happiness is to be found at home only, humble as it may be, and not in the palaces of great lords, for in his own castle each man is king:

> Il est sa court, son Roy, sa faveur et son maistre.

Desportes echoed this sentiment in his *chanson*: *O bienheureux qui peut passer sa vie* (1573). On his estate, in the midst of fields and forests, in the bosom of his family, man spends an honorable and tranquil life, ignorant of ambition, flattery, and deceit.

> . . . . en vivant de sa fortune
> Il est sa cour, sa faveur et son roi.[38]

A few years later, Du Bartas in his *Semaine* (1578) "Troisième jour" played his variation on this note in his tumid style:

> Puissé-je, ô Tout-Puissant, inconnu des grands rois,
> Mes solitaires ans achever par les bois!
> Mon etang soit ma mer, mon bosquet mon Ardenne,
> La Gemone mon Nil, le Sarrapin ma Seine,
> Mes chantres et mes luths les mignards oiselets,
> Mon cher Bartas mon Louvre et ma cour mes valets . . . .

Finally Binet, by substituting the peasant in the place of the rural gentleman, universalized the theme; and he fixed and crystallized the note of stoïcism running through all these poems, so that it became a characteristic of the motif as well as a trait in the literature of the seventeenth century.

Binet's poem—it is some fifty pages long—chronicles the retirement of Janot and Fleuri, with all their *mesnie*,

> Au paisible désert d'une roche solitaire.

All is peace and harmony and happiness in this solitude, and while each one is doing his share to render it habitable Janot sings this song:

[38] I have already mentioned Jean de la Taille's *Courtisan retiré;* we remember that he

> Est lui-même sa cour, son seigneur et son roi.

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Heureux trois fois heureux celuy qui se peut plaire
Dans le séjour secret d'un désert solitaire,
Il a pour compagnon les Fées et les Dieux
Il hume purement l'air plus serain des cieux,
Il ne craint d'un voisin l'envieuse rancune,
Luymesme est son Roi, sa Cour et sa fortune.
Et comme il a borné son coeur a son moyen,
Il n'est point en procès pour le mur mitoyen,
Ny pour le droit de vue, ou pour la pierre ostée
Qui la terre commune en pars a limitée . . . .
Il vit de peu content, il ne luy vient desir
De chose dont soudain il ne puisse jouir . . . .

I believe that the year 1583, with the publication of Gauchet's *Le Plaisir des Champs* and the anthology *Les Plaisirs de la vie rustique*, focussed attention on the theme of a life of freedom and tranquillity in the solitudes of the country, and thus may be set down as the year that finally witnessed the definitive establishment in French poetry of the solitude and desert motif.

The finest flowering of the literature of rusticity appeared in the seventeenth century, when it produced two masterpieces, the first being the celebrated *Stances à Tircis* of Racan. Racan came to court as a page in 1602, at the age of eleven, with the intention of eventually becoming a soldier. His career at court was one of disillusionment, for he obtained neither the opportunity to exhibit any military prowess he may have possessed, nor did he receive the administrative preferment he next sought. In addition, two love affairs he seriously engaged in went rather badly for him. As a consequence of these disappointments his thoughts reverted more and more frequently to the peaceful country château where he had spent his childhood. His desire to "faire la retraite" was without doubt accentuated by the terrible scenes he witnessed at Paris: Marie de Medicis, whose page he had been, in exile, in disgrace, or a prisoner; the Maréchal d'Ancre assassinated (1617) in the court of the Louvre by the orders of the king; the wife of the Maréchal executed; Condé poisoned. It is under these circumstances that he composed his *Stances* (1618), though he did not definitively retire to his country estate until 1626.

In the *Stances* Racan sets forth his ideal of life: the tranquillity that is to be found in the solitude of bucolic and pastoral nature, after one has learnt the great lesson of wisdom, that is to narrow down the scope of one's desires and ambitions to what it is within one's power to attain:

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Oh! bienheureux celui qui peut de sa mémoire
Effacer pour jamais ce vain espoir de gloire
Dont l'inutile soin traverse nos plaisirs,
Et qui, loin retiré de la foule importune,
Vivant dans sa maison, content de sa fortune,
A, selon son pouvoir, mesuré ses desirs!

Roi de ses passions, il a ce qu' il désire;
Son fertile domaine est son petit empire;
Sa cabane est son Louvre et son Fontainebleau;
Ses champs et ses jardins sont autant de provinces,
Et sans porter envie à la pompe des princes,
Se contente chez lui de les voir en tableau.

Agréables déserts, séjour de l'innocence,
Où, loin des vanités, de la magnificence,
Commence mon repos et finit mon tourment,
Vallons, fleuves, rochers, plaisante solitude,
Si vous fûtes témoins de mon inquiétude,
Soyez-le désormais de mon contentement.

Place the *Stances* and the passage from Binet side by side, and at once the latter's influence is manifest. Likewise a comparison between the *Stances* and Desportes' *chanson*: *O bienheureux* . . . . especially the last stanza of each poem, will prove illuminating:

Douces brebis, mes fidèles compagnes,
Haies, buissons, forêts, prés et montagnes,
Soyez témoins de mon contentement!
Et vous, ô dieux, faites, je vous supplie,
Que cependant que durera ma vie
Je ne connaisse un autre changement.

What Racan owes to Desportes is evident at first sight. But the point I wish to make here is this: in Racan there is greater precision and firmness in the idea; he sees it more clearly; and consequently its expression is more abundant and felicitous. The difference, in general, seems to lie in this: the sixteenth-century poets are not entirely conscious that they have before them a literary motif, and their expression of their delight in solitude and the desert is spontaneous and artless; the seventeenth-century poets, on the contrary, are well aware that they are exploiting a specific theme, and while they handle it with genuine feeling, they nevertheless put in their treatment all the art that they are masters of.

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The contemporaries of Racan extolled less eloquently than he but no less assiduously the charms of solitude in the desert. Théophile remains mainly in the old tradition of the sixteenth century, when the feeling for nature had not yet been superseded by the cult of the country; in his poetry, especially in his *Lettre à son frère*, are found numerous passages vibrant with a true and sincere love for nature. However, after the persecutions of Father Garasse, that old hunter of heretics, after his lawsuit and exile, when appeasement had finally come to his tormented soul, he began to yearn after solitude and regret that he had ever left his *dêsert* (*Ode* VIII):

> Que mon sort était doux, s'il eût coulé mes ans
> Où les bords de Garonne ont les flots si plaisants!
>
> Tenant mes jours cachés dans ce lieu solitaire,
> Nul que moi ne m'eut fait ni parler ni me taire.

Unexpectedly enough, Regnier too was a lover of the *dêsert*. At times he loved to flee from the city, and in some nook in a solitary forest dream, meditate, and write:

> Dès le jour que Phoebus nous montre la journée . . . .
> Je me lève et m'en vais dans le plus creux séjour
> Que Royaumont recelle en ses forests secrettes . . . .
> Et là, malgré mes dents, rongeant et ravassant,
> Polissant les nouveaux, les vieux rapetassant,
> Je fais des vers . . . . (*Sat.* XV).

This satire is addressed to his friend Philippe Hurault, bishop of Chartres and abbot of Royaumont. Regnier loved the abbey, and at his request was buried there.

Undoubtedly the greatest lover of nature in the first half of the seventeenth century was Saint-Amant. He celebrates not only bucolic nature but nature under all its aspects, fields, forests, mountains, the sea. In this respect he belongs rather to the pre-romantic period than to the seventeenth century. What he loved above all in nature was solitude[39] (cf. *La Solitude*):

[39] Saint-Amant's *La Solitude* (1617) provoked a poem with the same title from Théophile. Tilley humorously remarks that this poem should have been called *Solitude à deux*, because the lascivious poet calls on his Corinne to come and share with him in sportive love the gloom of the deep forests and the coolness of their grottos.

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O que j'aime la solitude!
C'est l'élément des bons esprits
C'est par elle que j'ai compris
L'art d'Apollon sans étude . . . .

Je ne cherche que les déserts,
Ou, rêvant tout seul, je m'amuse . . . .

What he loves in the *déserts* are: the trees hoary with age; the song of birds; precipices with beetling brows; mountain pools, torrents, and peaks; the ruins of ancient castles enveloped in melancholy silence; the sea in its stormy as well as its serene aspects.

In *Le Contemplateur* Saint-Amant tells how he spends his time in the *désert*. He muses on the lofty truths of religion first of all, then he descends to more mundane affairs:

Tantôt, faisant agir mes sens
Sur des sujets de moindre étoffe,
De marche en marche je descends
Dans les termes du philosophe;
Nature n'a point de secret
Que d'un soin libre mais discret
Ma curiosité ne sonde;
Ses cabinets me sont ouverts,
Et dans ma recherche profonde
Je loge en moi tout l'univers.[40]

[40] In all the period when the poets celebrated in chorus the cult of the country, so far as I know, only two discordant notes were heard. The first is Pierre de Laval's *Misères et pauvretés de la vie rustique* (1576). Pierre de Laval felt a genuine sympathy for the peasant. While seeing the roseate side of life in the country he was much more aware of its gloomy side,—the hardships and oppression that were the peasant's daily lot. He had no patience with those who sought to idealize bucolic life:

Celuy qu'a son ventre soûl et plein
Loue le jeûne et dit bien de la faim,
Ainsi on voit que celuy qui demeure
Autour des rois en tranquilité seure
Vante à credit l'aise du laboureur,
Mais s'il mangeait du pain sec en douleur,
Comme aux champs faict le paysan misérable
Il ne voudrait lui estre en rien semblable.

He thus describes the peasant:

Il a le poil et la barbe mal faicte,
L'oeil enfoncé, la peau seiche et retraite . . . .

and he gives an account of his life as gloomy as La Bruyère's, though wholly lacking in its eloquence, concision, and power:

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Regnier in his *Satire* xv and Saint-Amant in *Le Comtenplateur* lead on directly to La Fontaine. Like them, La Fontaine loves the solitude and the desert because in these peaceful retreats he finds an atmosphere suitable to study and meditation. In *Le Songe d'un habitant du Mogol* (*Fables* xi, 4), in some of his best lines he gives the second masterpiece which the poetry of rusticity produced in the seventeenth century:

L'âne au moulin porte moudre le grain,
Mais pour cela il n'en menge le pain,
C'est tout ainsi du paysan qui ne cesse
De travailler, mais rien on ne luy laisse,
Car au seigneur la rante il fault porter
Et le froment plus beau luy présenter . . . .
C'est luy qui est chargé de tous subsides,
De l'un, de l'autre. On voit ses granges vuydes
Et sa maison de meuble et autre bien:
Jusqu'à la coite on ne luy laisse rien,
Quant le soldat a passé c'est la raige;
Il ne se trouve oeuf, poule, ni fourmaige . . . .
O misérable et chetif laboureur!
Celuy est bien transporté de fureur
Et plus qu'un fer a les entrailles dures
Qui n'a pitié du mal que tu endures.
Qui ne te void, ou n'a jamais gousté
Le fiel amer de la calamité,
Peut bien vanter d'un stile magnifique
L'aise et le bien de la vie rustique.
Mais celuy-là, qui void que sans repos
Mille accidents le minent jusqu'aux os,
Jugera bien que l'estat d'un forçaire,
Assujéty à l'outrageux corsaire
Est trop meilleur et plus doux mille fois
Que n'est celuy d'un paovre villageois.

See the "Rimes de Pierre de Laval" in *Bulletin historique et archéologique du Périgord*, XXVIII, 343–348.

The second anti-country document is Berthelot's (*Cab. Sat.* II, 37). After alluding to Desportes' *O bienheureux*, Berthelot says:

Mais moy je dis, tout au contraire,
Bien heureux qui se peut distraire
D'habiter les champs et les bois
Et qui peut approcher des rois:
C'est là que les vertus fleurissent,
C'est là que les gueux s'enrichissent;
C'est là, dis-je, que les plaisirs
Souvent surpassent les désirs,
Et tiens que tout homme est sauvage
Qui ne peut gouster ce breuvage.

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Si j'osois ajouter au mot de l'interprète,
J'inspirerois ici l'amour de la retraite:
Elle offre à ses amans des biens sans embarras,
Biens purs, présens du ciel, qui naissent sous les pas.
Solitude, où je trouve une douceur secrète,
Lieux que j'aimai toujours ne pourrai-je jamais
Loin du monde et du bruit, goûter l'ombre et le frais!
Oh! qui m'arrêtera sous vos sombres asiles?
Quand pourront les neuf soeurs, loin des cours et des villes,
M'occuper tout entier, et m'apprendre des cieux
Les divers mouvemens inconnus à nos yeux,
Les noms et les vertus de ces clartés errantes
Par qui sont nos destins et nos moeurs différentes?
Que si je ne suis né pour de si grands projets,
Du moins que les ruisseaux m'offrent de doux objets!
Que je peigne en mes vers quelque rive fleurie!
La Parque à filets d'or n'ourdira point ma vie,
Je ne dormirai point sous de riches lambris:
Mais voit-on que le somme en perde de son prix?
En est-il moins profond et moins plein de délices?
Je lui voue au désert de nouveaux sacrifices.
Quand le moment viendra d'aller trouver les morts,
J'aurai vécu sans soins, et mourrai sans remords.

Thus far I have not taken into consideration a collateral line of development the solitude and desert motif underwent in the first half of the seventeenth century. A religious note crept into some of the productions of a few poets, chief among them Maynard, and gave them a cast somewhat different from that of the poetry that has occupied us until now.

In their horror at the worldliness of the pagans, the early Christians went into the opposite extreme of unworldliness. The solitudes and deserts were peopled with hermits, and monasteries and convents with nuns and monks. Man was considered only as a pilgrim and an exile on earth, and the sure road to salvation was to live and die at the foot of the cross. The medieval work that most completely expressed this ideal is the *Imitatio Christi*. It held up to veneration the holy fathers, who had renounced riches, dignities, friends, and kindred in order to live in secret with God. It urged the ideal of the monastic life. "It is no small thing," the author says in I, xvii, 7, "to dwell in monasteries, or in a congregation, and to live there without complaint, and to persevere faithfully even unto death . . . . Blessed is he who shall have lived there well, and

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there happily ended;" and in I, xx, 2: "He therefore, who aims at inward and spiritual things must with Jesus turn aside from the crowd." The burden of the four books of the *Imitatio* is "all is vanity except to love God and to serve Him only."

This too had been the text about which Petrarch had written his *Secretum sive De contemptu mundi*, a colloquy in Three Days between him and Saint Augustine. In this work Petrarch inventories himself. It is the year 1343, he is thirty-nine. Sixteen years of his life had been absorbed by his passion for Laura. Discouragement had crept into his heart, and he thought it was time to look into himself to discover what other paths to peace and contentment he might be able to chart out for himself. In the First Day Saint Augustine sets forth the keynote of the treatise: to avoid the anguish of this mortal life, to meditate on the wretchedness of man and on death, to prepare oneself for death and the life everlasting.[41]

In two of the sonnets, composed ten years after Laura's death, an analogous idea occurs. In CCCLXIV Petrarch makes a confession of a misspent life:

> Tènnemi Amor anni vent' uno ardendo . . . .
>
> Omai son stanco, e mia vita reprendo
> Di tanto error, che di vertute il seme
> Ha quasi spento; e le mie parti extreme,
> Alto Dio, a te devotamente rendo,
>
> Pentito e tristo de' miei sì spesi anni,
> Che spender si devèano in miglior uso,
> In cercar pace et in fuggir affanni.
>
> Signor, che 'n questo carcer m'hai rinchiuso,
> Tràmene salvo da li eterni danni;
> Chi' i' conosco 'l mio fallo e non lo scuso.

And in CCCLXV he asks forgiveness of God for the wasted years:

> Tu che vedi i miei mali indegni et empi,
> Re del cielo, invisibile, immortale,
> Soccorri a l'alma disvïata e frale,
> E 'l suo defetto di tua grazia adempi;

[41] This is the text: "Id agere tecum institueram, ut ostenderem ad evadendum huius vitae mortalitates angustias, attolendoque se altius, primum velati gradum obtinere, meditationem mortis humanaeque miseriae: secundum vero desiderium vehemens studiumque surgendi, quibus exactis, ad id quo nostra suspirat intentio, ascensum facilem pollicebat [i.e. preparation for death and the after life], nisi tibi forte nunc etiam contrarium videretur . . . ."

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Si che s'io vissi in guerra et in tempesta,
Mòra in pace et in porto; e se la stanza
Fu vana, almen sia la partita onesta.

A quel poco di viver che m'avanza
Et al morir, degni esser tua man presta.
Tu sai ben che 'n altrui non ho speranza.

The *Imitatio* at once came into a popularity which was very great in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and continues to this day. The *De contemptu mundi*, very popular also in those two centuries, is today read only by a few specialists in Petrarch. I believe that the religious turn given to the solitude and desert motif is to be accounted for by the influence of these two works and the two sonnets just given.

Only two authors need detain us here. In Racan's *Bergeries*, Lucidas, in order to win away Arténice's love from Alcidor, conducts her to a magician, who shows her in a magic mirror a feigned love scene between Alcidor and Ydalie. In her disillusionment Arténice exclaims:

. . . . désormais le seul bien que j'espère
Est de passer ma vie dans un désert austère, [*i.e.* a convent]
Où, sage à mes despens, je veux à l'avenir
Au seul amour du ciel mes volontez unir . . . .
Je prends congé du monde et de ses vanitez . . . .
Je vais finir mes jours dans quelque saint lieu
Où jamais le malheur ne me pourra desplaire.

She becomes a vestal in the temple of Diana. Philothée thus expounds to her the life of a convent:

Nostre reigle est estroicte et malaisée à suivre:
Dans un désert austère il faut mourir et vivre,
Prendre congé du monde et de tous ses plaisirs,
N'avoir plus rien à soy, pas même ses désirs,
Méditer et jeusner avec patience,
Et souffrir doucement la loi d'obédience.

"Le monde et ses vanitez" is also the theme of Maynard's *Vers spirituels* (1613), a collection of twelve sonnets. In sonnet IX he says:

Il est temps de sortir de ta captivité
Et secouer le joug où tu es retenue,
Mon âme, il est jà temps; car partout ou ma veue
Arreste ses regards, ce n'est que vanité,

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and in sonnet XII

> Ce monde est passager, Dieu seul est immuable,
> Ne préfère donc plus les ténèbres au jour,
> Et à l'éternité un moment périssable.

In 1605 Maynard, who had been a provincial barrister, became a secretary of Henry the Fourth. To Paris he brought an ardent desire to conquer literary glory. In 1618 he was appointed President of the Presidial of Aurillac. At first he was happy in his post, but later he began to regret Paris, where he felt he could have attained a high position in the world of letters. His wife became a valetudinarian, and his son died. Henceforth life was a bitter disappointment to him. Besides, he was of an independent character, and drew upon himself, for his loyalty to his friends, whom Richelieu hated, the Cardinal's disfavor. It is in the 1640's that he began to sing the *dêsert*. When the *Vers spirituels* appeared, such verse was in vogue, and Maynard's are quite conventional. On the contrary, the later sonnets on the *dêsert* possess a deep tone of sincerity. Along with the ode *Alcippe, reviens dans nos bois*, I know of nothing better done by Maynard. In the sonnet

> Je donne à mon désert les restes de ma vie,
> Pour ne dépendre plus que du ciel et de moy . . . .

he pays homage to the custom of writing a poem on "la retraite du sage," and in the following sonnet the religious note is intensified:

> Mon âme, il faut partir. Ma vigueur est passée,
> Mon dernier jour est dessus l'horizon.
> Tu crains ta liberté. Quoy! n'es-tu pas lassée
> D'avoir souffert soixante ans de prison?
>
> Tes désordres sont grands, tes vertus sont petites;
> Parmy tes maux on trouve peu de bien.
> Mais si le bon Jesus te donne ses mérites,
> Espère tout et n'appréhende rien.
>
> Mon âme, repens-toy d'avoir aimé le monde,
> Et de tes yeux fais la source d'une onde
> Qui touche de pitié le Monarque des Rois.
>
> Que tu serois courageuse et ravie
> Si j'avois soupiré durant toute ma vie
> Dans le désert sous l'ombre de la Croix.

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The connection between these two sonnets is obvious: the wise man turns his back upon the deceptions of the court and the vanities of honors and glory in order to seek true contentment "sous l'ombre de la Croix."[42]

At the very moment when Racan was composing his *Stances* the marquise de Rambouillet was introducing a new social ideal in France, the Italian ideal found in Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* and Guazzo's *Civil Conversation*. The growth and domination over society and literature of this new ideal requires no word here. It is this ideal that we find exalted in Molière's *Misanthrope*. Alceste—whom, with Philinte, we find clearly adumbrated in Guazzo—is a man of the sixteenth century living in the seventeenth, he is an individualist thrust by birth and fortune into a highly social *milieu* where individualism is accounted a crime. And his tragedy is a double one, for he is madly in love with a woman who is a high-priestess of this new social ideal, and in whom he finds incarnated all its vices.

Alceste's natural reaction is to do what Louise Labé did, what Ronsard, and Pibrac, and Rapin, and Jean de la Taille, and Racan, and Maynard did,—to retire to his *désert* in order to live there a life of solitude, in which his prejudices and his tastes will not bring him into perpetual conflict with the society around him. In an outburst he expresses to Philinte his disgust with that society (I, i):

> Têtebleu! ce me sont de mortelles blessures,
> De voir qu'avec le vice on garde des mesures:
> Et parfois il me prend des mouvements soudains
> De fuir dans un désert l'approche des humains.

After Célimène's duplicity has been laid bare, Alceste imposes these as the conditions of a reconciliation (V, iv):

> Oui, je veux bien, perfide, oublier vos forfaits;
> J'en saurai, dans mon âme, excuser tous les traits,
> Et me les couvrirai du nom d'une faiblesse
> Où le vice du temps porte notre jeunesse,
> Pourvu que votre coeur veuille donner les mains
> Au dessein que j'ai fait de fuir tous les humains,
> Et que dans mon désert, où j'ai fait voeu de vivre,
> Vous soyez, sans tarder, résolue à me suivre.

[42] See also Arnauld d'Andilly's *Ode sur la solitude*, and Gomberville's Sonnet: *Sur la solitude*.

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But Célimène is not yet ready to bury her youth and her wit in a *dêsert*. She refuses Alceste's conditions, and we may be permitted to doubt, in spite of his final declaration, that he will retire to the solitude of his country estate.

Under the influence of the new social ideal sponsored by the salons, love of the country virtually died, and the literature of rusticity well nigh disappeared. In the second half of the century one poet only, La Fontaine, retained a genuine love for the *dêsert* and its solitude.

The conclusion to which this discussion brings us is, then, that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—and this is truer of the latter than of the former—experienced the feeling for nature only in a rudimentary way. What they saw in nature and the country was an asylum from the hurly-burly of life, temporary in some cases (Regnier, Théophile, Saint-Amant etc.), permanent in others (Gauchet, Rapin, Pibrac, Racan, Maynard, etc.), in which hills, woods, dales, birds, flowers, streams, combined to give color and variety to the monotone of a life of solitude and tranquillity. Except in some degree Ronsard, the sixteenth and seventeenth century poets did not dream that by projecting their own life into external nature they could invest it with an emotional content that would well out in the purest song.

Rousseau was to lead the way to that great discovery. The sympathy and understanding he did not find among men he sought in nature; and his love of solitude and reverie joined with his acute sensibility enabled him to discover affinities between the soul of man and the soul of things. The romantic poets seized upon this discovery, and through their exploitation of it was finally created a genuine poetry of nature.[43]

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[43] I have had the advantage of discussing some aspects of this paper with Professor Nitze of the University of Chicago, and Professor Cons of Swarthmore College, and I take pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to them for their fruitful suggestions.

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XLVI

ALLUSIONS TO JAMES I AND HIS COURT IN MARSTON'S *FAWN* AND BEAUMONT'S *WOMAN HATER**

DETAILED study attendant upon the preparation of a critical edition of the *Woman Hater* has led me to the conclusion that the play is not an unsuccessful *juvenilium* in the Jonsonian "humour" school, as it has often been described, but is rather indebted to the evil influence of the outlawed satirist, John Marston, and identifies its author as one of a group of daring young comedists who took for their common subject the crimes and follies of the Court of James I. The purpose of the present paper, however, is not to discuss the evidence of this satirical cabal of which Marston was unquestionably the arch-conspirator, but to point out several topical allusions to the King and his court in Marston's *Fawn* and Beaumont's *Woman Hater*.

The writer does not agree with the ultra-conservative attitude of some critics who disparage this harmless literary scandal-mongering because it is inevitably conjectural. If in the following discussion he aligns himself with those who, in the language of one objector, "tend to find a bird or two in every bush," he finds justification in an increased appreciation of the "bush." The critical question is not so much "Who were the birds?" but, "Is it a bird-bush?" And this can only be answered by comparing the apparent satire with its possible victims.

On March 28, 1605, Mr. Samuel Calvert wrote to Mr. Winwood:

> The Players do not forbear to represent upon their stage the whole course of this present time, not sparing either King, State, or Religion in so great absurdity and with such liberty, that any would be afraid to hear them."[1]

Much of this satire was probably extemporized, and most of it must never have reached the print shop. That small portion which finally got into print was in the main either harmless or sufficiently recondite to escape detection. Harmless jests about the purchasability of knighthood, for example, were good for a laugh anywhere; many other satirical allusions, if not too obvious, were apparently lost upon Buc, the censor, or perhaps even winked at by him, for he seems to have married his position along with

* This paper will be discussed at the meeting of the English Drama group, at Cleveland, December 31.

[1] Winwood's *Mem.*, Vol. II, 54, in Nichols, *Progresser*, Lond. 1828, I, 500.

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the daughter of Tylney, Elizabeth's famous censor. One gathers from the gossip of the time that the old queen's retainers were not always sympathetic with the Scottish succession. Otherwise dramatic satire was likely to make trouble for its author and his company—witness the perilous career of Marston. By 1610 James seems practically to have suppressed this entertaining form of bushwhacking upon the stage.

Of satirical representations of James himself, the only one I have thus far found is the character of Gonzago in Marston's *Fawn*.[2] I first read this play shortly after completing a survey of the available material upon James and his court and was immediately struck with the likeness. This resemblance, I find, had also been noted by Bullen, who says:

> I am half inclined to suspect that Marston was slily glancing at the 'wise fool' King James in the person of the silly and pedantic Gonzago; and it is probable that some social scandals of the time afforded material for the description of the intrigues of Gonzago's courtiers.[3]

It is not properly the business of the type of drama of which *The Fawn* is a striking example to evolve character, for satire is, of course, a critical, or analytic, not a creative mode in art. In the personage of Gonzago, therefore, Marston's intention is obviously limited to the ridicule of a few outstanding characteristics of him who was known to some as the "British Solomon" and to others as "the wisest fool in Christendom."

James' boundless conceit in his own wisdom is attacked directly again and again. "We have been a philosopher and spoke with

[2] It may be noted here that Fleay regarded Day's *Isle of Gulls* as "certainly one of the series in which royalty was satirized" because it was surreptitiously published with titles of King and Queen incompletely altered to Duke and Duchess.

Sir E. K. Chambers cites a letter of Edward Hoby, 7 March, 1606 (Birch 1, 59) to the effect that there "was much speech of a play in the Black Friars, where, in the *Isle of Gulls* from the highest to the lowest, all men's parts were acted of two diverse nations" and therefore agrees with Fleay. Chambers, however, (III, 286), scouts Fleay's conjecture that Daniel was lampooned in the character of Dametas and suggests that Carr was the intended butt. I think Sir Edmund would be hard put to it to explain why "Damoetas, the royal favorite . . . . inevitably suggests Sir Robert Carr." The *Isle of Gulls* by Chambers' own dating is too early for Carr, and the character of Dametas does not exhibit his known traits.

As for the *Isle of Gulls*, it will be the unpleasant duty of the next editor of Day to decide whether the common predilection of James and his wife for beautiful young men is there satirized. Certainly the political satire is plain enough.

[3] Bullen, *Marston*, Introd., I, xliii. My recognition was independent of Bullen's and is therefore corroborative.

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much applause," says the ingenuous Duke, "but now age makes us wise."[4] The specific traits that characterize this general propensity of Gonzago's nature are pedantry and a ludicrous belief in his own occult or clairvoyant powers; and it is they that make the identification with James so plausible. Since purblind gullibility and love of flattery are likely to accompany extreme egotism wherever it may be found, the fact that they are the incidental traits which fill out the portrait of Gonzago as well as his historical prototype is only to be noted in passing.

The best of several examples of Gonzago's pedantry occurs in III, i, 449 ff.:

> Meantime, as you respect our best relation
> Of your fair bearing (Granuffo, is't not good?)—
> Of your fair bearing, rest more anxious—
> (No, anxious is not a good word)—rest more vigilant
> Over your passion, both forbear and bear,
> *Anechou e apechou* (that's Greek to you now),
> Else your youth shall find
> Our nose not stuff'd but we can take the wind
> And smell you out—I say no more but this—
> And smell you out. What! ha' we not our eyes,
> Our nose and ears? What! are these hairs unwise?
> Look to't, *quos ego*,—
> (A figure called Aposiopesis or Increpatio).

In 1608 Cardinal Bentivoglio reported of James,

> He speaks extremely well, and has a happy memory; gifts of which he has often made a great display, especially on occasion of opening the Parliament, when, instead of confining himself to the dignified brevity observed by his predecessors, he has chosen to exhibit his talents in long speeches interspersed with many matters belonging to erudition rather than government.[5]

Gonzago's ridiculous pride in his own prescient wisdom is best illustrated in the speech to his daughter, IV, i:

> Then, *verbum sat sapienti* . . . . ! Go, take your chamber, down upon your knees; thank God your father is no foolish sot, but one that can foresee and see.

[4] I, ii, 127.

[5] Trans. by Lucy Aikin, I, 333. *Memoir of the Court of King James the First*, London, 1822.

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And in V, i:

> This night we will exult! O let this night
> Be ever memorised with prouder triumphs—
> Let it be writ in lasting character
> That this night our great wisdom did discover
> So close a practice—that this night, I say,
> Our policy found out, nay, dash'd the drifts
> Of the young prince, and put him to his shifts,
> Nay, past his shifts ('fore Jove! we could make a good poet).—
> Delight us. On! we deign our princely ear—

It is scarcely sufficient to remark that herein is described one of the best known and most ludicrous foibles of James, for I am almost persuaded that the two passages burlesque specifically his alleged discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. The preamble to the Act of Thanksgiving insisted that

> . . . . the conspiracy would have turned to the utter ruin of this Kingdom, had it not pleased Almighty God, by inspiring the King's most excellent Majesty with a Divine spirit to interpret some dark phrases of a letter shewed to his Majesty, above and beyond all ordinary construction thereby miraculously discovering the hidden treason.

James, himself, told Parliament that the event was

> . . . . not a little wonderfull, which would bee thought the more miraculous by you all, if you were as well acquainted with my natural disposition, as those are who be neere about mee: For as I ever did hold Suspition to be the sickness of a Tyrant, so was I so farre upon the other extremity, as I rather contemned all advertisements or apprehensions of practises. And yet now at this time was I so farre contrary to my selfe, as when the Letter was shewed to me by my Secretary, wherein a generall obscure advertisement was given to some dangerous blow at this time, I did upon the instant interpret and apprehend some darke phrases therein, contrary to the ordinary Grammar construction of them, (and in another sort then I am sure any Divine, or Lawyer in any Universitie would have taken them) to be meant by this horrible forme of blowing us up all by Powder: And thereupon ordered that search be made, whereby the matter was discovered and the man apprehended: whereas if I had apprehended or interpreted it to any other sort of danger, no worldly provision or prevention could have made us escape our utter destruction.[6]

It seems, however, that all the people did not swallow the Powder Plot fiction, for Carleton wrote about a week after the alleged discovery that

[6] McIlwain, *Pol. Wks. of Jas. I*, Cambridge 1918, 284.

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The fire which was said to have burnt our king and council and hath been so hot these two days past in every man's mouth, proved but *ignis fatuus*, or a flash of some foolish fellow's brain to cozen the world; for it is now confidently reported there was no such matter, nor anything near it more than a barrel of powder found near the court.[7]

Both Father Gerard, who questions the actuality of the Gunpowder conspiracy, and Gardiner, who offers a kindly and dignified refutation of Gerard's main thesis, suggest that James was the willing but unconscious dupe of Salisbury in the episode of the oracular Monteagle letter.[8]

This, of course, was not the only occasion upon which the royal pedant boasted of his extraordinary powers. There is the famous letter of Sir John Harington which describes a character singularly akin to Gonzago.

Then [wrote Harington] he enquyrede muche of lernynge, and showede me his owne in such sorte, as made me remember my Examiner at Cambridge aforetyme. He sought muche to knowe my advances in philosophie, and utterede such profounde sentences of Aristotle, and such lyke wryters, which I had never reade, and which some are bolde enoughe to saye others do not understand; but this I must passe by. The Prince did nowe presse my readinge to him parte of a canto in Ariosto, praysed my utterance, and said he had been informed of manie, as to my lernynge, in the tyme of the Queene. He asked me what I thoughte pure witte was made of; and whom it did best become? Whether a Kynge should not be the best clerke in his own countrie; and, if this land did not entertayne good opinion of his lernynge and good wisdom? His Majestie did much presse for my opinion touchinge the power of Satane in matters of witchcraft; and asked me, with much gravitie, if I did trulie understande, why the Devil did worke more with ancient women than others? I did not refraine from a scurvey jeste, and even said (notwithstandinge to whom it was saide) that we were taught hereof in Scripture, where it is tolde, that the Devil walketh in dry places. His Majestie, moreover, was pleasede to saie much, and favouredlye, of my good report for merth and good conceite; To which I did covertlie answer, as not willinge a subjecte should be wiser than his Prince, nor even appear so. More serious discourse did next ensue, where I wantede roome to continue, and sometime roome to escape; for the Queene his mother was not forgotten, nor Davison neither. His Highnesse tolde me her deathe was visible in Scotlande before it did really happen, being, he said, spoken of in secrete by those whose power of sighte presented to them a bloodie heade dancinge in the aire. He then

[7] Gerard, *What was the Gunpowder Plot*, 141.
[8] Cf. Gardiner, *What Gunpowder Plot Was*, 125.

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did remarke much on this gifte, and saide he had soughte out of certain bookes a sure waie to attaine knowledge of future chances. Hereat he namede many bookes, which I did not knowe, nor by whom written; but advisede me not to consider some authors which woulde leade me to evile consultations; I tolde his Majestie, the power of Satan had, I muche fearede, damagede my bodilie frame; but I had not farther will to cowrte his friendshipe for my soules hurte. We next discoursed somewhat on Religion, when at lengthe he saide: Now, Sir, you have seen my wisdome in some sorte, and I have pried into yours. I praye you, do me justice in your reporte, and, in good season, I will not fail to add to your understandinge, in such pointes as I maye find you lacke amendmente.

There are three other points of congruence that are worthy of mention. The line in Gonzago's speech quoted above, " 'fore Jove! we could make a good poet," may very well have been designed to twit the royal author of the *Essays of a Prentice in the Divine Art and Ruelis and Cautelis to be observed and eschewit in Scottis Poesie*, who himself did use to meditate the thankless muse. In I, ii, Dondolo, "a bald fool" rushes in shouting "News! news! news! news!" and the cynical Herod answers, "What, in the name of prophecy? Doth the duke want no money?" This ironic dart was aimed at the monarch of whom Weldon tersely remarks: "He spent much and had much use of his subjects' purses, which bread some clashing with them in Parliament." And finally Gonzago's boast in V, i, "Giv't us full, when we were young we could ha' troll'd it off, Drunk down a Dutchman," coincides with our notion of James as a man proud of his mastery of strong liquor. Weldon tells us that "he was very intemperate in his drinking" and that "his drinks were of that kind of strength . . . . that had he not had a very strong brain might have daily been overtaken."

That John Marston, a fugitive from and finally a victim of James's justice, could have drawn in ignorance a satirical portrait so like his sovereign is scarcely credible.

To this full length portrait in *The Fawn* we may add several satirical details from *The Woman Hater*. The Duke in that play is frequently the object of remarks which were apparently aimed at the king. Attention is first to be called, however, to what may have been a direct allusion to James. There is a line in the prologue which runs "or if there be any lurking amongst you in corners with Table-books who have some hope to find fit matter to feed his——malice on, let them claspe them up, and slink away, or stay and be converted." The dash may mark the deletion of a profane epithet but I suggest the word "majesty's"; otherwise the "his"

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must refer to "any" and the author has obviously conceived "any" in the ungrammatical plural sense as shown by the following "have" and "them." Besides, the interlocking alliteration of "f's" and "m's" renders the conjecture particularly plausible.

The first remark with satirical possibilities to be found in the play proper is the Duke's speech, "Nay, knew you how my serious working plots, concern the whole Estates of all my subjects, I [i.e. "Aye"] and their lives; then Lucio thou wouldst swear, I were a loving Prince."[9] This I believe to be an instance of Beaumont's characteristic irony and an allusion to James's unscrupulous dealing with the lives and property of recusants and other victims of his disfavor.

A little farther along in the same scene occurs a speech of the Duke's in which we are perhaps justified in reading an allusion to the notorious capriciousness of the King's preferment.

A courtier call'st thou him? says the Duke, "Believe me, Lucio, there be many such about our Court, respected, as they think, even by ourself; with thee I will be plain: We Princes do use, to preferre many for nothing, and to take particular and free knowledge almost in the nature of acquaintance of many; whom we do use only for our pleasures, and do give largely to numbers; more out of policy to be thought liberal, and by that means to make the people strive to deserve our Love; than to reward any particular desert of theirs, to whom we give: and do suffer ourselves to hear flatterers, more for recreation than for love of it, though we seldom hate it: And yet we know all these, and when we please, can touch the wheel, and turn their names about.[10]

Sir Anthony Weldon tells of James that

he ever desired to prefer meane men in great places, that when he turned them out again, they should have no friends to bandy with them. And besides, they were so hated by being raised from a meane estate, to over top all men, that everyone held it a pretty recreation to have them turned out: There were living in this King's time, at one instant, two Treasurers, three Secretaries, two Lord Keepers, two Admiralls, three Lord Chief Justices, yet but one in play, therefore this King had a pretty faculty in putting out and in.[11]

There are two general allusions in which the king, according to memoir writers, would necessarily be included. One is the line "no court hand whom his own natural filth or change of air hath

[9] Act I, sc. i.
[10] Cf. *The Fawn*, III, i, 171.
[11] D. N. Smith, *Characters of the 17th Century*, 8.

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bedecked with scabs, etc."; and the other is Lazarillo's reference to "huge stuff'd doublets."[12] The king's clothes, according to Weldon, were "ever being made large and easie, the Doublets quilted for Steletto proofe, his Breeches in great pleites and full stuffed. He was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the reason of his quilted Doublets." And his skin, according to the same authority "was as soft as taffeta sarcenet, which felt so, because he never washed his hands only rubbed his fingers slightly with the wet end of a napkin."

To complete the realistic picture of 'the wisest King in Christendom' [says Sir Philip Gibbs] we may see James plucking at his richly jewelled doublet with dirty fingers glittering with precious gems. Though he lived in palaces, the King was not free from those little creatures which are often found in hovels. The Countess of Dorset wrote that when she paid a visit of congratulation to the royal family at Theobald's she was surprised at the great change which had taken place in regard to the want of cleanliness since the preceding reign. Soon after leaving the mansion she found herself infested with fleas.[13]

Another indirect gibe at the timorous nature of him to whom Sir Henry Nevill refers (in a letter to Winwood) as "Jacobus Pacificus" is that in II, i, where the Count is able to give but two reasons why the Duke should be in conference with his generalissimo.

Are they in consultation? [he asks]. If they be, either my young Duke hath gotten some Bastard, and is persuading my Knight yonder to father the child and marry the wench, or else some cock-pit is to be built.

While I am aware that James's interest in women has been questioned, his notorious addiction to the sports of the cock-pit and his lavish expenditures upon them are not to be gainsaid. One historian informs us that "the cock-pit was frequented by him at least twice a week, and indeed constituted one of his principal sources of amusement." "It is affirmed," he continues, "that the salary of the Master of the Cocks amounting to two hundred

[12] I, ii, and I, iii.

[13] *King's Favorite*, 4. The Countess wrote:

"We all saw a great change between the fashion of the Court as it was now, and yt in ye Queene's, for we were all lowzy by sittinge in Sir Thomas Erskin's chamber."

From Lady Anne's *Diary* in Nic. I, iii. Cf. also the *Diary* of Lady Anne Clifford, Lon. 1923, 6.

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pounds per annum, exceeded the united allowances of two secretaries of state."[14]

It was the chronic discrepancy between the amount of such expenditures and the condition of the exchequer that lent point to the mercer's remark in Act III, Scene iv, of *The Woman Hater*, "I doe hope within this twelve-month to be able by Art to serve the Court with silks, and not undoe myself."

The Count's instruction to Lazarillo before the introduction of that worthy to the Duke, the Duke's subsequent catechism of Lazarillo, and several satirical allusions yet to be discussed are all in signal accord with the notion of James derived from the Harington letter and from another of Thomas Howard to Harington which may be quoted here. It reads:

If you have good will and good health to perform what I shall commend, you may set forward for Court, whenever it suiteth your own conveniency; the King hath often enquired after you, and would readily see and converse again with the 'merry Blade,' as he hath oft called you, since you were here. I will now premise certain things to be observed by you toward well gaining our Princes good affection: He doth wondrously covet learned discourse, of which you can furnish out ample means; he doth admire good fashion in cloaths, I pray you give good heed hereto; strange devices oft come into mans conceit; some one regardeth the endowments of the inward sort, wit, valour, or virtue; another hath, perchance, special affection towardes outward thinges, cloaths, deportment, and good countenance; I would wish you to be well trimmed, get a new jerkin well bordered, and not too short; the King saith he liketh a flowing garment; be sure it be not all of one sort, but diversely coloured, the collar falling somewhat down, and your ruff well stiffend and bushy. We have lately had many gallants who failed in their suits, for want of due observance of these matters. The King is nicely heedful of such points, and dwelleth on good looks and handsome accoutrements. Eighteen servants were lately discharged, and many more will be discarded, who are not to his liking in these matters. I wish you to follow my directions, as I wish you to gain all you desire. Robert Carr is now most likely to win the Princes affection, and dothe it wonderously in a little time. The Prince leaneth on his arm, pinches his cheek, smoothes his ruffled garment, and when he looketh at Carr, directeth discourse to divers others. This young man dothe muche study all art and device; he hath changed his taylors and tiremen many times, and all to please the Prince, who laugheth at the long grown fashion of our young Courtiers, and wisheth for change every day. You must see Carr before you go to the King, as he was with him a boy in Scotland, and knoweth his taste and what pleaseth. In

[14] *England Under the Stuarts*, I, 57.

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your discourse you must not dwell too long on any one subject; and touch but lightly on religion. Do not yourself say, This is good or bad; but, if it were your Majesties good opinion, I myself should think so and so; ask no more questions than what may serve to know the Princes thought. In private discourse, the King seldom speaketh of any mans temper, discretion, or good virtues; so meddle not at all, but find out a clue to guide you to the heart and most delightful subject of his mind. I will advise one thing; The Roan jennet, whereon the King rideth every day, must not be forgotten to be praised; the good furniture, and, above all, what lost a great man much notice the other day.—A Noble did come in suit of a place, and saw the King mounting the Roan; delivered his petition, which was heeded and read, but no answer was given; the Noble departed, and came to Courte the nexte day, and got no answer again. The Lord Treasurer was then pressed to move the Kings pleasure touching the petition; when the King was asked for answer thereto, he said, in some wrath, 'Shall a King give heed to a dirty paper, when a begar noteth not his gilt stirrops?' Now it fell out, that the King had new furniture when the Noble saw him in the Courteyard, but was overcharged with confusion, and passed by admiring the dressing of the horse. Thus, good Knight, our Noble failed in his suit. I could relate and offer some other remarks on these matters, but silence and discretion should be linked together like dog and bitch, for of them is gendred security; I am certain it proveth so at this place. You have lived to see the trim of old times, and what passed in the Queens days: These things are no more the same; your Queen did talk of her subjects love and good affections, and in good truth she aimed well: our King talketh of his subjects fear and subjection, and herein I think he dothe well too, as long as it holdeth good; Carr hath all favours, as I told you before; the King teacheth him Latin every morning and I think some one should teach him English too, for, as he is a Scottish lad, he hath much need of better language. The King doth much covet his presence, the Ladies too are not behind hand in their admiration; for I tell you, good Knight, this fellow is straight-limbed, well-favoured, strong-shouldered, and smooth-faced, with some sort of cunning and show of modesty; tho, God wot, he well knoweth when to shew his impudence. You are not young, you are not handsome, you are not finely: and yet Will you come to Courte, and thinke to be well favoured? Why, I say again, good Knight, that your learning may somewhat prove worthy hereunto: your Latin and your Greek, your Italian, your Spanish tongues, your wit and discretion, may be well looked unto for a while, as strangers at such a place; but these are not the thinges men live by now a days: Will you say the moon shineth all the summer? That the starrs are bright jewels fit for Carrs ears? That the Roan jennet surpasseth Bucephalus, and is worthy to be bestridden by Alexander? That his eyes are fire, his tail is Berenices locks, and a few more such fancies worthy your noticing? Your Lady is virtuous and somewhat of a good huswife; has lived in a

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Courte in her time, and I believe you may venture her forthe again; but I know those woud not quietly reste, were Carr to leer on their wives, as some do perceive, yea, and like it well too they should be so noticed. If any mischance be to be wished, tis breaking a leg in the Kings presence, for this fellow owes all his favour to that bout; I think he hath better reason to speak well of his own horse, than the King's Roan jennet. We are almost worn out in our endeavors to keep pace with this fellow in his duty and labour to gain favour, but all in vain; where it endeth I cannot guess, but honours are talked of speedily for him. I truste this by my own son, that no danger may happen from our freedoms. If you come here, God speed your ploughing at the Courte. I know you do it rarely at home: So adieu, my good Knyght, and I will always write me your truly loving old frinde, T. Howard.[15]

The most amusing shafts in the play, indeed, are those leveled at the conspicuous favoritism of James and the men toward whom it was shown, I shall treat the Carr allusion in a discussion of the date of the play, but another remark occurring on the same page also appears to be allusive. After speaking of one pair of legs, which possibly belonged to Robert Carr, the Count says to his sister, "Another pair you shall see, that were heir apparent legs to a Glover, these legs hope shortly to be made honorable." This may refer to Sir Thomas Glover, the Ambassador to Turkey, who was knighted for the second time at Hampton Court in August 1606, or even more probably to Sir Willian Glover, an ex-sheriff, who had been dubbed along with all the other "Aldermen of London who had not been previously knighted" in 1603 at the time when "so few scaped the sword."[16] Sir William apparently had hopes, for he captured one of the numerous parasitic positions at court as "Gentleman-usher Dayly-water," and finally gained such preferment as entitled him to ride before the royal hearse at the funeral of 1625.

Unquestionably the two most conspicuous of the royal cronies during the two or three years preceding the brilliant rise of Carr were Philip Herbert and James Hay, and it is a temptation to suspect that Beaumont has paid them his satirical respects in the persons of Lucio and Arrigo. The evidence is meagre but suggestive.

In the first place Herbert and Hay were associated with one another in a confidential relationship to their sovereign identical with that of Lucio and Arrigo. Herbert was knighted at St. James,

[15] *Nugae Antiquae*, II, 271.

[16] Nic. I, 508 and II, 95. The quip is from Sharpham's *Fleire*.

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July 24, 1603, and in the following month we find Sir Robert Carey writing that

> Shortly after her coming [*i.e.*, the Queen's coming to Windsor] she made suit too for James Hayes to be admitted again [he had served James in Scotland] into the Bed-chamber with Philip Herbert. I bestirred myself as well as I could. They were taken and poor I refused, never after to hope for it.[17]

Henceforth for a period of many years these two favorites are associated in the records in business, as recipients of James's lavish bounty, and as acknowledged leaders in the social and athletic activities of the royal circle. By November 1603 they "had got betwixt them" according to Dudley Carleton, "a grant of transport of cloths, worth £10,000 at best."[18] From the State papers we learn that this was done through royal indulgence and contravened the previous right granted by Elizabeth to the Earl of Cumberland.[19]

Their names again appear together in the Calendar for September 25, 1604, when James grants them the offices in reversion of "Steward and Lieutenant of Woodstock and Wolton, Keeper of the parks, woods, etc., of Woodstock, Ranger of the New Forest, and porter of the park," lucrative sinecures, of course; and again in November, 1606, Chamberlin writes Carleton that "the King will pay the debts of Earl Montgomery (Philip Herbert) and Lord Hay and Viscount Haddington." And finally:

> On Satterday, the 22d of March, (1606) about a halfe an houre before seven a clocke in the morning, was suddenly spread throughout the Court and the Cittie of London, for certaine, news that the King was slaine at Oking, ... for two hours space and more the newes grew more and more, that not onely the King was slaine, but with him, in his defence, the Earl of Montgomery, Syr John Ramsay, and Sir James Hay.[20]

So much for the fact that Montgomery and Hay were associated in the intimate service of their king. Now for their individual characteristics as logical targets of dramatic satire. No one seems to have outdone either of them as a candidate for public attention. Montgomery appears to have been the most lampooned politician

[17] Nic. I, 247.
[18] *The Court and Times of James I*, citing Birch, I, 26.
[19] *Calendar of Domestic State Papers, 1603–10*, p. 88.
[20] Nic. II, 39.

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of two reigns, and Hay was the universally acknowledged Beau Brummel of his generation.[21]

From his first utterance "About some weighty State plot," to Valore's ironical admonition, "Go, and maist thou knock down Treason like an ox," Lucio of *The Woman Hater* is consistently represented as a hot tempered bigot whose absorbing preoccupation is statecraft. "His name is Lucio," says the Count " 'tis he that was made a Lord at the request of some of his friends for his wives sake: he affects to be a great Statesman, and thinks it consists in night-caps and jewells, and tooth-picks."[22] In the first scene of Act V he declaims with pompous rhetoric against poor Lazarillo in a speech which he has apparently memorized for such occasions. "Hold thy peace:" he shouts, "thou canst not answer this speech: no Traiter can answer it: but because you cannot answer this speech, I take it you have confess'd the Treason."

Now Philip Herbert was no less of a would-be "Machieval" than Lucio, and about as statesman-like. He was scarcely out of his teens when he stood for Glamorganshire in the first Parliament of James and indeed was one of the youngest that ever sat in that turbulent body. Then followed a hectic political career which lasted throughout the half century. "No stratagem that e're his silly pate Could hatch, but hee imploy'd it for the state."[23] Whether Herbert used "railroad" methods comparable to those of Lucio in the prosecution of treason we cannot say, but we do know that it was he who represented the king in dealing with the treasonable satire of the Revels' Children and others in 1608.[24] Osborne, a bitter memoir writer of the time, who had himself been Master of the Horse to Herbert, tells us that he was "intolerable choleric and offensive and did not refrain to break many wiser heads than his own." Osborne's editor, Sir Walter Scott, conjectures another allusion to Herbert in *The Maids Tragedy*, I, ii, where the deputy chamberlain says of Calianax, "Would he were here, he would run raging among them, and break a dozen wiser heads than his own in the twinkling of an eye."

Lodge says of Herbert:

[21] Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* for resumé of Herbert's troublous career. There are thirteen satires on Montgomery collected by Geo. Thomason. *Vid.*, Catalogue, Thomason Tracts, II, 593.

[22] II, i.

[23] *The Life and Death of Philip Herbert.* Lond. 1649 (?).

[24] Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, II, 53–4.

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His perpetual quarrels with persons of distinction were at once the amusement and disgrace of the Court, in one of which, at a horserace at Croyden, Ramsay, a Scot, ... chastised him personally with impunity in the presence of thousands: such was the man whom James on his arrival in England first chose as his favourite, and called to his Privy Council; and on whom, in addition to the great pecuniary bounties just now mentioned, he conferred, on the fourth of May 1605, the dignities of Baron Herbert, of Shurland . . . . and Earl of Montgomery, and shortly after, the Order of the Garter.[25]

It may be further noted here that when Lazarillo facetiously suggests that one might reasonably expect royal preferment "for being an excellent Farrier, for playing well at Span-counter, or sticking knives in walls, for being impudent, or for nothing," he is enumerating the very qualitites which are said to have endeared Montgomery to his sovereign.[26] "He pretended to no other qualifications," says Clarendon (who is more kindly disposed toward Herbert than others) "than to understand dogs and horses very well, which his master loved him the better for (being at his first coming into England, very jealous of those who had the reputation of great parts)."[27] There are at least two instances mentioned in the gossipy letters of the time wherein Montgomery won heavily for the king at Span-counter, while his prowess in the various sports and games of the cock-pit and his abiding impudence were almost proverbial.[28] He is alone in his distinction as a Span-counter adept so far as the records show.

Even the gibe about being elevated for his wife's sake can be explained. At the time of his marriage, however great his preferment may have been, Herbert was, in rank, merely a Knight of the Bath and Gentleman of the Bed Chamber. He married Susan Vere, the orphaned and presumably impecunious daughter of the notorious profligate Edward de Vere. Susan was a royal ward and a great favorite of the King's. The details of the betrothal and

[25] Lodge, *Portraits*, IV, 339.

[26] I, iii.

[27] *History of the Rebellion*, ed. Oxford, 1839, I, 97.

[28] £1000, Jan. 1606, and £750, Jan. 1607. Nic. I, 47, and II, 162. Cf. also *D. N. B.*, V. 26, 208,

"The distinction which he gained when accompanying the king . . . . gave new currency to the old lines:

The Herberts every Cockpitday
Doe carry away
The gold and glory of the day."

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marriage rites are famous. In October, 1604, Pembroke, Herbert's elder brother, and a very influential man, wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury in high glee saying,

After long love and many changes, my brother on Fryday last was privately contracted to my Lady Susan, without the knowledge of any of his or her friends. On Saturday she acquainted her uncle with it and he me. My Lord of Cranburn seemed to be much troubled at it at the first, but yesterday the King, taking the whole matter on himself, made peace of all sides.[29]

Then followed one of the most extravagant celebrations that England ever witnessed. Fortunately Dudley Carleton was there. He writes:

On St. John's day we have the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and the Lady Susan performed at Whitehall, with all the honour could be done a great favourite. The Court was great; and for that day put on the best bravery. The Prince and Duke of Holst led the Bride to Church; the Queen followed her from thence. The King gave her; and she in her tresses and trinkets brided and bridled it so handsomely, and indeed became herself so well, that the King said, 'if he were unmarried, he would not give her, but keep her for himself.' . . . . At night there was a Mask in the hall, which for conceit and fashion, was suitable to the occasion. . . . . There was no small loss that night of chaines and jewells, and many great Ladies were made shorter by the skirts, and were very well served that they could keep cut no better. The presents of plate and other things given by the Noblemen were valued at £2500; but that which made it a good marriage was gift of the King's of £500 land, for the bride's jointure. They were lodged in the Councill-chamber, where the King, in his shirt and night-gown, gave them a reveille matin before they were up, and spent a good time in or upon the bed; chuse which you believe. No ceremony was omitted of bride-cakes, points, garters, and gloves, which have been ever since the livery of the Court; and at night there was sewing in the sheet, casting off the bride's left hose, with many other petty sorceries.[30]

All of which renders easily understandable the impertinence which credited the bridegroom's next promotion (May 1605) to royal interest in the vivacious Susan.

The character of Arrigo as presented in *The Woman Hater* is in general a satire upon that highest class of court parasites who trafficked directly in royal preferment, conducting a particularly profitable business in the sale of Knighthoods. If a specific reference is intended, Sir James Hay is a likely subject of the following colloquy:

[29] Nic. I, 463.
[30] Nic. 470, Vol. I.

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Laza. And whats that other?
Count. A Knight Sir, that pleaseth the Duke to favor, and to raise to some extraordinarie fortunes, he can make as good men as himself, everie day in the weeke and doth—
Laza. For what was he raised.
Count Truely Sir, I am not able to say directlie, for what; but for wearing of red breeches as I take it, hees a brave man, hee will spend three Knighthoodes at a Supper without trumphets.
Laza. My Lord ile talke with him, for I have a friend, that would gladlie receive the humour.
Count. If he have the itch of Knighthood uppon him, let him repaire to that Phisition, hee'le cure him: but I will give you a note; is your friend fat or leane?
Laza. Something fat.
Count. T'will be the worse for him.
Laza. I hope thats not material.
Count. Verie much, for there is an imposte set uppon Knighthoodes, and your friend shall pay a Noble in the pound.[31]

It is first to be observed that whereas Lucio is described by Valore as a Lord, Arrigo is referred to as a Knight; this corresponds to the actual difference in rank between the two favorites, Montgomery and Hay, in 1606.

In spite of this discrepancy in rank, however, Hay had, as I have shown, been constantly associated with Montgomery as a partaker of James's lavish bounty. (A bounty, by the way, which usually consisted of recusants' property, political sinecures, and the like.) The jibe that Arrigo was raised for the wearing of red breeches (i.e., for being a fashionable gallant in respect to his dress), applied to Hay as it did to no other worthy of the court retinue, as did likewise the allusion to extravagant suppers, for Hay's reputation apparently rested upon his wardrobe and his hospitality.[32]

And for James Hayes, Earl of Carlisle, says the vituperative Weldon, "though of no more noble extraction than the immediate son of a Scotch merchant, an appeallation some under a stall would scorn to patronise, it is known he did bestow more trimming in the varnish of a winscot carcass,

[31] II, i.
[32] Cf. Middleton, *Family of Love*, II, 164, ed. Dyce:
Lypsalve. Hadst thou heard the protestations the wife of a bellows-mender made but yesternight against gallants, thou hads't for ever abjured crimson breeches.

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than any of his master's ancestors did in the clothing themselves and their whole families."[33]

Clarendon, in a character that is on the whole favorable in tone, observes that he

. . . . had no other consideration of money, then for the support of his lustre, and whilst he could do that, he cared not for money having no bowels in the point of running in debt, or borrowing all he could. He was surely a man of the greatest expense in his own person, of any in the age he lived; and introduced more of that expense in the excess of clothes and diet than any other man; and was indeed the original of all those inventions, from which others did but transcribe copies.[34]

At this time [Osborne gossips on] the honour of Knighthood which antiquity preserved sacred, as the cheapest and readiest jewell to preserve vertue with, was promiscuously laid on any head belonging to the yeomandry, (made addle through pride and contempt of their ancestors pedigree,) that had but a court-friend, or money to purchase the favour of the meanest able to bring him into an outerward room, when the king, the fountain of honour, came down, and was uninterrupted by other business; in which case it was then usual for him to grant a commission for the chamberlain or some other lord to do it; But experience soon informed the empty Scot, that as his airy treasure was inexhaustible, so it might be turned to great profit, seeing the shoals of base and ignorant trouts that gaped after it (the cause, access to the king was made daily more difficult): by thus rendering the temple of honour a common theatre, into which the basest were suffered to enter for their money.[35]

That Hay found it convenient for the payment of his excessive debts to eke out the royal grants with a little of this easy "rake-off" money, is not reasonably to be doubted, and it will be recalled that the letter to Sir John Harington from Thomas Howard written, I think, about the same time as *The Woman Hater*, when Carr

[33] Somers's tracts, ed. Scott, p. 146.

[34] *Hist. of the Reb.*, I, 102. Cf. also *D. N. B.*, XXV, 265.

"Satirists, perhaps with some exaggeration, delighted to tell of his unbounded extravagance. One particular freak, that of the double suppers, was remembered against him. The invited guests would, it is said, find themselves in the presence of a cold supper composed of the greatest rarities. Before they had time to help themselves, it was snatched away and replaced by a hot supper of equal costliness.—(Osborne, *Traditional Memoirs*, in *The Secret History of the Court of James I*, 270.

[35] Osborne's *Traditional Memoirs*, p. 468, quoted by Scot in Somers's *Tracts*, p. 146.

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was in the very act of eclipsing the other satellites about the king, dwells specifically both upon the likelihood of preferment by virtue of extravagant dress and the strategic necessity of approaching his majesty by way of a royal intimate.

If Hay capitalized his propinquity to the royal ear, there is likewise some slight attendant probability that his wife availed herself of the same opportunity, and it is for this reason that I mention Lady Honora Hay, daughter of Lord Denny, as the possible subject of the Count's irony in I, iii.

> Faith, [says he] the Lady Honoria cares for you as she doth for all other young Ladies, she's glad to see you, and will shew you the Privy Garden, and tell you how many Gowns the Duchess had; marry if you have ever an old uncle, that would be a Lord, or ever a kinsman that hath done a murther, or committed a robbery, and will give good store of money to procure his pardon, then the Lady Honoria will be glad to see you.

One may reasonably object that if Honora Hay were meant we should scarcely expect to have her mentioned by name, but the ironic implication in the name makes the temptation to use it very great.[36]

These identifications are, of course, conjectural. They are offered, however, not so much for their own sake, as to give color to the surmise that much of the characterization of *The Fawn* and *The Woman Hater* is specifically allusive and that much of the social satire of the plays is signally applicable to the royal circle of James himself.

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[36] Both Nichols and the *D. N. B.* spell the name "Honora" but the "Epistle Dedicatorie" to a sermon by Robert Wilkinson called "The Merchant Royall, a Sermon preached at White Hall before the King's Majestie, at the nuptials of the Right Honorable the Lord Hay and His Lady, upon the Twelfe day last, being Januar. 6, 1607," reads "to Lord Hay and his late espoused the Lady Honoria." (In Nic. IV, 1075.)

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XLVII

BUTLER'S *SIDROPHEL*

FEW readers of *Hudibras* have escaped the fascination of trying to identify the characters in the poem. Yet after two hundred and fifty years, during which readers have wondered and scholars have pondered, we are little nearer the goal. We do not even know whether Butler intended his titular hero to be the satiric portrait of a particular Puritan or the personified picture of a type.

If we except that delightful rascal, Hudibras himself, there is scarcely a lover of the poem who will deny that Sidrophel, the fraudulent astrologer, is by all odds the most interesting rogue in Butler's gallery. Because this equivocating astrologer is so realistic, many have tried to identify him. Sidrophel is obviously an important astrologer and a Roundhead. All the world in Butler's day knew William Lilly, outstanding astrologer of the time, a Roundhead, enemy of the King, and a man of whom it might well be said,

> Do not our great reformers use
> This Sidrophel to forebode news.

But unfortunately there are one or two objections to this facile identification. Many of the details used to describe Sidrophel cannot by the farthest stretch of the imagination be called applicable to William Lilly. Furthermore, and this is not the least important, a well authenticated tradition records that Sidrophel was intended to satirize Sir Paul Neile, one of the founders of the Royal Society. This tradition possibly takes its origin from a *Key to Hudibras*, published in 1706, in which it is asserted that *The Heroicall Epistle of Hudibras to Sidrophel* was addressed by Butler to this same Neile.[1] This *Heroicall Epistle* was added to the Second Part of *Hudibras*, in which the character of Sidrophel first appears, in 1674, ten years after the latter was first published. The theory that Butler intended to satirize Neile in the *Epistle* is strengthened by the fact that the latter poem contains no astrological allusions of any kind; a single reading shows that this Sidrophel is certainly not an astrologer. The tradition is further strengthened by at least one allusion in the poem itself; the phrase "as if you were the sole Sir Poll" means little addressed to William Lilly; addressed to Sir Paul

[1] See Zachary Grey's note on the first line of the *Epistle to Sidrophel*. I have not had access to the *Key* he speaks of.

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Neile it has considerable significance.[2] Thus it is obvious at the outset that there is good reason to suspect that in 1674 Butler meant to depict Neile in the character of Sidrophel.

For these reasons some scholars have believed that Sidrophel represents Neile both in the *Epistle* and in the main poem. Grey, who denied that even the Sidrophel of the *Epistle* represented Neile, mentioned that "by some he had been taken for the real Sidrophel of the Poem."[3] Roger North, writing in the years immediately following 1706, declared that there was a deformed old gentleman called Sir P. Neal, who, they say, sat for the Picture of *Sydrophel in Hudibras*."[4] Half a century later Thyer, editor of Butler's *Genuine Remains*, declared that his author "introduced into his *Hudibras* the character of Sidrophel, which we can assure the Reader, upon the Poet's own Authority, was intended for a Picture of Sir Paul Neal."[5] Surely, if anything will, the poet's own word ought to settle the matter, and of modern critics at least the author of the chapter on Butler in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* has been willing to let the problem rest there, for he asserts that Neile is "probably the original of the astrologer Sidrophel."[6]

In spite of these assertions, nearly all editors of Butler have for a very good reason been unwilling to accept the claims of Sir Paul for this dubious honor. If Samuel Butler intended his Sidrophel to be a satiric picture of Neile, his portrait is not a recognizable likeness. It is unfortunate that we know so little concerning Sir Paul, but what we do know shows that he bore little resemblance to the astrologer of *Hudibras*. A son of Richard Neile, Archbishop of York,[7] he was from his youth associated with the Court, for he seems to have been usher of the privy chamber both to Charles I and to his son.[8] On May 27, 1633 he was knighted by the King. He had a studious and scientific turn of mind; as early as 1656 Evelyn noted that Neile was "famous for his optic glasses,"[9] and at the foundation of the

[2] *Op. cit.*, line 86. This is a reference to Ben Jonson's Sir Politick Would-be.

[3] Zachary Grey's note on the first line of *The Heroicall Epistle*.

[4] Roger North, *Examen . . . . of a pretended Complete History*, Lond. 1740, p. 60.

[5] Thyer, *Butler's Genuine Remains*, I, 1.

[6] *Op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 69.

[7] Robert Surtees, *History of Durham*, I, lxxxix. The family pedigree is printed there.

[8] Thomas Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, Lond. 1756, II, 460.

[9] John Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence*, Lond. 1906, II, 84.

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Royal Society he became one of the initial members. His name appears with great frequency in the reports of their meetings, and he seems to have been an influential and respected member of that body until his death, which must have occurred in 1685, for his will was proved in that year. Certainly then, as far as can be told today, there was nothing about Sir Paul which merited the savage description accorded to Sidrophel. Neile was neither a knave nor a fraud, and above everything else he was not an astrologer. It happens that the one unquestioned fact about the Sidrophel in *Hudibras* is his activity as a professional astrologer. Hence one is forced to ask himself whether Butler could have had such animosity toward Neile that he would have been willing to sacrifice all semblance of truth in order to create a vituperative portrait, unrecognizable to any of his contemporaries. It is therefore of the utmost importance to determine whether Butler had good cause for hating Neile.

Butler might have satirized Neile because he disliked him personally or because he differed from him in politics, in religion, or in anything else over which men habitually quarrel. It is perhaps not unimportant that Butler displayed marked contempt for at least one thing with which Neile was intimately associated—the Royal Society. The *Elephant in the Moon* is a clever satire of the Society and its experiments. Nor is this all. The *Key to Hudibras* which has already been mentioned contains the assertion that Neile made a point of asserting that Samuel Butler could never have written *Hudibras*. Here indeed is a cause for offense; an insult which might well have driven Butler to frantic retaliation in an effort to show this doubting Thomas that he could of a surety write lashing satire. But if this be true, Butler was so blinded by rage that he failed in his object. Furthermore it must not be forgotten that if this be the explanation, then the character of Sidrophel the astrologer was not conceived in Butler's mind before the publication of the First Part of *Hudibras*. This First Part, which contains no mention of Sidrophel, received its *Imprimatur* on Nov. 11, 1662, and was probably in circulation by the early months of the next year. The Second Part, containing the long canto devoted to the rascalities of Sidrophel, was licensed on Nov. 5, 1663.[10] If Sidrophel be Neile and no one else, Butler must have conceived and brought forth that character within

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the year which elapsed between the publication of the First and Second Parts. On the other hand, if this canto or any portion of it antedates the early months of 1663, Butler must have had some other man in mind. It would be taxing one's credulity too far to ask him to believe that a poet of Butler's ability painted a hopelessly unrecognizable portrait to satirize a man against whom he had as yet no cause for enmity.

It is obviously important, then, to determine when Butler first conceived the character of Sidrophel. Near the beginning of Canto III of the Second Part of *Hudibras* occurs a passage which may shed light on the date of composition.

> Has not this present *Parliament*
> A *Ledger* to the *Devil* sent
> Fully impowr'd to treat about
> Finding revolted *Witches* out?[11]

Without any doubt these lines refer to the activities of Mathew Hopkins, the notorious witch-finder. In 1644, during the confusion attendant on the civil war and the cessation of ordinary jurisprudence, Hopkins announced himself as a man divinely inspired to hunt out witches in the land. Although he adopted the title of "Witch-finder-general", it is very doubtful if he possessed an actual commission from Parliament;[12] nevertheless, with his assistant, John Stearn, he toured the country, examining and hanging old women. Butler's lines,

> And has not he with in a year,
> Hang'd threescore of 'em in one *Shire*.[13]

almost certainly refer to Hopkins' own boast that he hanged sixty witches in Essex in a single year. As Hopkins' statement on this matter is taken from his own book, *The Discovery of Witches*, published in May 1647, it is highly probable that Butler wrote the lines after May of this year.[14]

There is another reference in this passage which shows conclusively that the lines were written toward the end of the Witch-finder-general's career. Butler says that Hopkins

[10] *The Poetical Works of Samuel Butler*, ed. R. B. Johnson, 1893, I, xxiii-iv.

[11] *Hudibras*, Part II, Canto iii, lines 139–42.

[12] Wallace Notestein, *A History of Witchcraft in England*, Washington, 1911, p. 165.

[13] *Hudibras*, lines 143–4.

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after prov'd himself a *Witch*
And made a *Rod* for his own *breech*.[15]

One test which Hopkins used to determine a witch was to throw the suspect, tied hand and foot, into a pond. If she floated, she was guilty; if she sank, innocent. Finally, a tradition relates, "Hopkins went on searching, and swimming the poor creatures, till some Gentlemen, out of Indignation at the Barbarity, took him, and tied his thumbs and toes, as he used to tye others, and when he was put into the Water, he himself swam as they did. That clear'd the Country of him; and it was a great deal of Pity that they did not think of the Experiment sooner."[16] The exact date of this experiment is not important;[17] it must, at least, have occurred toward the end of the witch-finder's active career. Little is heard of Hopkins after certain "queries" were presented to him at the Norfolk assize in the spring of 1647. Since Butler writes as one who looks back at the incident, it is surely safe to assume that this part of *Hudibras* was set down at the very earliest during or after the summer of 1647.

It is perhaps a fortunate coincidence that we can use this same passage to prove that portions of this Canto were composed before the Restoration. Butler, in speaking of Hopkins and his commission to hunt witches, used the words "this present *Parliament*". The Parliament which may or may not have condoned Hopkins' nefarious actions was, of course, the famous long Parliament, which continued in theory to sit until its dissolution

[14] I have not had access to a copy of Hopkins' book; this statement is repeated from the article on him in the *DNB*. That the work was published in May or slightly before can be seen from the fact that Thomason received his copy on the 18th. of that month.

[15] *Op. cit.*, lines 153–4.

[16] Francis Hutchinson, *Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*, Lond. 1720, pp. 86–87.

[17] Notestein doubts the validity of this legend for reasons which are not at all cogent. He believes the assertion made by Stearne, Hopkins' partner, that the latter died "peacefully, after a long sicknesse of a Consumption." Both Notestein and the Rev. Alexander Gordon, author of the article in the *DNB*, assume that Hopkins according to this tradition died during the experiment. Notestein asserts that the tradition is that he was drowned; Gordon, that he was hanged afterwards. Neither assumption is necessary. Hutchinson says Hopkins swam; hence there is no reason to suppose that he drowned. The story that he was hanged seems to have originated in the mind of Mr. Gordon himself. The validity of the tradition, however, makes no difference. Butler heard the story, whether it was true or not, and we are only concerned with the date at which he might have heard it.

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on March 16, 1660. In reality, however, it was not in existence between April 1653 and May 1659. Consequently one can only conclude that in all probablility Butler wrote these words before 1653. It is however, an umimportant matter; all that concerns us is the fact that part of this Canto was written before the Restoration of Charles II. It is consequently unreasonable to suppose that Butler directed his satire at Sir Paul Neile.

This fact however, does not prove that Sidrophel was intended to represent Lilly. Just as we can prove that certain portions of the Canto were written before the Restoration, so also can we show that other portions were written after the return of Charles. Toward the latter part of the Canto, Sidrophel, thoroughly vexed at the obstinate incredulity of Hudibras, declares that he will prove the truth of astrology by recounting the Knight's previous adventures. But when he relates how Hudibras was beaten at "Brentford fair," the Knight at once replies,

> I now perceive
> You are no *Conj'rer*, by your leave:
> That *Paultry story* is untrue,
> And forg'd to cheat such *Gulls* as you.[18]

And Hudibras was quite right, for Sidrophel had reported the adventures ascribed to the Knight in the spurious Second Part of 1663.[19] Hence it is evident that not only a considerable number of lines, but even the crux of the plot of this Canto is derived from a book published in 1663.

The meaning of this is obvious. This particular canto was either composed in two portions, each written at a different time, or else it was thoroughly revised at the last minute. This then offers a solution to the whole difficulty. Did Butler have William Lilly in mind when he first wrote, and Sir Paul Neile when he revised for publication? An examination of the canto itself will, I believe, show that this or something like this was the case.

But first it seems best to sketch briefly what sort of man William Lilly was and to show why Butler attacked him. During the period of the Civil wars Lilly posed as the astrological champion of the Puritans and was certainly considered by the Cavaliers as the mouthpiece of their opponents. During 1647 and 1648 a bitter pamphlet warfare was being waged between

[18] *Op. cit.*, lines 999–1002.

[19] This fact has been pointed out by all the editors of Butler.

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Lilly, as chief of the Roundhead astrologers, and certain Royalist writers, led by Sir George Wharton, astrologer and author of one of the most important news journals of the day—*Mercurius Elencticus*. Joined with Wharton in this acrimonious struggle was John Cleveland, the Cavalier poet and pamphleteer, who with Shepard acted as editor of the other great Royalist journal—*Mercurius Pragmaticus*. Cleveland had little love for Lilly; in one of his articles he called him and one of his associates, Booker, "those two disciples of Erra Pater, that . . . . have led the Commons of this kingdome as the beares are led by the nose with bagpipes before them in the morning, and in the afternoon are worried at the stake."[20] While Cleveland was quarrelling with Lilly, he and Butler were on terms of the utmost intimacy. Aubrey records that Cleveland and "Sam. Butler etc. of Grayes Inne, had a clubb every night."[21] Undoubtedly at the "clubb" many numbers of *Pragmaticus* as well as other Royalist pamphlets were composed, and it is not an improbable conjecture that some of *Hudibras* was set down at these meetings. Such a theory is at least borne out by Professor Craig's conclusion that the greater portion of the *First Part* was written between 1647 and 1648.[22] Under the circumstances it would not be surprising to find Butler writing down satiric lines about Lilly.

Upon turning to the poem it is evident that much of the description of Sidrophel is directed at that astrologer. The canto opens with Hudibras in a quandary whether to approach the Widow with his love, since he fears that she may take offense. Ralph, his squire, then suggests that he go to Sidrophel, the learned astrologer, and determine with his aid what the future may have in store. Ralph argues that all the world seeks out Sidrophel when its goods are lost, when domestic animals are sick, or when "love proves cross and cumbersome." The Knight is delighted with the idea, but his conscience makes him object that it is questionable whether

> the *Saints* have freedom
> To go to Sorc'rers, when they need 'em.

The useful squire, however, soon quiets his master's doubts by

[20] This is quoted by J. B. Williams (*A History of English Journalism*, London 1908, p. 49). Mr. Williams gives no reference.

[21] John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, Oxford 1898, Vol. I, p. 175.

[22] Hardin Craig, *Manly Anniversary Studies*, Chicago, 1923, p. 145 ff.

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observing that there can be no sin in using the devil to his own disadvantage. Then he clinches the argument by reminding Hudibras that "the great reformers" themselves use "Sidrophel to forebode news". What is lawful for them is surely lawful for Hudibras. Convinced at last, the Knight starts out for the astrologer's house.

Thus we see that the first picture of Sidrophel shows us a man who finds lost goods and casts figures for all manner of questions. These are the duties of the professional astrologer and could hardly be called applicable to Lilly alone. But the fact that the "great reformers", who are obviously the Parliamentary leaders, used him to forebode news points directly at William Lilly; elsewhere Wharton and Cleveland were accusing the Parliament of the same thing.

A description of Sidrophel then follows. We first learn that he has long studied mathematics, optics, philosophy, statics, magic, horoscopy, astrology, and physiology. Next we are told that he "fell to juggle, cant and cheat"; that he boasted that his knowledge was deeper than anyone's since Roger Bacon and Bishop Grosseteste, and that he was acquainted with the writings of John Dee. The description continues in a markedly astrological vein.

Suddenly a break occurs;[23] Sidrophel is no longer a fraudulent astrologer. He becomes on the contrary a scientific experimenter and virtuoso, whose zeal leads him into enthusiasms which are quite ridiculous. An absurd list of his achievements is then given. This new Sidrophel has constructed an instrument to examine the moon, with which he has proved conclusively that it is not made of green cheese, and that the Man and Dog on its surface are really bodies of water. Furthermore he can

> fire a mine in *China*, here
> With Sympathetic *Gunpowder*.

He also knows

> Whether a *Pulse* beat in the black
> List, of a Dappled *Louse's* back;
> If *Systole* or *Diastole* move
> Quickest, when hee's in wrath, or love:
> When two of them do run a race,
> Whether they *gallop*, *trot*, or *pace*.

[23] Line 260.

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How many scores a *Flea* will jump
Of his own length, from head to rump;
Which *Socrates*, and *Chaerephon*
In vain, assaid so long agon;
Whether his *Snout* a perfect *Nose* is,
And not an Elephants *Proboscis*,
How many diff'rent *Specieses*
Of Maggots breed in Rotten Cheese.[24]

Anyone who knows aught about the astrologers of the seventeenth century recognizes at once that these lines could not describe any astrologer of the day. On the contrary they are what one would expect to find in satires against the newly formed Royal Society. In fact jokes about the Society, its telescopes and its microscopes were common shortly after its formation. It happens, indeed, that the lines concerning the louse and other insects must have been taken directly from the reports of Robert Hooke's microscopic experiments.[25] In his *Micrographia* Hooke describes a louse at length: "There seem'd a contrivance, somewhat resembling a Pump, pair of Bellows, or Heart, for by a very swift systole and diastole the blood seem'd drawn from the nose, and forced into the body."[26] Also, in describing the "beauty" of the flea as seen under a microscope, he remarks that the insect "has a small *proboscis*, or *probe* . . . . that seems to consist of a tube."[27] In a similar manner he devotes a page or two to the mite or maggot. His observations on this insect led him to the conclusion that the number of species is almost infinite, because its size and shape depend largely upon the nature of the putrefying substance in which it is bred.[28] Hooke's final chapter is given over to an account of the moon's surface.[29]

This evidence shows conclusively that Sidrophel has a dual personality; in his better half we see good natured ridicule of scientific experimenters, in his less favorable aspects we see

[24] *Op. cit.*, lines 305–18.

[25] Hooke made reports of his experiments during the late summer and autumn of 1663. (See Birch, *Hist. of the Royal Society*, Vol. I pp. 301, 303, 308, 316, 346, 347, etc.) No details of the reports are given, but we know that they were incorporated in his *Micrographia*, which was published in 1665. As Butler obviously used this material before its publication, he must have obtained it from some member of the Society.

[26] Robert Hooke, *Micrographia*, Lond. 1665, p. 212.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 242–6.

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the tricky and fraudulent astrologer of the day. The important thing to remember, however, is that the two sides of his character are incompatible. Butler could not have found any one man to serve as the original of this portrait. The professional astrologers of the day were not scientific experimenters. As far as I know, the only member of the Royal Society who dabbled in astrology was Sir Kenelm Digby, and to think of Digby as the prototype of Sidrophel is to show at once the hopelessness of such a quest. In short, there is but one conclusion: the character of Sidrophel bears the marks of complete revision.

There yet remains the figure of Whachum, Sidrophel's servant, to be identified, if possible. In the *Key* attributed to Sir Roger L'Estrange he is said to be "one Tom Jones, a foolish Welshman, servant to Lilly the astrologer."[30] This is the only mention of such a man that I have been able to discover. If he were as close an accomplice of the astrologer as the relations of Sidrophel and Whachum indicate, his name would certainly be found either in the vast collection of astrological material preserved by Ashmole or in the writings of Lilly's innumerable enemies. The only man whose name was frequently associated with Lilly was John Booker, and for this reason he has been called the original of Whachum.[31] That Whachum made verses which were placed in his master's almanacks has been adduced as further evidence of Booker's fitness.[32] This claim is based on Lilly's own statement that Booker made "excellent Verses upon the twelve months."[33]

As, unfortunately, the majority of the almanac-makers filled their publications with similar verses, it would be exceedingly dangerous to use this as evidence for Booker. Furthermore there are traits in Whachum that bear no resemblance to the latter astrologer. Butler tells us that Whachum was bred to the law, but that by "merited degrees" he rose to be a "journeyman astrologer." Booker never studied law and was as a matter of fact an astrologer long before Lilly. It may be significant that

[30] It may not be amiss to point out the close proximity of the names Tom Jones and Whachum in a book which was undoubtedly known to Fielding.

[31] We may dispose at once of the tradition preserved in *The Key to A Poem of Mr. Butler's* (1706) that Whachum is one Richard Green, who published a pamphlet of about five sheets of base ribaldry called *Hudibras in a Snare.* This pamphlet was published in 1667, whereas the description of Whachum appeared in 1664.

[32] See Grey's note on line 360.

[33] William Lilly, *Life and Times*, 1715, p. 28.

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Whachum adds to his professional accomplishments a penchant for writing non-astrological verse:

> He would an *Elegie* compose
> On Maggots squeez'd out of his Nose;
> In *Lyrick* numbers, write an *Ode* on
> His Mistress, eating a Black-pudden:
> And when imprison'd Air escap'd her,
> It puft him with *Poetick Rapture*,
> His Sonnets charm'd th'attentive Crowd,
> . . . . . .
> No Porter's *Burthen* pass'd along,
> But serv'd for *Burthen* to his Song.[34]

Although John Booker did compose a dedicatory poem for Lilly's *Christian Astrology*, it is not recorded that he ever indulged in any other non-astrological verse. If Butler is describing a trait in Booker's character, it is one which escaped his other critics.

In spite of these inconsistencies in the portrait, no one seems better fitted than Booker to be the original of the man who so ably serves the renowned astrologer.[35] The problem of identifying Whachum is, after all, to be solved as that of identifying Sidrophel was solved. Undoubtedly Whachum represents two men, who were each the object of Butler's scorn at different times. When the satirist directed his shafts at William Lilly, he included with him another of Parliament's notorious astrologers; when he turned his attention to the Royal Society, he forgot that his apprentice astrologer had once been intended for Booker—he had a new candidate for the honor.

After the enormous success of the *First Part of Hudibras*, some poetaster hastened to bring out a continuation of the poem. His name is unknown, his poem is forgotten, and yet perhaps he furnished a few touches to the picture of Whachum. It is quite natural to expect that Butler might wish to heap scorn

[34] *Op. cit.*, lines 377–90.

[35] George Wharton has been suggested as the original of Whachum (See *Hudibras*, ed. Alfred Milnes, 1883, II, 282). This suggestion is preposterous and based solely on the fact that Wharton was an important astrologer. The inventor of this theory has forgotten that Wharton was a prominent royalist and undoubtedly a friend of Butler, who ridiculed only his political opponents.

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on the head of the unworthy scribbler who dared to batten on his popularity. For this purpose he permits Sidrophel to relate to Hudibras, as proof of the validity of astrology, an account of those adventures at Kingston and Brentford fair which form the plot of the spurious continuation. Sidrophel has learned the story from Whachum. For the moment Butler surely had the author of the spurious continuation in mind. In this way we can account for the non-astrological features of Whachum's character; it explains the fact that an astrologer's apprentice writes such execrable poetry.

We are now in a position to approximate very closely the history of this canto. During the years immediately preceding the death of Charles, Butler composed a satiric picture of the Roundhead astrologer, William Lilly. The poems may have consisted of scattered passages or it may have formed a complete and fully developed incident. During the greater part of the Interregnum this canto was apparently not touched. Then, after the success of the First Part of *Hudibras*, Butler pulled his old material from his desk in order to rework it for publication. But by this time his antipathy toward Lilly, largely political in nature, had disappeared, and, more important than all, the public had lost interest in astrologers and astrology. On the contrary the enthusiasms of the Royal Society presented an excellent opportunity for burlesque. It may have been that Butler was already offended at Neile, but it is more probable that he merely intended to ridicule the Society in general.

For this purpose, he revised here and there, added numerous passages and changed the ending completely, so that the denouement of the plot depends upon the repetition by Sidrophel of incidents contained in the spurious continuation. But, most important of all, he apparently discarded very little of that which he had already written. The old Sidrophel was left in entirety, but new exploits were added which burlesqued Hooke's microscopical experiments and Digby's scientific treatises.[36] Whachum, once a satire on Booker, became a composite picture of Booker and the nameless author of the spurious continuation. In this

[36] The lines already quoted, "fire a mine in China, here By sympathetic gun powder" (lines 295–6), remind one at once of Digby's famous treatise, *The Powder of Sympathy*.

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revised form the canto appeared in 1664. In all probability it was long after this that Butler became angry with Neile and wrote him a separate *Epistle*. In as much as the new Sidrophel had partially ridiculed the scientific experimenter of the Royal Society, it was easy for Butler later to pretend that all along he had been attacking Sir Paule Neile; probably in 1674 he wished that he had done so.[37]

Yale University JOSEPH TOY CURTISS

[37] In 1674 appeared the new poem, *The Heroicall Epistle of Hudibras to Sidrophel.*

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XLVIII

BANCES CÁNDAMO AND THE CALDERONIAN DECADENTS

OF ALL the decadents in the Spanish drama as it fell away from the glory of the golden age at the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, there are three who most merit the name of disciples of the great Calderón: Bances Cándamo, Vázquez de Zamora, and Cañizares.[1] Taken together, they form a sort of trinity in their support of the Calderonian theory of the drama. But while all wrote, as well as they might, after the manner of their illustrious predecessor and master, it is to Bances Cándamo that one must turn as to the spokesman of a dramatic theory and technique more or less common to his time, a system whose repercussions are to be found not only in the works of the three writers just mentioned, but as well in those of a number of wholly inferior dramatists[2] who, together with the three, form the background of the Spanish stage as it existed from the death of Calderón until, or perhaps slightly beyond the third decade of the eighteenth century; until, indeed, it found opposition and eventual overthrow at the hands of the *afrancesados*, led, as is generally thought, by Luzán, whose *Poética* (1737) was for decades the text-book and *vade mecum* of the neo- or rather pseudo-classicists.[3]

[1] Bances Cándamo, 1662–1704; Vázquez de Zamora, ca. 1660–1728; Cañizares, 1676–1750. The most extensive work on Bances Cándamo is that by Francisco Cuervo-Arango y González-Carvajal, *Don Francisco Antonio de Bances y López-Cándamo*, Madrid, 1916, Imprenta de los Hijos de M. G. Hernández, pp. 223, and as an appendix, the musical setting of the *Estrofas a duo de la comedia El Austria en Jerusalem*. Pp. 35–51 deal with the *Theatro de los theatros*. The article on Bances Cándamo by Mesonero Romanos published in *El Semanario pintoresco español*, XVIII (1853), 82–4, is, save for an introductory paragraph and a list of 22 comedies by Bances Cándamo, the same as that used by Mesonero Romanos on Bances Cándamo as introduction to the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. XIX. Practically the same may be said of articles by the same author on Zamora and Cañizares in *publ. cit.*, pp. 114–6. See also *ibid.*, p. 109; Barrera, *Catálogo;* and Gayangos edition of Ticknor.

[2] That is to say, dramatists like Luis de Oviedo, Fernández de León, and others, all now long forgotten.

[3] The first traces of the *afrancesado* movement were probably Pizarro and Piccolomini's translation of Corneille's *Cinna*, 1713; and Cañizares' translation of Racine's *Iphigénie* as *El Sacrificio de Ifigenia*, dating probably from a year or two later. In this work, Cañizares seems to break away from the Calderonian tradition to some extent.

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From two sides one may examine the expression of the dramatic system of Bances Cándamo. On the one, are his plays, the *mise en œuvre* of his theories; on the other, is his critical expression of those theories themselves. The latter is to be found in the work he wrote in 1690 as a reply to the attack made on the national theatre of Spain by a Jesuit priest, Padre Ignacio Camargo.[4] With this controversy, which lies rather within the boundaries of theology than literary criticism or æsthetics, the present study has naught

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It is, however, difficult to be precise as to the date of the supposed overthrow of the Calderonian cult in the eighteenth century. This is, after all, a very broad question, and one presenting many angles. Moreover, there is contradictory evidence, and in any case the Calderonian and *afrancesado* movements certainly overlapped. In his *Vida de Nicolás Fernández de Moratín*, the younger Moratín, speaking of the date of publication of *La Petimetra* (1762), says: "Gozaba Calderón en aquella época de tal concepto, que parecía atrevimiento sacrílego notar defectos en sus comedias o en sus celebrados autos sacramentales, que repetidos anualmente en la escena con la pompa y aparato posibles, entretenían al vulgo de todas clases, y perpetuaban los aplausos de su famoso autor," and he states of Luzán that "Su *Poética*, impresa en el año de 1737, no se leía en el de 1760." The influence of the *Poética* had certainly been greater and longer than Leandro Fernández de Moratín here seems to indicate. To mention only one sign: Montiano's work of the years 1750–3 shows a full tide of the *afrancesado* movement, and the influence of Luzán. Nor could the vogue of the *Poética* have been so completely ephemeral since it went into the second, revised, edition of 1789. Perhaps, all told, the younger Moratín's attitude as cited above was colored, if not actuated, by a desire on his part to exalt the importance of his father's work and especially of the *Desengaños al teatro español* which are, primarily, an attack on Calderón and the *auto sacramental*. It is interesting to note that the *autos* were enjoying such high popular favor within three years of their prohibition by *real cédula* (1765).

In this whole matter, one distinction, which I hope to study more in detail in a later article, must be kept in mind. The *afrancesado* movement was wholly restricted to a comparatively small but relatively powerful and important group of theorists. It had practically no effect on the actual drama of the time. Very few of the *afrancesado* plays, those composed "with all the rigor of art," were ever staged. On the other hand, the theatre of the time was going forward apparently much to the satisfaction of the "vulgo," so deeply detested by the neo-classicists. In the passage cited, Moratín indicates that Calderón and the *auto sacramental* formed a part of this popular movement. In addition, this popular drama was supplied by inferior dramatists like Añorbe y Corregel, who was bitterly attacked by the principal *afrancesados*, and later by the great *sainetistas* Ramón de la Cruz (1731–1794) and González de Castillo (1763–1800); not to mention immensely popular writers for the theatre like Zavala y Zamora and Dionisio Solís at the close of the century.

[4] *Discurso teológico sobre los teatros de este siglo en que . . . . se resuelve con claridad la cuestión de si es o no pecado grave el ver Comedias como se representan hoy en los Teatros de España.* Salamanca, 1689.

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to do. But thanks to the unwitting intervention of Camargo, there is a clear, definite, lucid statement of the dramatic theory of the Spanish theatre as understood by one of the foremost of the Calderonian decadents.

The title of the work is as follows: *Theatro de los theatros de los passados y presentes siglos: historia scênica griega, romana y castellana: preceptos de la comedia española sacados de las Artes poéticas de Horacio y Aristoteles y de el vso y costumbre de nuestros poetas y theatros. . . .*[5]

It is the material covered by the latter part of this title that is of significance for the present purpose. Much of the work, while not without value as an indication of the author's attitude with regard to the Spanish theatre, deals either with the controversial side of his subject as it relates to Camargo's book, or has to do with the classic theatre as an historic precedent for the modern drama. The purpose of this paper, however, is rather to seek out the author's direct expression of his system as it affects the theatre of Spain, and to note in passing its relation to the decadents.

In his *Artículo segundo*[6] of the *Theatro de los theatros*, Bances Cándamo asserts the predominant position of Calderón:

> Dn. Pedro Calderón . . . . *fué quien*[7] dió decoro a las tablas y *puso norma*[7] a la Comedia de España, así en lo airoso de sus personages, como en lo compuesto de sus argumentos, en lo ingenioso de su contextura y fábrica, y en la pureza de su estilo: hasta su tiempo no tubo magestad la *Cómica Española.*

And again, since Calderón could do no wrong,

> Estas (comedias) de capa y espada han caído ya de estimación, ... y sólo Dn. Pedro Calderón las supo estrechar de modo que tubiesen viueza y gracia, suspensión en enlazarlas y travesura gustosa en deshacerlas. . . . . Demás de eso, desde que Dn. Pedro Calderón atendió tanto al aire y al decoro de las figuras no se pone adulterio que no sea sin culpa de la muger . . . . y en su primorosa comedia de *El pintor de su deshonrra* hace que el galán robe a una muger casada sin culpa de la infeliz. . . . .[8]

This, then, is to neglect altogether both Lope and Tirso, not to speak of a number of lesser, but still great dramatists. Lope died

[5] Published in part by Serrano y Sanz in the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 1901–2, Series 3, Vols. V, VI. A short extract has also been published by Cotarelo y Mori in his *Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España*, Madrid, 1904, pp. 73–82. Autograph MS in the Biblioteca Nacional.

[6] *Revista de Archivos . . . .*, Ser. 3, V, 927–8.

[7] Italics mine.

[8] *Revista de Archivos . . . .*, Ser. 3, VI, 73–5. See also *ibid.*, p. 76.

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in 1632; Tirso's work began about 1610 and ended with his death in 1648. Calderón, born in 1600, although he won an inferior prize in a literary *concurso* in 1622, is not noticed as a dramatist until about 1629, though doubtless he had made his essay somewhat before, to judge from the early age at which Spanish dramatic precocity was wont to begin.

Perhaps Calderón and his followers owe more to both Lope and Tirso, in some sense predecessors, than it is usual to recognize. The important fact for the present study, however, is that Bances Cándamo, as the spokesman of the neo-Calderonians, fails wholly to recognize any debt whatsoever. The most he will allow to the great Lope, the quantity of whose work he recognizes, is that, having been in Italy and there "hauiendo visto las máquinas de el theatro, las trasladó a España," and that he popularized verse comedies in place of the prose plays that had preceded him,—certainly but slight acknowledgment of the immense debt of Spain to the real founder of her theatre.

In a word, then, to Bances Cándamo neither the *comedias* of Lope nor of Tirso are of outstanding value, and not they but Calderón "puso norma" to the comedy, for "*hasta su tiempo no tubo magestad la Cómica Española.*"[9]

The inference here would seem to be clear, but Bances Cándamo makes himself still more explicit, though limiting the statement to Lope's earlier works: "Los argumentos de Lope, ni son todos decentes ni honestos, ni la locución de sus primeras comedias es la más castigada en la pureza . . . . y me cansara en vano si traxera exemplares de los argumentos y versos primeros de Lope, mui poco limados y reparados en todo *en aquella ruda infancia del tablado.*"[7]

Such, then, is the attitude of one of the principal Calderonian

[9] From what Bances Cándamo says here, and from his attitude as actually expressed regarding Lope de Vega, it is hard to agree with Hartzenbusch when he asserts, speaking of the Calderonian decadents, "Todos estos autores creían a pié juntillas el arte de hacer comedias de Lope de Vega; con arreglo a aquellos estatutos literarios escribían; con arreglo al gusto introducido por Lope de Vega y cimentado por Calderón los juzgaba el público, y a nadie se le ocurría que hubiese más que aprender en la materia. En esta fé murió en 1704 don Francisco Bances; en esta vivían Cañizares, Zamora . . . . ."

The *Arte nuevo de hazer comedias* is probably of about the year 1609, a period that Bances Cándamo speaks of as "aquella ruda infancia del tablado." Hartzenbusch seems to confound in the minds of the neo-Calderonians the drama of Lope and of Calderón, but certainly to Bances Cándamo and his fellows they were *not* the same. And if the writers in question felt that there was no more to be learned, it was of the theatre of Calderón, and not of that of Lope de Vega, that they thought.

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decadents toward the three great figures of the drama of the golden age. As exemplified in their works, it may be said that Vázquez de Zamora and Cañizares, as well as the still lesser dramatists of the same school, shared to the full his sentiments, so that in a large measure his statements may be looked upon as illustrating the main principles of the writers of the time, or at least of the school under discussion, which was, far and away, the only important one of the period.

But the point is of still broader significance. The opposition of Luzán and the *afrancesados* to the classic stage of Spain, and above all to Lope de Vega, is well known. Here, however, almost fifty years before the *Poética*, is an expression of antagonism to the same things, centering in Lope, which, if modified in form, is none the less pronounced and vigorous. Nor is it the feeling of personal dislike and professional jealousy of a contemporary. Those petty wars had been over and forgotten for a full half-century. Neither is it an opposition based on the grounds of pure classicism and the unities, as will be seen from other passages to be cited. Likewise, it is more than an occasional, individual expression, embracing, as it does, the theories of the only influential dramatic school at the close of the seventeenth century.[10] It is rather the outgrowth on the part of Bances Cándamo and of the neo-Calderonians of their direct acceptance of a system which is more or less the essential opposite to that of Lope, but which they feel to be

[10] For the early opposition to Lope de Vega, see Menéndez y Pelayo, *Ideas estéticas*, Tomo II, Vol. II, esp. pp. 419 et seqq. where the author emphasizes the motive of jealousy: "Pero toda la prodigalidad de elogios de Lope no bastaban a contentar ni a desarmar a ciertos ingenios morosos y displicentes, que, muy preciados de latinos e italianos, hacían rancho aparte, o más bien militaban por su cuento, y como aventureros sueltos y sin bandera conocida," p. 431.

As a whole, the opposition was either on the grounds of classicism, or because of jealousy.

This dislike for Lope runs strong throughout the whole eighteenth century. An example may be cited from Velázquez' *Orígenes de la Poesía Castellana*, pp. 68–9, where it reaches the point of intolerance: "La primera (secta) fué la de los que ignorando o despreciando las reglas de la Poesía drammatica, que nos dexaron los antiguos, *corrompieron el Theatro* . . . . siendo los principales Gefes de esta Escuela, Christoval de Virués, Lope de Vega, Juan Pérez de Montalván, a quienes después siguieron, *refinando más el mal gusto*, D. Pedro Calderón, D. Augustín de Salazar, D. Francisco Cándamo, D. Antonio de Zamora, y otros, que adelantaron este desorden hasta introducir en el dramma una cierta altura de estilo, que aun no sería tolerable en la Epopeya, ni en la Poesía Ditirámbica." Which is a good statement of the ultra-intransigeant point of view, with Calderón even worse than Lope. The *cierta altura de estilo* refers, of course, in all probability to the Gongoristic tendencies of these dramatists.

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Spanish rather than classical.[11] Sensing the difference between Lope on the one hand and Calderón on the other, they turned to the one who seemed to them more suitable and reasonable, just as the *afrancesado* was later to oppose the national drama of Spain avowedly because he had found another type, the French neo-classic, which he conceived to be more perfect in its dramatic qualities.

The situation, then, is this: Bourbon influence in Spain became strong with the ascent of Philip V, grandson of Louis XIV, to the throne of Spain in 1700; but Spanish letters did not have to await his coming to find a determined and reasoned opposition to Lope de Vega, and the dramatic school that he represents. And when, after 1700, Bourbon influence sought to impinge the French dramatic system of the seventeenth century upon the Spanish stage of the eighteenth, the task was the less difficult by as much as the strength of the already-formed and critically-supported dislike *within the ranks* of the works of at least a major portion of the great dramatists of the preceding century.

Bances Cándamo is not content merely to express a more or less blind admiration for Calderón and his works, and a disapproval of Lope de Vega. He seeks also a reasoned argument, based upon what he intends to make a definition of the *comedia española* according to his own concept of the term:

> Es la comedia española *que es buena*[7] un Poema texido del más decoroso y remontado estilo de el idioma castellano, de las más altas y útiles sentencias de la Philosophía moral, éthica y política, exornado de los

[11] This is the crux of the whole matter. As has been noted, it is not to be supposed that Bances Cándamo entirely despised Lope, nor altogether disregarded his importance to the Spanish stage. He says, for example, "Vino en este tiempo de Italia Lope de Vega, aquel perenne manatial de Apolo, y hauiendo visto las maquinas de el theatro, las trasladó a España, enrriqueciendole de adorno; buscó el mismo representantes, dispuso compañías, y avasalló todos los farsantes, con quien tubo vn absoluto dominio, porque los enseñó y los enrriqueció dándoles mil y nouecientas comedias. . . . . Pero Lope de Vega . . . . hauiendo militado en el Piemont y en el Milanés en las guerras de Italia, y hauiendo visto las representaciones de aquel país, vino a España, donde ya hauía comediantes que representauan prosa, y puso en estilo las comedias. Las primeras suias fueron a imitación de la antigua tragedia. . . . . Los argumentos de Lope, ni son todos decentes ni honestos, ni la locución de sus primeras comedias es la más castigada en la pureza."

To Bances Cándamo, therefore, Lope, belonging to the rude infancy of the theatre, was rather a borrower from Italy than a creator. Such an attitude serves to show how thoroughly impossible he felt it that anyone should accept the work of Lope as really great from an artistic point of view. The words of Bances Cándamo seem, indeed, to imply that Lope was not really a great national writer. Even in

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más estraños successos que ha representado la Fortuna al gran theatro de el mundo en sus varias scenas, y abundante de todos los exemplares de la vida.[12]

Such being Bances Cándamo's definition of the *comedia*, his espousal of the Calderonian viewpoint and his opposition to Lope de Vega become clear. In his definition, the author calls for qualities above and beyond the ordinary and commonplace, even above the common; and for such unusual qualities in both literary style, philosophy, moral views, and material for the plot. He has evidently chosen with care the adjectives "decoroso y remontado." He excludes everyday life as unsuitable material for the intrigue. Instead, he would have "los más estraños sucessos que ha representado la Fortuna al gran theatro de el mundo," that is, occurrences lying beyond the range of ordinary human experience, in a word, the extraordinary and unusual. Among the dramatists, he who best fits this description is Calderón, whose magnificent technique is so outstanding a feature of his work. Calderón's high devotion to king and Church, his brilliant and unusual array of distinctive, even extraordinary, personages and scenes, his lack of interest in the common man, his love for the *pundonor*, everywhere so marked in his drama, the literary flavor of his genius, tending to the aristocratic: all these qualities seem to point to him as the very soul of the definition of Bances Cándamo. Indeed, so much is this the case that one is inclined to think that Bances Cándamo, when penning these lines, had his master in mind. Lope, on the other hand, with his interest fixed on gaining popular praise and renown measured by the extent of his audience; with his choice and handling of material consequent upon this interest in popular applause; with the very exuberance and fecundity and lyricism that were his, not to speak of his lack of interest in the mere technique of form, that carelessness of the master who is not afraid in the presence of petty errors: these qualities make Lope the antithesis of the ideal Bances Cándamo has just set up. And the question arises: Did he have Lope also in mind when he wrote his definition of the *comedia?*

The attitude of Bances Cándamo as here expressed is also that

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his concession to the great dramatist, one is inclined to question whether what he says is not to some extent mere lip-service.

All in all, Bances Cándamo's misunderstandings with regard to Lope, as illustrated by the above citation, and his utter failure to realize the sources of Lope's technique, make it clear that he completely lacked any comprehension of all that made Spain's mightiest dramatic writer great.

[12] *Revista de Archivos* . . . . , Ser. 3, V, 247.

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of the other members of the same school as their works show. Like their spokesman, they were seeking something of the literary flavor that is opposed to the popular and strictly national tendencies of Lope de Vega. In them all, is the beginning of the reaction toward what was to end in a pseudo-classic recovery, an attempt to protect and maintain perfection of form, a necessary reaction, truly, if anything was to be saved from what had been the glory of the Spanish drama, since the soul of the great dramatists had fled. Although, as has been indicated, the neo-Calderonian return was by no means one of those recurring attempts to enforce on the drama the supposed rules of Aristotle, nor an effort to revive classical structure *as* classical structure, it was to continue more and more in the classical lines until it reached the ultimate of dramatic degradation in such academic tragedies as Montiano's *Virginia* in the middle of the eighteenth century. At that point, the Calderonian form, having lost itself in the gropings for classical form, reached its complete negation.

Bances Cándamo, not content with a mere definition, proceeds under the caption *La comedia mejor que la historia* to state what he understands to be the æsthetic bases of his system:

> Es la historia visible de el pueblo, y es para su enseñanza mejor que la historia, porque como la pintura llega después de la naturaleza i imitándola la enmienda, assí la Poessía llega después de la historia, i imitándola la enmienda. Imita la pintura lo más airoso de la naturaleza, porque jamás está tan bizarro un cauallo natural como pintado, que el pincel imitando todo lo que puede ser, junta en aquel solo que pinta lo que naturaleza dió bueno a todos los demás que produce, y no criando ella cosa sin algún defecto, o los colores se le enmiendan o se le huien. Nunca tiene el ropaje en el cuerpo vivo aquel aire que le ahueca en el pintado, porque dura allí sólo la acción airosa en que se copió. Imita la comedia a la historia copiando solo las acciones airosas de ella y ocultando las feas; finalmente, la historia nos expone los sucesos de la vida como son, la comedia los exorna como debían ser añadiéndole a la verdad de la esperiencia mucha más perfección para la enseñanza. Reduce a la cláusula de dos horas los acaecimientos de muchos años, poniéndoles tan naturales que parece que no pudieron suceder de otro modo, y expresándolos tan viuos que se cree que entonces están sucediendo.[13]

Here is stated, perhaps as clearly as it ever has been by a Spaniard, one of the most abiding reasons for the romanticism that lies back of practically all Spanish letters. History imitates. So do the pure realist and the pure naturalist. Art, to be art in the romantic sense, must add that intangible, wholly imaginative

[13] *Revista de Archivos . . . . , loc. cit.*

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element from the brain of the artist that purifies the copy, selecting and rejecting, imposing upon that which is being created something that does not exist in the nature of the thing itself; bringing to pass in the similitude of that thing an intangible something wholly new and transformed,—a creation. In a word, art is the product of a creator, not of a copyist. This, to Bances Cándamo, is the artistic conception which he typifies in the form of the *comedia*. Nature is imperfect. Only that touched by the artist rises above imperfection by becoming a composite, a type, which in one figure pictures the perfect features of the many. Art, even in its copying is telescopic. The artist's horse is, in its imaginative effect, not *a* horse at all, but *horse*, an abstract.

The moral purpose as a *raison d'être* for art may again be passed over as it was in the other passage cited. It is, in Spanish literary criticism, an ever-recurring note.

Bances Cándamo stresses the matter of selectivity. This passage approximates closely the other citation, and allies itself to the Calderonian sense of material-choice. What is not capable of being put in a concentrated light,—that which is ugly,—is useless for the purposes of art, and must be cast aside. Again, it is especial and distinctive qualities that Bances Cándamo seeks. If in that he is classic, he is so not directly, but through the medium of Calderón. The *pundonor*, loyalty to the king, perfection of technique, that is, Calderón's technique as Bances Cándamo tried in his comedies to attain it: these are the qualities uppermost in his mind.[14] Yet strongly as he emphasizes this selectivity, it would be unfair to say that it is the chief æsthetic point of his paragraph. That is, as was pointed out above, the impingement of the artistic sense upon the material.

Finally, the unity of time in the drama is touched upon. Here the author is at clear issue with both the critics of the theatre of

[14] This selectivity and refinement of *La Naturaleza* as a basis for art recurs again and again in the eighteenth-century successors of Bances Cándamo in literary criticism. *Cf.* Luzán, *Poética* II, 87. Moratín the younger, in his notes on *Hamlet*, says: "Tales figuras (como Polonio) son buenas para un entremés, no para una tragedia. Los afectos terribles que deben animarla, las grandes ideas de que ha de estar llena, la noble y robusta espresión que corresponde a tales pasiones, la unidad de interés que nunca debe debilitarse, todo esto se aviene mal con las tonterías de un viejo chocarrero y parlanchín. No basta que la naturaleza nos presente esta unión confusa de objetos. *Un buen poeta no debe imitarla como es en si: deschecha lo inútil e inoportuno, elige lo que es conveniente a sus fines, y en esta elección consiste el gran secreto del arte.*" B. de A. E., II, 556. This attitude, moreover, is a central point in the literary criticism of the whole eighteenth century.

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Lope from Cervantes on,[15] and with the *afrancesados* who were to follow him, as well as with the theory of Lope himself.[16] Both the former are strictly neo-classic in the sense that their interest turns to the Latin and the Greek drama with their strict rules as interpreted by and following the renaissance. The Calderonian decadents are a school apart. Bances Cándamo, as their spokesman, dealing with the matter of the unity of time, completely disallows the twenty-four-hour restriction, so dear to the French neo-classicists and to the *afrancesados* of Spain's eighteenth century. He would permit an unlimited lapse of time. In this he is Calderonian again, and, like Calderón, he saw that the importance of such a rule lies not in its restriction, but in its intent. Passing over the letter of the law, Bances Cándamo understood that the time-regulation had had its inception in the attempt to overcome haphazard choice in scenic-time relations, of compressing and so of maintaining the æsthetic principle of balance. Here once more he is following out his idea of compression, of the many refined into the one, and in so doing he keeps to the best tradition of Calderón, departing, necessarily, altogether from the ancient classic idea. The twenty-four-hour rule might suit admirably the conditions of the Greek theatre, or that of Racine, but to Corneille it became an almost insuperable handicap. Bances Cándamo seems to have seen clearly that to Calderón, or to himself, or to his brother decadents it would have been absolutely fatal.

As a whole, the followers of Calderón, both in the matter of the unity of time, and in the other main points of dramatic technique and æsthetic, are in close accord with the ideas of Bances Cándamo. Whether with marked success is beside the point. On the one hand, they are *not* Aristotelian; on the other, they neglected all those who had preceded Calderón[17] as well as those of his contemporaries who differed from him in dramatic theory. Nevertheless, in accepting the Calderonian view of the theatre, they were as far removed from their own followers, the *afrancesados*, as the

[15] Menéndez y Pelayo, *Ideas estéticas, loc. cit.*

[16] Cf. *Arte nuevo de hazer comedias:*

> El sugeto elegido escriba en prosa
> y en tres actos *de tiempo* le reparta,
> procurando, si puede, en cada uno
> no interrumpir el término de un dia.

[17] That they neglect Lope, does not mean to say that they do not find in him a source, and often a fertile one, of material for their own dramas. It is his dramatic procedure that they decry.

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distance measured between the classicism of Racine and the romanticism of Calderón.[18]

It will have been observed that, in all the passages which have been under consideration, Bances Cándamo may be regarded as having criticised Lope de Vega, either directly, or by implication for that wherein he was unlike Calderón. That Lope was also romantic did not satisfy the Calderonian decadents. All that is different from the master is dross. This is the cry of the school of the followers of Calderón, with Bances Cándamo at their head.

If, however, Bances Cándamo, Vázquez de Zamora and Cañizares had some insight into the motivating principles of the art of their great predecessor; if at least one of their number could theorize upon the individual qualities of imagination, creative concept based upon the perfectioning of nature through the eyes of the artist, neither he, nor Zamora, nor Cañizares had the power to realize to any important extent upon the theory. In his own drama, Bances Cándamo might, and at times did, succeed to a certain extent. But the success was in the secondary qualities for the most part. His style, if not always "el más decoroso y remontado de el idioma castellano," does not altogether lack in force and clarity, despite its touches of obscurantism. He knew how to choose subjects not wanting in elements of the grandiose, and to handle them, as in his *Esclavo en grillos de oro*, with strength and vitality. He knew scenic art, how to order stage and personages for effect; and if his female characters are at times too virile, his men are often well depicted. But the deeper emotion had fled. Neither Bances Cándamo, nor any of the school was artist enough to make it relive. Born with Lope, it had died when Calderón expired.

Had the *Theatro de los theatros* been published at the time it was written, it would have held a critical position with regard to the neo-Calderonian theories almost exactly analogous to that of Luzán's *Poética* in regard to the school of the *afrancesados*. As it is, it is the best statement of the post-Calderonian view of the theatre before Luzán; it is the chief critical expression of those who represent what was left of the greatness that had been Spain's on the scenic boards.

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[18] See D. Alberto Lista y Aragón, *Ensayos literarios y críticos*, Sevilla, 1844, II, 212. He has an interesting, if short, study of Cañizares and Zamora consisting of three brief articles on each, pp. 211–226, to which little or no attention has been paid.

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XLIX

MORE POPEANA: ITEMS FROM AN UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE*

ALEXANDER POPE as known to his contemporaries is a study in extremes. One group knew him as the satirist, diabolically clever and Papistical, responsible for the *Moral Essays* and the *Dunciad*. But another group less frequently commemorated idolized him as the romantic author of the *Pastorals*, of *Windsor Forest*, of *Eloisa to Abelard* and *The Dying Christian to his Soul*; he satisfied their love of beauty both in external nature and in the soul of man. With something of surprise we see through the eyes of these admirers the figure of the romantic poet usually obscured by that of the satirist of later years. The gradual stages by which the admirers of the younger Pope become the stern judges of his middle age are evidences of changes in the poet himself and not in those romantically-minded readers who turned reluctantly from him to Thomson and Shenstone and Young.

In intimate letters (for the most part unpublished) of certain eighteenth-century ladies of cultivated taste and earnest temper, we catch glimpses of the poet as he appeared to contemporaries early prepossessed in his favor. Two letters of special interest introduce him in the flush of social success. "We know little or nothing of the manner of Pope's introduction to society," wrote Courthope. "It would have been most interesting to learn how the solitary student of Windsor Forest really felt and behaved when making his first appearance on the scene of life and action."[1] Already known as the ingenious author of smoothly flowing pastorals and "sylvan" descriptions, of the skilful mockery of *The Rape of the Lock*, Pope in some way made the acquaintance of the pious poetess, Elizabeth Rowe. In adoring strains, disturbing to our preconceptions, "Philomela" wrote before 1719 to her friend Mrs. Arabella Marow of Off-church, Warwickshire, temporarily in Town. "I am very much concern'd you have not seen the Darling of my heart Mr. Pope," she declared. "Whenever you see him 'twill be an unspeakable happiness for him if he finds your heart half so tender and sensible of his charms as mine was when I saw him."[2] We may speculate with interest on the circumstances

* For access to unpublished letters in the library of Alnwick Castle I am indebted to the great kindness of the Duke of Northumberland.

[1] *Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Elwin and Courthope (Lond. 1889), V, 71.

[2] *Alnwick MS*, No. 110, p. 78.

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which brought together the tender-hearted recluse of Frome, the future author of the piously imaginative *Letters from the Dead to the Living* (published in 1728), and the young Pope. Were they, perhaps, introduced by their common acquaintance Lady Winchilsea? Or by Matthew Prior, who, Mrs. Rowe's brother-in-law tells us, "would have been glad to share the pleasures and cares of life with her." Or by her husband's relative, Nicholas Rowe? For instead of Matt Prior, Elizabeth Singer had married a serious Dissenter, Mr. Thomas Rowe, whose death in 1715 left a totally inconsolable little widow to mourn him in an elegy published in the volume containing the second edition of Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard*, and other poems of similar temper, brought out by Lintot in 1719.

In similar strain wrote another lady of the same group some ten years later. After unexpectedly dining with the poet, Grace Cole penned a proud letter to Mrs. Rowe's friend and correspondent, Lady Hertford,—Thomson's Countess of Hertford, to whom he dedicated his *Spring*, and the rescuer of Richard Savage. In a letter dated from London, October 14, 1729, Miss Cole writes of their acquaintance Miss Vane, like Lady Hertford a maid-of-honor to Queen Caroline. Miss Vane, says Miss Cole, is "much better"; but Miss Caesar,—presumably the daughter of Pope's friend Charles Caesar, Treasurer of the Navy under Queen Anne,—"keeps her bed in a feaver." After a call upon the latter, continues Miss Cole, "Mrs. Caesar Insisted upon my dineing with her below Stairs. Mr. Pope dined with us was In quite a Gay Humour and consequently most Charming Company. He set up my vanity, for to tell you the truth less from him will do it then from any of the Beau Monde Class."[3]

Under such happy auspices did Pope enter upon his career. It is a bit sad to trace the slow decline of his reputation in the eyes of these gentle romanticists. Mrs. Rowe struggles valiantly to sustain her admiration. A pastoral of her own begins modestly:

[3] *Alnwick MS, Percy Family Letters and Papers*, XXII, 159. Only a few days earlier Miss Cole had communicated to Lady Hertford an interesting bit of gossip relating to the Caesar family, involving circumstances mentioned also by Lord Oxford in a letter to Pope dated October 9, 1729 (E-C. VIII, 260). Wrote Lord Oxford: "Young Mr. Caesar is married to a very great fortune, and much to the satisfaction of his father and mother." Of this event Miss Cole writes Lady Hertford: "I want to tell you some news, something odd for me to mention news but this pleases me vastly Young Mr Caesar married a pretty agreeable Girl last fryday with thirty thousand pounds 'T was quite a Love story She rose from

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In vain my muse would imitate the strains
Which charm'd the nymphs on *Windsor's* verdant plains;
Where *Pope*, with wond'rous art in tuneful lays,
Won from *Apollo's* hand immortal bays.[4]

In her letters she quotes from his early poems with a frequency which is proof positive of the popularity of the romantic beginnings of the arch-satirist. Sometime before 1729 she writes Lady Hertford, "The *sylvan* scene never appeared more beautiful, (not even in Mr. POPE'S *Pastorals*) than in those soft lines you inclosed."[5] While she is reading the 1735 volume of *Letters of Mr. Pope and Several Eminent Persons* she writes, "After I had been entertained w^th^ y^r^ La^sps^ charming novel [her translation of Mme. de Lambert's Tullie] I read M^r^ Pope's Letters at disadvantage & yet I could not but admire his ease Turn of Witt & perticularly his Letter to M^r^ Digby."[6] Again, referring to *The Dying Christian to his Soul*, she says, "I am charm'd with Mr. Pope's Poem on Death, in the last Edition of his Works. I wish I may be in the Happy disposition to repeat these lines at that final Period.

The world recedes, it disappears;
Heav'n opens on my eyes, my ears
With sounds seraphic ring:
"Lend, lend your wings! I mount, I fly;
O grave! where is thy victory?
O death! where is thy sting?"[7]

(Mrs. Rowe had apparently been reading Lintot's 1736 edition of Pope's works.) In another letter of the same year she sends Lady Hertford Lord Orrery's lines *To Mr. Pope* on the death of

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Her Guardians Table (who was M^r^ Freeman,) the moment she had dined and with Coll^el^ Creamers Daughter who was the Companion of Her flight Walked near a Mile where Charles was waiting fr Her with a Coach and My Pappa (who he beg'd in friendship to go with Him) and away they wheel'd and was married. They came to Town Saterday Miss Vane and I pay our Complim^ts^ to the bride the same evening and Sunday we dined together Here, Anthony was there Saterday and I never saw greater Joy (of the kind) in any one face in My Life." (*Alnwick MS, Percy Family Letters and Papers*, XXII, 152.)

[4] *Miscellaneous Works in Prose and Verse, of Elizabeth Rowe* (London, 1772), I, 107.

[5] *Friendship in Death: in twenty letters from the Dead to the Living. To which are added, Letters Moral and Entertaining, in Prose and Verse*, (New Haven, 1802), Part I, p. 121.

[6] *Alnwick MS*, No. 110, p. 352.

[7] *Alnwick MS*, No. 110, p. 360. Cf. *Miscellaneous Works*, II, 268, 269.

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Gay;[8] and to another correspondent she quotes—and misquotes from memory—*Eloisa to Abelard:*

> "How happy is the holy hermit's lot!
> The world forgetting, by the world forgot.
> Eternal sunshine of the spotless mind!
> Each pray'r accepted, and each wish resign'd;
> Desires compos'd, affections ever even,
> Tears that delight, and sighs that waft to heaven.
> O grace divine! O virtue heav'nly fair!
> Divine oblivion of low-thoughted care!
> Fresh-blooming Hope, gay daughter of the sky!
> And Faith, our early immortality!
> Enter each mild, each amiable guest:
> Receive and wrap me in eternal rest!"

"These lines are borrow'd from Mr. Pope," writes Mrs. Rowe, "and I wish I was sensible of their energy while I repeat them."[9] She tries loyally to palliate the cruelty of the satires. "Mr. Pope's *Satire on Women* [published in 1735] is less severe than I expected," she declares, "'tis pity such a fine Genius had not been Joined to a more sanguine complection."[10] Yet she feels the cloud of just censure gathering about the head of her idol. Calling pity to the aid of justice she writes Lady Hertford in an undated letter, "The contempt Mr. Pope has drawn on his character is very just but while I own this I am guilty of some compassion for him since the world has treated him with so much severity tho not equal to his insolence on sacred as well as Comon subjects."[11] In a later letter, probably to be dated 1734-5, the year in which the *Epistle to Arbuthnot* appeared, she gives over her poet completely in an outburst of indignation caused by his treatment of Addison. "I am glad y^{r} La^{sp} is disgruntled with Mr. Pope's treatment of Mr. Addison," she writes Lady Hertford, "the whole seems writ with a Mallice more than human it has something infernal in it 'tis surprising that a man can divest himself of the tender sentiments of nature so far as deliberately to give Anguish and Confusion to Beings of his own kind. Slander and Invective is an Injury never to be repair'd, & by consequence is an unpardonable sin."[12] Such was

[8] *Miscellaneous Works*, II, 267; *Alnwick MS*, No. 110, pp. 356–357.

[9] *Miscellaneous Works*, II, 337–338. In the original Pope wrote (l. 207) "How happy is the blameless *vestal's* lot," and (l. 297) "O grace *serene*."

[10] *Alnwick MS*, No. 110, p. 357 (Letter 156); cf. *Miscellaneous Works*, II, 339.

[11] *Alnwick MS*, No. 110, p. 238.

[12] This letter was very inaccurately printed in *Miscellaneous Works*, II, 257.

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the view of satire held by at least one group of readers in the Age of Pope, a group of which Lady Hertford and her circle were distinguished representatives.[13]

But despite Mrs. Rowe's condemnation of Pope's satires, the early poems hold to the end of her life a fixed place in her esteem. An ardent Dissenter, her faith tinged with an "enthusiasm" which her friend Isaac Watts in his introduction to her *Devout Exercises of the Heart* is inclined to deplore, she repeated, at the hour of her death (1737), (we are told by her brother-in-law and biographer), "Mr. Pope's verses, intitled, *The dying Christian to his Soul*, with an air of such intense pleasure, as evidenced that she really felt all the elevated sentiments of pious ecstacy in that beautiful piece of sacred poetry." So was her early wish fulfilled.

At the height of Pope's early success, however, a correspondent of another character, Anastasia Robinson, the singer, writes a friendly note to Lady Hertford from Twickenham. Less respectful is her comment on the literary society about her. With ingenious

[13] Lord Hertford wrote to Lady Hertford (May 16, 1738): "I have read Mr. Pope's poem 1738 there are some lines that I like but in the whole it does not please me, he more than once in it abuses Ld. Fanny, Ld. Silkirk & Ld Delaware are not forgot." *Percy Family Letters and Papers*, XXVI, 133.

In a letter dated "Windsor Forest May 20^{h}, O.S. 1739" Lady Hertford writes to Lady Pomfret:

"I feel not only a justifiable Pride but an inexhaustible fund of entertainment from all you write; I cannot say the same of a new Volume of Poems, which M^{r} Pope has though fit to Publish, there is in it his Sober Advice, his Epistle to Augustus, & in short several things that he had sold singly before; there is also an Epitaph upon the late duke of Buckingham, & two or three Epigrams; as a sample I send you one which is prefac'd with the pompous Title Engraved on the Collar of a Dog, which I gave his Royal Highness

I am his Highness Dog at Kew
Pray tell me S^{r} whose Dog are you.

does it not remind you of one of a more ancient date, which I believe is repeated in all the Nurserys in England

Bow wow wow wow
Whose dog art thou &c

I do not inferr from hence that M^{r} Pope finds himself returning into Child-hood & therefore imitates this Venerable Author, in order to Shine amongst the innocent inhabitants of the Apartments, where his Works are the most in Vogue; but I suppose it is to show that he has the same Alacrity in sinking to the Bathos, as of soaring to the Summit of Parnassus."

This letter as printed in the *Correspondence* of these ladies (edited by Bingley, 3 vols., London, 1805) contains certain verbal variations from this copy in Lady Hertford's own hand in her manuscript volume, *Alnwick MS*, No. 112, p. 58.

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flattery, by way of apology for her dilatoriness in writing to Lady Hertford, she begins:

I refus'd my self a pleasure, because I was conscious I cou'd only give you trouble, for tho I converse here with Witts, such as M^r^ Pope, Lady Mary Wortly, &c., to say truth I hear little that will bear telling again; I was in hopes by conversing so much with them I should have been able in a small Time to spout sentiments, and write a fine Letter out of nothing, but I find my self as much at a loss as ever what to say.[14]

Lady Hertford, meanwhile, had entered into correspondence with Isaac Watts, perhaps introduced by their common correspondent. Devout adherent of the Established Church as the Countess was, her questing spirit did not hesitate to seek light from the eminent Dissenting divine, the friend—and 'twas whispered suitor—of her friend, Elizabeth Rowe. On June 15, 1738 Dr. Watts had written from Newington thanking the Countess for sending him some religious verses beginning

All gracious God my best retreat,
A wounded Soul restore

written by a Mr. Noel—verses which are preserved in Lady Hertford's commonplace book. Watts refers also to an unctious composition, an *Epistle to a Young Nobleman from his Preceptor*, written by John Dalton the adapter of *Comus*, then the tutor of Lady Hertford's son, Lord Beauchamp. The moral utterances of both of these minor versifiers the Doctor compares favorably to the satire of Pope.

I thank your La:^p^ for the enclosed Hymn [he writes]. It answers you-character of it perfectly, & strikes my heart w:^th^ devout & agreeable sentir ments. Would not M^r^ Pope, that bright Genius & that supreme Poet, more happily entertain & improve Mankind, could he be persuaded to turn his pen to such sort of Lyric Odes, than by all his satyrick imitations of Horace? Can you think, Madam, that if that ancient Roman Writer had been as obscure in his Satyrs, & so hard to be understood as his Imitator is, his sense would have been known at fifteen hundred years distance? Has not y^e^ *Epistle to a young Nobleman from his Preceptor* at lest four

[14] *Alnwick MS, Percy Family Letters and Papers*, XXV, 17. Lady Mary writing her sister the Countess of War from Twickenham September 6, 1721, says that Bononcini and "Mrs. Robinson and Senesino lodge in this village and sup often with me." Atterbury writes Pope in 1722, "Mrs. Rob^r^ haunts Bononcini, you follow her, and I plague you."

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times the Beauties in it that any one of those late Imitations can boast of?[15]

In an earlier letter to John Duncombe Watts had written, "Mr. Pope's *Messiah* always charms me."[16] Lady Hertford in replying to Dr. Watts's letter deprecates the decline upon satire of the poet of her earlier admiration. She is quick, moreover, to recognize the shallowness of his *Universal Prayer*, with the monstrous ineptitude of its tenth stanza:

Teach me to feel another's woe,
To hide the fault I see;
That mercy I to others show,
That mercy show to me.

In a letter dated from her country-seat in Windsor Forest she writes:

St. Leonard's Hill, Aug. 8, 1738.

. . . . I think every body must wish a muse like Mr. Pope's were more inclined to exert itself on divine and goodnatured subjects; but I am afraid satire is his highest talent, for I think his 'Universal Prayer' is by no means equal to some of his other works; and I think his tenth stanza an instance how blind the wisest men may be to the errors of their own hearts; for he certainly did not mean to imprecate such a proportion of vengeance on himself, as he is too apt to load those with whom he dislikes; nor would he wish to have his own failings exposed to the eye of the world with all the invective and ridicule with which he publishes those of his fellow-creatures. . . . .[17]

Dr. Watts, too, like Elizabeth Rowe, was reading during years of pain and illness the *Essay on Man* and the rejoinders it provoked: Jean Paul de Crousaz's *Examinen de l'essai de M. Pope*, and War-

[15] A. L. S. in the library of H. S. H.

[16] *Letters by Several Eminent Persons Deceased. Including the Correspondence of John Hughes, Esq. By John Duncombe*, 2nd Edition, (Lond., 1773), II, 83. Dr. Watts's desire to make poetry the useful handmaid of religion is illustrated in this earlier letter of his to John Duncombe (May 23, 1735) on the death of Duncombe's brother-in-law, John Hughes. Dr. Watts wrote: "My sorrow freshens and renews upon my heart, that such a genius did not live to write more moral and divine odes in advanced years, to be a counterpoise to all the charms of pleasure and youth and beauty which his younger poesy indulg'd. . . . . The Christian scheme has glories and beauties in it which have superior power to touch the soul, beyond all the gods and heroes of the heathen heaven or Elysium. I should have been much pleased to see so fine a pen employing its art in such themes. Mr. Pope's *Messiah* always charms me."

[17] Gibbons, Thomas, *Memoirs of The Rev. Isaac Watts* (London, 1780), p. 386.

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burton's defence. The great preacher with brief contempt refers to the controversy in a letter to the Countess:

Newington Feb. 14, 1738/9.
. . . . A little before my Headache I read Mr. Crousaz's examination of Mr. Pope's essay on Man, and the answer to it, or the Defense of Mr. Pope by a friend of his in the Monthly account of the Works of the Learned. I am not charmed with either Performance. But this I think I may venture to say, that if Mr. P. himself has not given in to the scheme of the fatalists, I am sorry that so many Lines, especially in the first part, give his Readers so fair an occasion to suspect it.[18]

Obviously for Lady Hertford, for Mrs. Rowe, and many others like them in their day, despite its reputation for laxity, the laws of the universe were moral laws, divinely good, and the life of man's indwelling spirit was sustained by impulses of love, sympathy, and aspiration. For such readers Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*[19] and Berkeley's *Minute Philosopher*,[20] both commended in their letters, presented a more congenial philosophy than that of the *Essay on Man*; and the poetry of Thomson together with Pope's early compositions more delight than his *Moral Essays*. Indeed from such readers the pseudo-classical satirists who sometimes appear to monopolize the picture could expect only summary condemnation. So at the time of Pope's death, we find Lady Hertford quite naturally reflecting severely in a letter to her son, Lord Beauchamp, a youth of nineteen then making the *grand tour*:

M^{r}. Pope is really dead at last & has left my L^{d} Bolingbroke and Lord Marchmont his Executors. I should be glad to know what he now thinks of the Pain he has occasion'd to his fellow Creatures, & whether his Conscience bears him Witness that the bitterness of his invectives proceeded meerly from a zeal in the cause of Virtue without any view of indulging a fretfulness in his own Temper or a malignity which he felt

[18] *Alnwick, MS, Percy Family Letters and Papers*, XXVI, 16.

[19] Mrs. Rowe writes Lady Hertford in 1720: "I have been reading my Lord Shaftesbury's *Moralist*, which has fill'd my head with beauty, and love, and harmony, but all of a divine and mysterious nature. . . . . I wish you would read it, for it would make you the most charming and agreeable enthusiast in the world." *Miscellaneous Works*, II, 125.

[20] In 1732 Mrs. Rowe thanks Lady Hertford for sending her the *Minute Philosopher*, saying "your approbation being the greatest authority." A few days later she writes: "You have given me a real and extensive satisfaction by the book you sent me. I read it with a secret gratitude to the author, as being a benefactor to mankind, in endeavouring to secure their highest interest." *Miscellaneous Works*, II, 225.

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toward several People whose Characters he has wounded in his satires.[21]

In another letter, dated June 8, 1744, she writes,

M[r] Pope I hear has preserv'd a Uniformity of Character to his latest Moments for about six months agoe he put himself into the Hands of D[r] Thomson whose Med'cines were thought a little to hasten his End & just as he was Dying he added two Lines to be inserted in the next Edition of his Dunciad; the Substance of them is that after being at War with Dunces all his Life he perish'd by the greatest of them all.[22]

In her letter dated June 23, 1744 she quotes an epigram "occasion'd by the death of Mr. Pope"

> "Ye Dunces all give way to Mirth
> A full Revenge ye have
> Pope Sateriz'd ye while on Earth
> You praise him in the Grave.[23]

Yet only a year earlier, October 30, 1743, Lady Herford had written eagerly to her son, "I want to know whether the Paraclete y[e] pass'd by is the same where the Convent stands which was found'd by Abelard & which is so well known here, by M[r] Popes Letter from Eloisa?"[24]

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[21] *Alnwick MS, Percy Family Letters and Papers*, LXXVII, 393–394.
[22] *Ibid.*, no page.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] *Ibid.*, XXVIII.

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-IAD: A PROGENY OF THE *DUNCIAD*

FASHIONS in literature run not only to theme, form, influence, and diction but also to title and even part of a title. For a century following the *Dunciad* an extraordinary number of productions had titles ending in *-iad* (*-ead*, *-ad*, *-ade*). The presence of this suffix denoted that the work dealt with the subject suggested by the name to which those final letters were affixed. The *NED* gives the English suffix *-ad* as representing the Greek *-άδ-α*, forming feminine patronymics and hence used in names of poems.[1] The mere *-ad* did not often appear but yielded to the more euphonious *-iad* and sometimes *-ead*; the *-ade* was the French spelling.

That this is perhaps the most important vogue in titles in English literature is proved by the fact that over two hundred items, nine-tenths of them in verse, may be noted. Several appeared on the heels of the *Dunciad*, and in the seventeen-forties (when Pope was publishing his enlarged and altered version) at least seventeen such works were printed. Thereafter for sixty years there was an average of a score each decade; the eighties marked their greatest popularity, the year 1785 itself containing ten. But after about 1810 these *-iads* decreased in number, until today we regard it as a bygone mode. This habit of title-forming, however, did not wane before it spread to America.[2]

The reason for the beginning of such an immense fad seems to be threefold: the great prominence of Pope's mock-heroic satire; the Classical example, particularly in the *Iliad*; and French custom in the seventeenth century.[3] But the absence of English works with this common ending before the *Dunciad*, the critical allusions to it by way of showing precedent, and the manner in which the suffix soon became familiar, lead one to regard the influence of Pope's much damned, praised, printed, and imitated poem as the prime mover in the fixation of the mode, with the ancient and for-

[1] Cf. *Δηλιάδα*, Aristotle, *Poetics* ii, 5.

[2] The usual place of publication was naturally London. I have used an asterisk to note items published in America, which are of course in the regular current. My list of these productions in two centuries, English and American, contains more than 240 titles, about fifty of which seem to have disappeared; at least they are not to be found in the British Museum, the Bodleian, or the Harvard College Library.

[3] See Raymond Toinet, *Quelques recherches autour des poèmes héroïques-épiques français du dix-septième siècle*, Tulle, 1899–1907, 2 vols., *passim*.

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eign influences as preparatory and contributory.[4] It is also true that the fashion grew by example and that the conspicuous *-iad* poems, like Churchill's *Rosciad*, lent power. No one will suppose that each author of these scores of titles deliberately copied Pope: the progeny of the *Dunciad* was the vogue, though hardly each item in that vogue.[5] "Dunciad" itself was commandeered for the *New Dunciad*, 1732, the *Court Dunciad*, 1733, William Dodd's *New Book of the Dunciad*, 1750, enthroning Warburton, William Kenrick's *Old Woman's Dunciad*, 1751, George Daniel's *Modern Dunciad*, 1814, Benjamin Disraeli's *Dunciad of To-Day*, 1826, and the *Spiritual Dunciad*, 1859, attacking the Roman Catholic religion. The *Female Dunciad*, 1728, was composed of prose and verse pieces chiefly satirical of Pope, and there was an engraving in 1753, satirical of Hogarth, called the *New Dunciad*. *New Dunciads* also appeared in 1806 and 1889.

There is no need here in attempting to penetrate the haze surrounding the genesis of the *Dunciad*, but we may admire the bold, simple stroke that gave Pope a perfect title.[6] In "The Publisher to the Reader" in the 1728 edition he became playful over his title, and the initial notes in the 1729 *Dunciad Variorum* constitute a mock-critical discussion of the etymology and spelling. In "Martinus Scriblerus of the Poem" Pope remarked that as he had translated the two famous works of Homer, he should imitate the one that was lost, the poem on Margites the first dunce, and that this poem should have epic form and a title fashioned "after the ancient Greek manner." And the author of the *Beeriad*, 1736, one book of which closely followed the *Dunciad*, claimed to have

[4] In Drayton's *Odes* "A Skeltoniad" is in thirty-six lines of Skeltonic metre. For different kinds of title-endings compare Drayton's *Mortimeriados*, 1596, Cowley's *Davideis*, 1656, Edward Howard's *Caroloides*, 1689, John Lacy's *Steeleids*, 1714, Glover's *Athenaid*, 1787.

[5] Hugh Walker, *English Satire and Satirist*, 1925, p. 222, says of Pope's influence, "the very titles of a multitude of mock-heroics attest the wide-spread influence of *The Dunciad*." Some *-iads* can be noted in Walter Hamilton, *Parodies of the Works of English and American Authors*, Vol. I, 1884; R. W. Lowe, *Bibliographical Account of English Theatrical Literature*, 1888; R. D. Havens, *Influence of Milton on English Poetry*, 1922; J. M. Beatty, "Churchill's Influence on Minor Eighteenth Century Satirists," *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 162–76; "Dunciad Epics," *Notes on Sales, T. L. S.*, Aug. 30, 1923, p. 576.

[6] Voltaire's *La ligue* was published in London in 1728 as the *Henriade*, which perhaps influenced Pope's selection of a title. For Pope's change in proposed title see his letter to Swift, Elwin-Courthope edition, VII, 110, and R. H. Griffith, "The *Dunciad* of 1728," *Mod. Phil.* XIII (1915), 5.

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considered *Aleiad* for a title but thought that a pun on Homer. William Hawkins in the 1758 version of his *Thimble* jocularly refused to follow Pope's method in his title, such an imitation being "nothing to the *Point*—of a *Needle*;" James Love in *Cricket*, 1770, said that his title might have been "dulcified" and "render'd extremely polite and unintelligible" with the help of an *-ad* tagged to it; Hans Busk in the preface to his *Vestriad*, 1819, discussed *Adamiad* as an alternative for *Paradise Lost*. The facetious character of such critical allusions does not discount their value as indications that writers were interested in this title-making suffix.[7]

When we recall that the *Dunciad* was a combination of mock-heroic and direct satire, it is not hard to see how that denominating suffix came to be considered fitting for some form of satire. A minority of the *-iads* were heroic poems or epics, the authors of which perhaps thought they were following the lead of Homer. These epics were usually signed, but many of the satires were anonymous or pseudonymous; the art of pseudonymy is illustrated in "Christopher Gymnast," "Quartus Quintus Sixtus," "Marmaduke Myrtle," "I-Spy-I." By far the favorite verse form was the heroic couplet, with blank verse a poor second. In length the *-iads* ranged from the *Heraldiad*, 1730, and Cowper's posthumously published *Columbriad*, both under a hundred lines, to the *Fredoniad*,* 1827, in forty cantos and four volumes.

It is hardly surprising that in this vogue there should have been repetition of titles. The *Dunciads* have been noticed; for the nineteen *Rosciads* see below. There were two *Thespiads* (a defense of the Irish stage in 1804 and a satire in 1809), two *Scribleriads* (in 1742 and R. O. Cambridge's in 1751), two *Dorriads** (on the Dorr Rebellion in Rhode Island, in 1842 and in 1870, both probably by H. B. Anthony), two *Victoriads* (on a fight at the Victoria Theatre in 1856 and in praise of the Victorian Era in 1861), two *Hiberniads* (a prose glorification of Ireland in 1784 and a poem in 1807), two *Euterpeiads** (American musical periodicals, 1820–21 and 1830–31), and three *Columbiads* (by J. L. Moore in 1798, by Richard Snowden* in 1800, and by Joel Barlow* in 1807, which had been printed twenty years before as the *Vision of Columbus*).

[7] Other early critical notes may be found in the *Dulcinead*, 1729, *Martiniad*, 1729, *Tamiad*, 1733, *Causticks Applied to the Causidicade*, 1743, Dodd's *New Book of the Dunciad*, Smart's *Hilliad*, Wilkie's *Epigoniad*. There is an amusing passage on the vogue in the *Britoniad*, 1780, p. 21, beginning "The title has a classic termination."

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The two *Rolliads* were based on different words, "roll" and "Rollo." Of the two *Hamiltoniads*,* both of 1804, one eulogized and the other satirized. The two *Pittiads*, 1759 and 1785, celebrated father and son.[8]

One would expect to find the names of some prominent people thus embalmed. Besides those already mentioned there were the *Vernon-iad*, 1741, by Fielding, satirical of Walpole in connection with Admiral Vernon's case; the *Sarah-ad*, 1742, on Sarah Jennings Churchill; the *Keppeliad* and the *Anti-Palliseriad*, 1779, in praise of Admiral Keppel; Thomas Young's *Siddoniad*, 1784; the *Hastiniad*, 1785, by Elizabeth Ryves, on Mrs. Warren Hastings; the *Garriciad*,[9] 1787; the *Henryade*, 1787, a complimentary poem involving Prince William Henry; the *Jeffersoniad*,* 1801; the *Melviad*, 1805, on Viscount Melville; the *Burniad*, 1808, by J. H. Kenney, an epistle in the style of Burns; and others to be mentioned in other connections. Smart and Dr. John Hill in 1753 exchanged *-iad* poems on each other. Smaller fry who thus had titles thrust upon them were Sir Thomas Deveil, 1744; Dr. William Battie, 1750, by Moses Mendez; Arthur Murphy, 1761; John Donaldson, 1763, by William Thom; Charles Paxton,* 1764; Hugh Kelly, 1767, by Louis Stamma; William Kenrick, 1772; Samuel Parr, 1788, by William Chapman; Lord Moira, 1798; Vestris the dancer, 1819, by Hans Busk.

History and geography also entered the mode, particularly in the seriously heroic poems: Alexander Gordon's *Prussiad*, 1759; *Indiad*, 1770; George Keate's *Helvetiad*, 1781; *Odiad*, 1788, a mock-heroic on a boxing match at Odiam, Hampshire: *Thymbriad*, 1794, Lady Burrell's enlargement of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, with a battle on the plain of Thymbria; W. Hildreth's *Niliad*, 1799; *Britanniad* and *Hiberniad*, printed together in 1807; the miscellanies, *Caledoniad*, 1775, and *Sudburiad*, 1813, by H. Roche; and J. T. S. Lidstone's rimed business directories, the *Bostoniad*,* 1853, and *Londoniad*, 1856.[10]

It is apparent that practically every kind of word was considered

[8] The *Quack-Iliad*, 1761, was also satirical of the elder Pitt.

[9] The *Nowiad*, 1755, satirized Garrick, who wrote the *Fribbleriad* against Fitzpatrick in 1761.

[10] London seemed to be the most fruitful Parnassus of this commercial Muse, for annual versions appeared during two decades. After the *Twentieth* the mere arithmetic of the thing palled a bit: we find the *One Hundredth* in 1877, the *New Hundredth* two years later, and the *Third Hundredth Londoniad* yet two years later.

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available, such as soubriquets, as in *Censoriad*, 1730; *Quackade*, 1752; *Macaroniad*, 1773; *Diaboliad*, 1776, by William Combe on Lord Irnham; *Demoniad*, 1785, on the pests of the day; *Porcupiniad*,* 1799, on William Cobbett: names of figures of antiquity, as in *Ciceroniad*, 1777; *Galeniad*, 1782; *Aesopiad*, 1784–85; *Amazoniad* 1806, by J. W. Croker: Greek words, as in *Theriad*, 1790; *Kuoniad*,* 1813; *Cheiliad*, an Edinburgh student periodical of 1826–27: Latin words, as in William Woty's *Pediculaiad*, 1770: games, as in *Chessiad*, 1825, and *Golfiad*, 1867: and common nouns, usually in mock-heroics, as in *Beeriad*; *Mobiad*, 1770, by Andrew Brice; *Ballooniad*, 1785 (2 ed.); *Lousiad*, 1785–95, by Peter Pindar (John Wolcot); *Fleaiad*, 1787, by "Paul Pindar"; *Rolliad*, 1787, by George Colman the elder;[11] *Icead*, 1792; *Gamiad*, 1794, concerning the protection of game; *Raciad*,* by William Crafts; and *Stabliad*, 1825, by John Cumming. The *Parson-iad*, 1733, was a satire on the clergy, the *Meretriciad*, 1761, on harlots, the *Toriad*, 1837, on the Tories, but the *Feminiad*, 1754, by John Duncombe, was in praise of various literary women.

The *Strolliad*, 1785, was directed against players, the *Controversiad*, 1788, against the opponents of Dr. Priestley, the *Democratiad*,* 1795, against the Democratic Senators who opposed Jay's Treaty, the *Craniad*, 1817, by Francis Jeffrey and John Gordon, against Spurzheim's system of phrenology. Chatterton's mock-heroic satire on the Grafton ministry, 1770, was first called the *Constabiliad* and then changed to *Consuliad*. Edward Goulburn's *Blueviad*, 1805, ridiculed a famous regiment, and the *Moneiad*, 1818, dealt with the power of money. The Harvard Rebellion of 1819 was the subject of Augustus Peirce's *Rebelliad*.* Arthur Crithfield's *Universaliad: or, Confessions of Universalism** appeared in 1849 and the *Lentiad* by a "Beef-Eater" (John Allan) in 1853. The *Siliad*, by Grenville Murray, was a political satire in parody of the *Iliad*. A curious piece of the eighteen-eighties, the *Electriad*, shows the extensive use to which the suffix could be put: it was a combination of political satire, burlesque of Homer, and advertisement for the Pall Mall Electric Association.

It is not unnatural that the majority of the *-iads* were satirical and that the mock-heroic species of satire was prominent. In the thirty years after the *Dunciad* the most important mock-heroics

[11] Avowedly written before the more famous *Rolliad*, which was the model and butt for the *New Rolliad*, 1785. George Colman the younger wrote a *Rodiad* on birching.

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were Paul Whitehead's *Gymnasiad*, 1744, on a famous boxing match, and Cambridge's *Scribleriad*. Churchill's well-known satire, however, the *Rosciad* of 1761, using the tribunal device, called forth a deluge of poems given to dramatic satire and review.[12] The next landmark was the excellent *Criticisms on the Rolliad*, which first appeared in the *Morning Post*, 1784–85, and consisted of criticisms of and quotations from a pretended epic on Rollo, Duke of Normandy, supposed ancestor of J. Rolle, M.P., Pitt and his supporters being taken off. This method of comment on a "discovered" poem was adopted in the *Beauties of the Brinsleiad*, 1785, against Sheridan, the *Anarchiad*,* 1786–87, by the Connecticut Wits, and J.S.J. Gardiner's *Remarks on the Jacobiniad*,* 1795. Literary satire was given impetus by Gifford's *Baviad*, 1791, and *Maeviad*, 1795. There followed the *Simpliciad*, 1808, attacking the" New School," the *Scotiad*, 1809, hitting at the Scotch reviewers, Daniel's *Modern Dunciad*, Robert Montgomery's *Puffiad*, 1825, W. J. Neale's *Lauread*, 1833, and William Leach's *Obliviad*,* 1879, which carried besides a dedication and three prefaces a list of persons celebrated, a list of works quoted and authors named, copious notes, supplement, appendix, and index.

The epics were the longest type of *-iad* poem and the dullest. The *Columbiads* and the works of Wilkie, Gordon, Keate, Hildreth, and Lady Burrell were ponderous enough, but Calliope was also offered Wilkie's *Epigoniad*, 1757, on the seige of Thebes, John Harvey's *Bruciad*, 1769, virtually his *Life of Robert Bruce* of 1729, George Cockings' *Paoliad*, 1769, the *Alexandriad*, 1805, on Alexander I of Russia ,the *Exodiad*, 1807, by Richard Cumberland and Sir James Burges, on the Exodus of the Israelites, Charles Smith's *Mosiad, or Israel Delivered*, 1815, T. H. Genin's *Napolead*,* 1833, and E. M. Souvielle's *Ulyssiad*,* 1896.[13] In Richard Emmons'

[12] A *Rosciad* of 1750 and the *Ancient Rosciad* of 1753 preceded Churchill's. Successors were T. Morell's *Anti-R.*, 1761, H. J. Pye's (?) *R. of C-v-nt G-rd-n*, 1762, the *Smithfield R.*, 1763, *Hibernian R.*, 1765, *Rational R.*, 1767, *New R. for the Year MDCCLXX*, *Edinburgh R. for 1775*, J. H. Leigh's *New R.*, 1785, *More Kotzebue . . . . Minor R.*, 1799, George Butler's *R.*, 1802, *Young R.*, 1805, on the actor Betty, W. H. Logan's *Edinburgh R.; for the Summer Season 1834*, *Mundus Dramaticus* (*The New R.*), 1852. W. P. Russel's *Prose-R.* appeared in 1804. The *Theatrical Register; or, Weekly R.* was a column of dramatic notes in the *London Chronicle*, 1766, and the *Theatrical Repository; or, Weekly R.* was a weekly periodical, 1801–02. The *Churchiliad* was a prose reply to Churchill in 1761.

[13] I have not included translations of the popular epics by Vida, Camoens, and Voltaire, the *Christiad*, the *Lusiad*, and the *Henriade*.

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monstrous epic on the War of 1812, the *Fredoniad*,* the action starts in Hell and ends in New Orleans, whither the hardy reader is conveyed by way of Heaven, Detroit, the Atlantic Ocean, Sandusky, Canada, the Court of St. James, and other scattered points.

At least four items by men of some note were not published: James Beattie's mock-heroic *Grotesquiad*; Joseph Spence's *Charliad*, a mock-epic judiciously suppressed by his executor, Bishop Lowth; James Montgomery's *Whiskeriad*, a mock-heroic on cats and rats; and Edward Fitzgerald's *Nelly-ad*, an abstract of the wanderings of Little Nell made for a friend's children. The most recent instances of the *-iad* that have come to my attention are the conclusion of Mr. Masters' *Spoon River Anthology*, the *Spooniad*,* in parody of *Paradise Lost*, and a comic poem, the *Jinxiad*,* in the *Harvard Lampoon*.[14]

This method of producing a title could not be confined to poetry. Various prose *-iads* have been cited above; there were also such works as the *Popiad*, 1728, and *Curliad*, 1729, both probably by Curll, and the *Courtiade*, 1744. *Philo: an Evangeliad*,* 1850, was a religious closet drama by Sylvester Judd. A prologue and an epilogue to a *Butiad* were printed in 1780. The *Poliorciad*, 1789, was a collection of poems, as were the *Caledoniad* and *Sudburiad*. Periodicals and departments have already been noted; the *Scrapiad** contained miscellaneous notes in the *Massachusetts Magazine, or Monthly Museum* in 1790.

Thus our forefathers perpetuated a usage convenient, indicative, and authoritative, long after the Wasp of Twickenham ceased to have happy moments of mischief.

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[14] The first installment appeared Feb. 9, 1928.

The *Billiad* (not to be confused of course with the *Biliad*, a satire on literary criticism, which Trollope quoted in his *Autobiography*) and the *Hodgiad* are Mr. Hewlett's creations in his *Bendish;* the former is referred to in Mr. Cabell's *Beyond Life*.

It should be said that each of the contemporary *-iads* suggests a former age.

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LI

NEW LIGHT ON THE BURNS-DUNLOP ESTRANGEMENT

THE circumstances which caused Frances Anna Dunlop to cease corresponding with Robert Burns during the final year and a half of the latter's life have always been a puzzle to biographers. Even Wallace's publication, in 1898, of the Lochryan MSS shed little additional light on the affair, though it may be remarked in passing that Wallace—perhaps from timidity, perhaps from reluctance to express any but favorable opinions of the ancestress of the family by whom the manuscripts had been preserved—hardly made full use of such evidence as was available. Unfortunately some vital links were missing.

The Wallace edition of the correspondence shows that all was apparently going well up to the close of 1794. Though the letters are less frequent, and compliments fly less thickly, than in the earlier stages of the friendship, there is no sign of estrangement. Mrs. Dunlop wrote to Burns, 8 September, 1794, commenting freely, but no more sharply than on many previous poems, on his *Ode to Liberty;* the poet replied, near the close of the month, in a despondent letter which elicited a gift of (probably) a five-pound note which he humbly acknowledged on 29 October. His next letter was begun on 20 December, but not finished until 12 January, 1795. Mrs. Dunlop's answers to the letters of September and October are missing; in one of them she told of being called to London by the illness of her daughter, Mrs. Perochon. She wrote from London, 12 January, 1795—the same day on which the poet finished the letter he had begun three weeks before. Thereafter she remained doggedly silent for the remainder of Burns's life, though he wrote to her about midsummer, 1795, and again on 31 January, 1796. Yet the letter from London is in the friendliest terms, and there is nothing in his letters of September and October, 1794, of midsummer, 1795, or in the printed text of the letters of December-January, 1794–5, and January, 1796, to suggest a possible cause for offence.

Unfortunately the printed text of these last is still in the form in which it was given to the public by Dr. Currie in 1800, for the manuscripts were not among those preserved at Lochryan and Wallace therefore had no access to them. Both manuscripts have recently

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reappeared, so that now it is possible to re-examine the case with all Burns's side of the evidence before us. In view of their great importance it seems best in each case to give the complete text of the letter, and not merely the unpublished portions. Minor corrections of Currie's text are presented without comment, but the passages which he omitted are italicized:

Dumfries Dec. 20th [1794]

I have been prodigiously disappointed in this London journey of yours. —— In the first place, when your last to me reached Dumfries, I was in the country, & did not return untill too late to answer your letter: in the next place, I thought you would certainly take this route; & now, I know not what is become of you, or whether this may reach you at all. —— God grant that it may find you & yours in prospering health & good spirits! —— Do, let me hear from you the soonest possible. ——

As I hope to get a Frank from my friend Miller, I shall, every leisure hour, take up the pen, & gossip away whatever comes first: Prose, or Poesy; Sermon, or Song. —— In this last article, I have abounded, of late. —— I have often mentioned to you, a superb Publication of Scotish Songs which is making its appearance in your Great Metropolis, & where I have the honor to preside over the Scotish verse, as no less a personage than Peter Pindar does over the English. —— *I wrote the following for a favorite air* ——

Song

My Chloris, mark how green the groves[1] . . . .

Dec. 29th

Since I began this letter, I have been appointed to act in the capacity of Supervisor here, & I assure you, what with the load of business, & what with that business being new to me, I could scarcely have commanded ten minutes to have spoken to you, had you been in town, much less to have written you an epistle. —— This appointment is only temporary, & during the illness of the present incumbent; but I look forward to an early period when I shall be appointed in full form: a consumation devoutly to be wished! My Political sins seem to be forgiven me. ——

This is the season (Newyearsday is now my date) of wishing; & mine are most fervently offered up for you. —— May life, to you, be a positive blessing while it lasts, for your own sake; & may it yet be greatly prolonged, is my wish for my own sake & for the sake of the rest of your friends! —— What a transient business is life! —— Very lately I was a boy; but t'other day I was a young man; & I already begin to feel the

[1] The poem is here omitted, since except for one word—"These," instead of "Here," at the beginning of the last stanza—it agrees throughout with the printed texts.

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rigid fibre & stiffening joints of Old Age coming fast o'er my frame. —— With all my follies of youth, & I fear, a few vices of manhood, still I congratulate myself on having had in early days religion strongly impressed on my mind. —— I have nothing to say to any body, as, to which Sect they belong, or what Creed they believe; but I look on the Man who is firmly persuaded of Infinite Wisdom & Goodness superintending & directing every circumstance that can happen in his lot—I felicitate such a man as having a solid foundation for his mental enjoyment; a firm prop & sure stay in the hour of difficulty, trouble & distress; & a never-failing anchor of hope, when he looks beyond the grave. ——

12.th Jan. ry

You will have seen our worthy & ingenious friend, the Doctor, long ere this. —— I hope he is well, & beg to be remembered to him. —— I have just been reading over again, I dare say for the hundred & fiftieth time, his "View of Society & Manners;" & still I read it with *unsated* delight. —— His humour is perfectly original. —— It is neither the humour of Addison, nor Swift, nor Sterne, nor any body, but D.r Moore, *& is positively as rich a vein as any of them could boast.* —— By the bye, you have deprived me of Zeluco: remember *that*[2] when you are disposed rake up the sins of my neglect from among the ashes of my laziness. —— He has paid me a pretty compliment, by quoting me, in his last Publication, *though I must beg leave to say, that he has not written this last work in his usual happy manner.* —— *Entre nous, you know my Politics; & I cannot approve of the honest Doctor's whining over the deserved fate of a certain pair of Personages.* —— *What is there in the delivering over a perjured Blockhead & an unprincipled Prostitute to the hands of the hangman, that it should arrest for a moment, attention, in an eventful hour, when, as my friend Roscoe in Liverpool gloriously expresses it*——

"When the welfare of Millions is hung in the scale
"And the balance yet trembles with fate!"[3]

But our friend is already indebted to People in power, & still looks forward for his Family, so I can apologise for him; for at bottom I am sure he is a staunch friend to liberty. —— *Thank God, these London trials have given us a little more breath, & I imagine that the time is not far distant when a man may freely blame Billy Pit*[sic], *without being called an enemy to his Country.* ——

Adieu!

[2] Burns's italics.

[3] William Roscoe: *Song: Written for the purpose of being recited on the anniversary of the 14th August* (sic) *1791*, stanza 3, ll. 7–8. The song may be found in *The Poetical Works of W. R.*, Liverpool, 1853, p. 104, and also in Henry Roscoe: *Life of W. R.*, I, 78. Evidently Burns and Roscoe had corresponded, though no letters have come to light.

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R. Burns[4]

The letter of 31 January, 1796, is briefer, but here also various passages have been omitted by Currie:

These many months you have been two packets in my debt.——What sin of ignorance I have committed against so highly a valued friend I am utterly at a loss to guess.——*Your son, John, whom I had the pleasure of seeing here, told me that you had gotten an ugly accident of a fall, but told me also the comfortable news that you were gotten pretty well again.——Will you be so obliging, dear Madam, as to condescend on that my offence which you seem determined to punish with a deprivation of that friendship which once was [the] source of my highest enjoyments?*——Alas! Madam, ill can I afford, at this time, to be deprived of any of the small remnant of my pleasures.——The Autumn robbed me of my only daughter & darling child, & that at a distance too & so rapidly as to put it out of my power to pay the last duties to her.——I had scarcely begun to recover from that shock, when [I] became myself the victim of a severe Rheumatic fever, & long the die spun doubtful; until after many weeks of a sick-bed it seems to have turned up more life, & I am beginning to crawl across my room, & once indeed have been before my door in the street.——

When pleasure fascinates the mental sight
Affliction purifies the visual ray;
Religion hails the drear, the untried night,
That shuts, for ever shuts, Life's doubtful day.——

As to other matters of my concern, my family, views, &c. they are all as successful as I could well wish.——

I know not how you are in Ayr-shire, but here, we have actual famine, & that too in the midst of plenty.——Many days my family, & hundreds of other families, are absolutely without one grain of meal; as money cannot purchase it.——How long the Swinish Multitude *will be quiet, I cannot tell: they threaten daily.——*

Farewel! May all good things attend you!

Jan: 31.st *RBurns*[5]
[1796]

In the case of the first letter, at least, Currie can hardly be censured for his omissions. Such outspoken sympathy with the French

[4] From a photostat of the original MS, now a part of the fine Burns collection of Mr. Robert P. and Mrs. Mildred C. Esty of Ardmore, Pennsylvania, whose permission to make use of the unpublished material is gratefully acknowledged.

[5] From the original MS in the Burns Birthplace Museum, Alloway. It may be worth noting that Wallace errs in assuming a missing letter in 1795. The letter finished on 12 Jan. crossed Mrs. Dunlop's of the same date; it, and the midsummer letter with *The Dumfries Volunteers*, are the "two packets" which Burns means.

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Revolution was not safe language in 1800. In two minor points, however, Currie was at fault.

The first of these is the date, which Currie gave as 20 December, 1795. Subsequent editors, on the basis of clear internal evidence, corrected it to 1794, and even charged Currie with deliberate falsification in order to minimize Mrs. Dunlop's neglect of the poet. In the manuscript, however, it is actually 1795—but not in Burns's hand. Apparently Currie, confronted with a letter bearing only the day and month, filled in the year at random. Deliberate falsification is difficult to prove, but at least he stands convicted of egregious stupidity, inasmuch as the letter, quite apart from all its references to events of 1794, must, if the date of 1795 be accepted, have been written during those many weeks of a sickbed mentioned in the letter of 31 January, 1796.

Another detail to be noted is the reference to Dr. Moore's "pretty compliment . . . . in his last Publication." Currie has written into the manuscript a note, *"Edward";* thereby committing an error which seems to have been repeated without comment by every editor who has annotated the passage. But *Edward* was not published until 1796, and it is highly doubtful if Burns ever saw it. The only person who seems to have noted this discrepancy is the author of the article on Dr. Moore in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and he meets the difficulty by silently altering the date of Burns's letter to 12 January, 1796. Though Moore did quote Burns in *Edward*, the quotation to which the poet here refers is in the *Journal during a Residence in France*,[6] where, under date of 3 December, 1792, Moore speaks of the fickleness of the French populace:

> Orleans and others have had their moments of popularity, which, as a genuine poet beautifully observes of pleasures, has had the fate
>
> Of snow that falls upon the river,
> A moment white—then melts for ever;
> Or like the borealis race,
> That flit ere you can point their place;
> Or like the rainbow's lovely form
> Evanishing amid the storm,

and in a footnote refers to "Burns's Poems."

The *Journal*, then, is the work Burns has been reading, and it is to the opinions of the Revolution which the Doctor therein ex-

[6] London, 1792. II, 459.

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presses that the poet takes such exception. The Doctor's later *View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution* did not appear for nearly six months after the date of Burns's letter—the dedication is dated 6 May, 1795—and we must therefore forego the pleasure of digressing in order to illustrate the fine crusted British sentiments which the Doctor spread far more lavishly through this latter work than through the *Journal*. Though Burns may possibly have seen some of these sentiments in newspapers or magazines in advance of the publication of the book, we are not here concerned with the details of Moore's views but only with the question of what in Burns's letter could have so offended Mrs. Dunlop that she forthwith dropped his acquaintance.

Three possible explanations suggest themselves. She might have resented his condemnation of her old friend, Dr. Moore; she might have been shocked by the violence of his language; or, finally, the opinions themselves may have disgusted her.

The first two suggestions are highly unlikely. Not only are the motives inadequate to account for the complete severance of a friendship which for eight years she had been declaring was the greatest pleasure of her life, but there is clear evidence to the contrary. In the very letter which crossed this one of Burns's, in a passage to be quoted presently, she handles the Doctor with a freedom fully equal to Burns's own. True, in April, 1791, when Burns had consigned to the devil the Doctor's "apathy of Friendship," Mrs. Dunlop had sharply retorted that such language was "sacriledge against friendship and the sin against the Holy Ghost in [her] sight,"[7] but in the present case Burns is merely criticizing certain of the Doctor's opinions, and not the Doctor himself, and balances even that dispraise by extravagant eulogy of the Doctor's earlier writings. The language, too, though strong, can scarcely account for prolonged displeasure. It was perhaps just, though unkind, to call Louis XVI a blockhead; it was certainly unjust, and rather caddish, to call Marie Antoinette a prostitute, but Mrs. Dunlop was used to forcible language, both from Burns and others, and at this very time was getting a double dose of it in London. "Freedom of conversation," she writes, "[is] daily . . . . stretched beyond those limits Scots decorum now allows. Indeed it is ordinary to send our Premier to Coventry with as much ease and as little ceremony as you could do any other man" . . . .[8]

[7] W. Wallace: *Robert Burns and Mrs. Dunlop*, London, 1898, p. 316.
[8] *Ibid.*, 415.

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When we turn to the opinions themselves for light on the estrangement, we encounter some slight difficulty in ascertaining what the lady's political views were, for most of her voluminous letters reveal that concentration of interest on impending grandchildren, and other family affairs, with which it is the "auld wife's" licence to bore her neighbors. Our quest carries us back to the winter of 1792–3. On 23 November, 1792, Mrs. Dunlop expressed fear at the spread of revolutionary spirit in her vicinity;[9] the poet replied with a description of a stormy scene in Dumfries theatre when *Ça ira* was called for—his being "a *Placeman*" gagged him from joining in the cry.[10] A week or so later Burns made a four-day visit to Dunlop House; "thereafter, from whatever reason, the correspondence languished more than ever."[11] He returned to Dumfries to find himself on the brink of ruin: his superiors in the Excise were looking into reports that he was disaffected to Government. He passed some very uneasy days before he learned that the friendship of Robert Graham of Fintry had diverted the official lightning. Then he relieved his feelings with imprecations on

> . . . . the prostituted soul of the miscreant wretch who can deliberately & diabolically plot the destruction of an honest man who never offended him; & with a grin of satisfaction can see the unfortunate man, his faithful wife, & prattling innocents, turned over to Beggary and Ruin.——*Can such things be? Ouil Telles choses se font! Je viens d'en faire une épreuve maudite.*——*(By the way, I don't know whether this is French; & much would it go against my soul, to mar anything belonging to that gallant people: though my real sentiments of them shall be confined alone to my correspondence with you.)*[12]

Instead of immediately expressing sympathy and relief, the lady allowed ten weeks to elapse before replying, and when she finally did so she showed that not only did she completely disapprove of his political opinions, but that she had been nursing her wrath for three months over an incident of his December visit:

[9] *Burns Chronicle*, 1904, pp. 69–70. The letter was not accessible to Wallace in 1898, but he had her letter of 12 July, 1791, in which she expresses fear of Thomas Paine's writing.

[10] Wallace, p. 369.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 417. This remark illustrates Wallace's timidity. Even without the additional evidence here presented, he should have realized the weight of the complaints in Mrs. Dunlop's letter of 16 March, 1793.

[12] From the original MS in the Adam collection, by permission of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach. The complete text has been available since 1922 in Mr. Adam's private printing of his collection, but the italicized portion is not in any of the regular editions of Burns.

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I, with the real candour of true friendship, will . . . . venture to find fault in single instances with both [your heart and understanding] . . . . The one has vext me, as I feared its hurting one in whose happiness my heart takes a strong and constant interest, and whose feelings I know could not stand being . . . . tortured by remorse for injuring those whom duty and affection . . . . prompted his protecting, even at the expense of holding a perpetual bridle upon his tongue, and even extending the restraint to pen. 'Tis not enough, my d[r]. Sir, never to write improperly but to one; that one cannot wish you as well as I do and encourage it. Believe me, I would rather in the present state of things forswear that intercourse which . . . . forms one of the most delightful pleasures of my life . . . . than have the pain of reflecting that it was my allowing . . . . an impropriety of expression that misled a friend into an inadvertant error which they might never be able to set to rights.

She then repeats a rumor she has heard that Burns has lost his post because of seditious remarks in a letter intercepted at the post-office, and passes on to the second count in her indictment:

. . . . The other fault I found with you recoils upon myself. Methinks I hear you ask me with an air that made me feel as I had got a slap in the face, if you must read all the few lines I had pointed out to your notice in poor Jenny's book. How did I upbraid my own conceited folly at that instant that had ever subjected one of mine to so haughty an imperious critic! I never liked so little in my life as at that moment the man whom at all others, I delighted to honour. . . . . I then felt for Mrs. Richmond [Jenny Little, the Poetical Milkmaid], for you, and for myself, and not one of the sensations were such as I would wish to cherish in remembrance.[13]

This second charge connects itself with an accusation Mrs. Dunlop had brought against Burns as early as 9 January, 1787, and to which she returned at intervals throughout the rest of the correspondence—the charge that he didn't read her letters. Probably she was right. The letters are an effort, even in print; in a small and obscure handwriting, and wholly without punctuation, they would daunt all but the stoutest hearts. Moreover as time went on they tended to grow longer and duller, so it is highly probable that the busy and impatient poet, after a hasty glance, laid them aside for careful reading at some leisure hour which never came. But on this visit to Dunlop House Burns had committed the blunder of letting her know that he was bored, and the memory rankled.

Nevertheless, though Mrs. Dunlop was in the habit of getting huffed, as often as a schoolgirl, at real or fancied neglect, yet she

[13] Wallace, pp. 379–80.

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also got over it as easily. We must look rather to the other charge in this letter of 1793 for an explanation of her action of two years later.

This charge, to be sure, is not a definite repudiation of the poet's sympathy with the Revolution, but merely a warning that such views are dangerous and that he must therefore beware of expressing them even to an intimate. Her most explicit statement of her own views is found in her comment on Burns's *Ode to Liberty*:

> . . . . I must believe you were conscious of more than common merit in the composition and enthusiastically fond of the theme. So was I once, but your goddess has behaved in such a way as to injure her reputation, and acquire so very bad a name, that I find it no longer fit to acknowledge my favour for her . . . . ; and she is too much attached of late to the society of butchers to be admitted among ladies. . . . . [She should be let] slip off unobserved and for a while forgotten till she can tye up her garter, bandage the ankle she has strained in a false step, or change her handkerchief spotted with the sanguine stains of the guillotine. . . . . At present she is certainly raving in the crisis of a fever. May it not prove fatal, as I greatly fear it may to herself, as well as it already has to too many of her friends, to the shame and grief of all that remain. . . . .[14]

When we consider that two of her daughters had married French royalist refugees, and that four of her sons and one grandson were, or had been, in the Army, we must realize that whatever opinions of the Revolution the lady heard at home must have been of the most uncompromisingly Tory and hostile sort. Furthermore, her own views can be gauged pretty accurately by noting what she says of Dr. Moore in her London letter, and then reading Moore's books:

> In our country [Moore] would be called a sad democrat, for we are the very pink of loyalty, and hate every word that fancy can connect with independence, which I believe will be the inspiring spirit of his intended publication now in the press and pushing quickly into being. I have seen a few chapters, and believe it will be interesting, but more in the style of a Grumbletonian than I could have expected from a man who sees his own family raised to the very summit of his most presumptuous hopes by those powers which he seems so frequently and warmly to arraign.[15]

Burns was either singularly obtuse, or in desperate need of a confidante, or indulging a juvenile impulse to shock his elders, when

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 407.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 415.

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he singled out as the recipient of his revolutionary sympathies a woman who considered Dr. John Moore a radical. . . . .

Certainly this clash of opinion offers a reasonable hypothesis to explain her repudiation of the poet. In view of her two warnings, she may well have taken his renewal of the subject as a deliberate affront. At any rate he had made it plain that his recantation of the opinions which had nearly cost him his job was politic merely, and that at heart he was still the enthusiast for France who had been charged a couple of years earlier with sending captured carronades to the Convention. And that Burns himself suspected that he had said too much we may surmise from the fact that in his next letter, by way of atonement, he forwarded a copy of *The Dumfries Volunteers*.

The depth of Mrs. Dunlop's resentment may be judged from the fact that she ignored not only the peace-offering of *The Volunteers* but also the appeal in the letter of the following January. The death of his daughter, and his own illness, were circumstances which one would expect to elicit a sympathetic response, even without the plea for a statement of how he had offended—a plea which Currie thought best to omit. In the face of this new evidence, Wallace's suggestion that "the explanation of her conduct is to be found in inadvertance and not in a deliberate design to break off all connection with the poet on account of any moral or political offence he had given her,"[16] is no longer tenable. He *had* given her political offence, and that so deeply that not even the letter of January, 1796, could make her relent.

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[16] *Ibid.*, p. 418.

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LII

WORDSWORTH AND PHILOSOPHY

SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING THE SOURCE OF THE POET'S DOCTRINES AND THE NATURE OF HIS MYSTICAL EXPERIENCE

". . . . his eyes
Have read the book of wisdom in the sun,
And after dark deciphered it on earth"—E. A. Robinson

TO CALL Wordsworth a great philosopher would, I suppose, if we put the word to its customary use, be extravagant. For he left the world no synthesis of doctrine that could be called his own. And yet his philosophy is a fascinating study, for although many may have understood with greater acuteness the numerous doctrines that appear in his poems, none could feel with an intensity greater than his, their human significance and value. Wordsworth's interests led him to demand more of philosophy than do most reflective men; besides seeking a criterion of the good and probing into the problem of human freedom, he looked for an explanation of his own strange communion with Nature. Thus his philosophical life, proving as it did the source of some of the finest metaphysical and religious poetry in literature, was a deep and a rich one. It led him to absorb the teachings of many thinkers and to incorporate their doctrines in his poems.

The mystical experience that prompted so much of Wordsworth's reflective verse had its origin in his early childhood, when he was first in love with the mountains and the woodlands of his home. Nature, as he knew her in the Lake Country, revealed a vast sublimity that at once terrified and delighted him and a retired silence that soothed his spirit. But even from its dawn this love of Nature contained something that was purely subjective and intuitive, or, as Croce would say, esthetic. This he realised in later years when he wrote in *The Prelude* of the intrinsic joy with which his spirit embraced natural objects, "a pure organic pleasure,"[1] the delight of sheer beholding. Then it was that the poet first knew the "splendor in the grass" and

[1] *Prelude*, I, 571 ff. I have used the text of the 1805 MS, except where occasionally I quote a passage that is entirely omitted from that draft. I do this because of certain philosophical alterations that occur in the later texts.

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"glory in the flower," which in later years acquired such great significance.

Even in his youth, while he was a first-year student at Cambridge, Wordsworth perceived in his experience a supernatural import. He became aware of a vast spirit that was the reality of Nature. Belief in such a being was inspired not only by mystical insight, "a consciousness not to be subdued," but by a more discursive speculation that accompanied it. He tells us of a spirit, divinely aloof from all turbulence and change, that underneath all passion lives a steadfast life. In this vast soul he saw all the things of Nature embedded. Alive in the full sense of the word, they participated in a moral life, possessing an inward meaning of their own.[2]

But in these early days, Wordsworth could not have grasped very intimately so inspiring a *Weltanschauung*, for he fell a few years later into an ethical despair that withheld him from such mystical enjoyment.

A newly awakened interest in human life and human suffering aided in giving importance to the problems of moral responsibility and of social authority. These Wordsworth began to consider about the time of his return from France, while the Revolution was in progress. He rushed eagerly into such speculation, and, true to the spirit of the old Enlightenment, demanded rational proof for everything he sought. In *The Prelude* he describes this enquiry as a pitiless application of reason.[3] Thus it is not surprising that his philosophy soon failed to answer the questions that it raised.

> Thus I fared,
> Dragging all passions, notions, shapes of faith,
> Like culprits to the bar; suspiciously
> Calling the mind to establish in plain day
> Her titles and her honours, now believing,
> Now disbelieving, endlessly perplexed
> With impulse, motive, right and wrong, the ground
> Of moral obligation, what the rule
> And what the sanction, till, demanding *proof*,
> And seeking it in everything, I lost
> All feeling of conviction, and, in fine,
> Sick, wearied out with contrarieties,
> Yielded up moral questions in despair.[4]

[2] *Ibid.*, III, 110 ff.
[3] *Prelude*, X, 877 ff.
[4] *Ibid.*, X, 889 ff.

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In his confusion he asked himself upon what ground and on what authority do we call this action good and that bad? What, after all, is worth while in itself and the standard of goodness? He had no answers to these questions, and he feared that there were none.

> 'The lordly attributes
> Of will and choice,' I bitterly exclaimed,
> 'What are they but a mockery of a Being
> Who hath in no concern of his a test
> Of good and evil; knows not what to fear
> Or hope for, what to covet or to shun;
> And who, if those could be discerned, would yet
> Be little profited, would see and ask
> Where is the obligation to enforce?'[5]

Perplexed and baffled, Wordsworth doubted man's ability to obey an acknowledged moral law; he feared that man must always

> act amiss
> The dupe of folly, or the slave of crime.[6]

All three of these doubts might well have been inspired by William Godwin, with whose works Wordsworth is known t to have been acquainted. For Godwin considered virtue as much a matter of understanding as of intention. The aim of virtue, he believed, is the promotion of happiness. Thus to be truly virtuous a man must have a deep understanding of what human happiness is, as well as the desire to foster it.

> Hence it appears, first, that virtue consists in a desire for the benefit of the species: and, secondly, that the desire can only be denominated virtuous, which flows from a distinct perception of the value, and consequently of the nature of the thing desired. But how extensive must be the capacity that comprehends the full value of that benefit which is the object of virtue! It must begin with a collective idea of the human species. It must discriminate, among all the different causes that produce a pleasurable state of mind, that which produces the most exquisite and durable pleasure. . . . . It (eminent virtue) demands that I should perceive in what manner social intercourse may be conducive to virtue and felicity, and imagine the unspeakable advantages that may arise from a coincidence and succession of generous efforts.[7]

[5] *Prelude*, XI, Ed. 1850, 309 ff.

[6] *Ibid.*, XI, Ed. 1850, 319 ff.

[7] William Godwin, *Enquiry concerning Political Justice*, Dublin 1793, VI, 235. For a fuller account of Wordsworth in relation to Godwin, see Legouis, *The Early Life of Wm. Wordsworth*, tr. J. W. Matthews, London 1921, p. 259–267.

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This wedding of understanding and virtue is the center of Godwin's position. Elsewhere he writes: "He that makes a false estimate, and prefers a trivial and partial good to an important and comprehensive one, is vicious."[8]

We can imagine the consternation of one who, upon reading these lines, thinks that he has no more than an ordinary insight into the workings of the human mind. For him a moral life seems an impossibility, and even in the commonest relationships he realises his total ignorance of the right course to pursue. Furthermore, even granted that we understand what comprises an important good, *i.e.*, a real benefit for the species, how, we can imagine Wordsworth asking, comes it that we prefer such a good to our own personal advantage? The nature of the sense of obligation is unaccounted for. Wordsworth was moved to doubt the existence of what he could not explain.

Such acute doctrinaire despondency lost its grip upon Wordsworth some time before he stated his solution of the difficulties in which he had become involved. Life with Coleridge and with Dorothy Wordsworth and fresh communion with Nature cheered his brooding soul and finally led him to a position from which he could dispel his doubts. The philosophy to which he was attracted at this time was of a mystical character. Thus before we examine the texture of his beliefs, we must discuss the nature of his mysticism.

Now, Wordsworth believed that in certain moments of consciousness, it is possible for the human spirit to become immediately aware of a cosmic being, the "active principle" of existence and the "soul of all the worlds." With this soul the finite spirit feels itself in an intimate relation. It loves and feels that it is loved in return. Such an experience, the mystical experience, may be attained in numerous ways. Miss Underhill mentions religion, suffering, the sense of beauty, and the ecstasy of artistic satisfaction as the most common approaches.[9] Wordsworth's mysticism seems in general to have been the outcome of his esthetic enjoyment of Nature and of the activity of his creative faculty. [Thus for him mystical insight was closely bound with the apprehension of beauty]

That the mystical experience is frequently of this sort is a fact well established. Miss Underhill emphasises its importance

[8] *Op. cit.*, V, I, 330.

[9] Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism*, New York, 1911, p. 24.

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in several passages, making the statement that every artist is to some degree a mystic.[10] John A. Stewart in his *Myths of Plato* describes a transcendental feeling, the culmination of the esthetic experience, which vehemently assures us that the world is the work of a good God and that life is worth living.[11] Rufus Jones, while describing the experience of the religious mystic, relates it to the apprehension of the beautiful.

> This experience is marked by the emergence of a sort of undifferentiated consciousness like that well known to us when we rise to a high appreciation of the beautiful in nature or art or music. At the highest moments of appreciation there comes . . . . the emergence of a new level of consciousness in which neither the *I* nor the *object* is focused in the perception or thought. There is in these experiences an absence of self-consciousness, and an absence, too, of the consciousness of any concrete, finite object contemplated, a penetration into a region more real and all-inclusive than that of finite "things."[12]

Mr. Jones quotes a passage from *The Excursion* as an example of such insight. The lines from *Tintern Abbey* will serve as well:

> . . . . we are laid asleep
> In body, and become a living soul:
> While with an eye made quiet by the power
> Of harmony and the deep power of joy,
> We see into the life of things.

This insight, Wordsworth asserts in a passage a few lines above those quoted, he owes to the "beauteous forms" of Nature.

The poems written during the spring and summer of 1798 describe a feeling of the unity of man and Nature. This feeling is the immediate result of the quiet contemplation of natural beauty, to which Wordsworth so often surrendered himself. In these moments the world itself seems animated and in love with its creatures.

> Love, now a universal birth,
> From heart to heart is stealing,
> From earth to man, from man to earth:
> It is the hour of feeling.[13]

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 89, 284 and elsewhere.

[11] John A. Stewart, *The Myths of Plato*, London, 1905, p. 39.

[12] Rufus Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion*, London, 1919, p. xxi.

[13] *To my Sister.* These poems, especially the lines concerning an "impulse from a vernal wood" have been interpreted to refer to the sense philosophy of Hartley and Locke. Professor Beatty sees in it a pragmatic meaning. According to his in-

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These poems form a beautiful and simple account of such experience. In writing them, the poet offered no theory to support the possibility of his insight. This however he was soon to attempt. He was living at the time in daily conversation with his close friend, the poet Coleridge, whose metaphysical acumen and learning were both of a high order. From him he learned much of doctrines and of systems. Indeed he admits that Coleridge was a source of his philosophical inspiration.[14]

Now, Coleridge's philosophy was of a sort that would appeal to one of Wordsworth's interests. It may well have strengthened his trust in the world view which his communion prompted him to accept. It could well supply a rational foundation for a mystical universe. Coleridge was a devout idealist, who identified the Christian God with an *anima mundi*, which he described in *Religious Musings* as "Nature's essence, mind and energy." This theory of a World-Soul would naturally be very attractive to Wordsworth, chiefly because it helped him to regain his old confidence in the influence of nature. It is certainly reflected in his poems of this period.

The philosophy that Coleridge wrote into his early poems, the poems before 1799, is derived principally from the works of Hartley and Berkeley, with occasional suggestions from other thinkers. The ideas that must have impressed Wordsworth—those that appear in his own poetry of 1798 and later—concern the nature of God and of man's relation to him. These ideas are set forth in

terpretation, Wordsworth is telling us that we must abstain from theorising and keep our attention upon the facts of existence. (Arthur Beatty, *Wm. Wordsworth his doctrine and art in their historical relations*. Madison, 1922, p. 115). With this I am, of course, compelled to disagree. The relation between the plain data of the sense and an impulse from a vernal wood I find difficulty in grasping. Besides, after a study of *The Prelude* it becomes, I think, obvious that Wordsworth is here describing his own mystical experience. The influence of Hartley, if it is to be found in these lines, must be traced through his statements concerning the love of God. But I think it very indirect in this case, being rather one of attitude than of doctrine. (See further note 49 below.) An influence of Hartley upon Wordsworth undeniably exists, to be sure: the latter's esthetic doctrine of unity and variety as well as his interest in the association of ideas which the Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* manifests had its origin in the *Observations on Man*. But we must remember that Wordsworth was a mystic in heart. And no true follower of John Locke could satisfy a mystic's demand for a theory of knowledge. Wordsworth's mystical philosophy is founded upon belief in an all pervasive World-Soul, and this led him to a philosophy more idealistic than either Locke's or Hartley's.

[14] Letter to George Beaumont, written while Wordsworth was at work on the *Recluse*. See Professor de Sélincourt's edition of *The Prelude* p. 608.

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Coleridge's two poems *Religious Musings* and *The Destiny of Nations* in doctrinal form. *The Eolian Harp* is a beautiful meditation founded upon very similar trains of thought, but much more free in expression. In this latter poem Coleridge suggests that there is a unity of all life, which he identifies with God.

> And what if all of animated nature
> Be but organic harps diversely framed,
> That tremble into thought, as o'er them sweeps
> Plastic and vast, one intellectual breeze,[15]
> At once the Soul of each and God of All?

When we consider Coleridge's profound respect for Bishop Berkeley, it seems safe to surmise that this faith has its source in many respects at least from the *Siris*, that delightful treatise of Berkeley's on the subjects of tar-water and Platonism. For Berkeley the whole system of the world is held together and informed by one persisting mind,[16] "an Universal Spirit, author of life and motion."[17]

The following passage might well have supplied Coleridge with the inspiration for the *Eolian Harp*.

> Both Stoics and Platonics held the world to be alive: though sometimes it be mentioned as a sentient animal, sometimes as a plant or vegetable. . . . .
>
> There is according to those philosophers a life infused throughout all things; the Πῦρ νοερὸν, Πῦρ τεχνικόν, an intellectual and artificial fire, an inward principle, animal spirit, or natural life, producing and forming within as art doth without, regulating, moderating and reconciling the various motions, qualities, and parts of the mundane system. By virtue of this life the great masses are held together in their orderly courses, as well as the minutest particles governed in their natural motions, according to the several laws of attraction, gravity, electricity, magnetism, and the rest. It is this that gives instincts, teaches the spider her web and the bee her honey. This it is that directs the roots of plants to draw forth juices from the earth, and the leaves and cortical vessels to separate and attract such particles of air, and elementary fire as suit their respective natures.[18]

Despite the marked similarity of the doctrines developed in the *Siris* and those present in Coleridge's early poems, we must

[15] *Eolian Harp*, 44 ff.

[16] Paragraph 152.

[17] *Siris*, paragraph 276–277. Paragraph 341.

[18] Perhaps the source of Wordsworth's "Wisdom and Spirit of the Universe."

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not suppose that Berkeley afforded the poet his sole inspiration. As we have seen, Coleridge was attracted to Hellenistic thought; and he states in *Biographia Literaria*, that his studies of Plato, Plotinos, Proclus and their commentators as well as of Bruno paved the way for his reception and welcome of the Cartesian doctrine *Cogito quia sum et sum quia cogito*.[19] Berkeley's interest in the ancients, which is manifest in the above quotation, would then but render the *Siris* the more attractive to Coleridge.

In Bruno we find the doctrine of the World-Soul clearly expressed in words quite similar to Berkeley's. The sixteenth speech of Theophilus in the *Della Causa* is an excellent instance of this. In the same chapter Coleridge mentions Boehme as an early enthusiasm, the importance of whose philosophy for our purposes will be mentioned anon.

Nor should the writings of Spinoza be neglected in this respect; for Coleridge realised that he and Spinoza had a good deal in common. As we shall see, Coleridge talked of him to Wordsworth while they were living near one another beside the Quantock Hills, and while in Germany,[20] shortly thereafter, he conversed frequently of Spinozism, giving the following concentrated definition thereof, "Each thing has a life of its own, and we are all one life."

In general, the ethics which Coleridge held at this period are based upon David Hartley's *Observations on Man*, as Coleridge himself hints in a note to *Religious Musings*. The most important material common to both the ethics of *Religious Musings* and that of Hartley's book is the treatment of man's love of God. For Hartley, God is love itself which casts out all fear. Love transforms us into God's image and makes us partakers of the divine nature. Our wills become united to God's will and are rendered free from disappointment, for, being one with God, we find all things good, *i.e.*, objects of pleasure.[21]

I introduce this conception of the love of God to show the attitude toward the World-Soul that Wordsworth found in his friend, Coleridge. These doctrines are not to be found in their metaphysical austerity among Wordsworth's poems of 1798. It is important, however, to understand the background of ideas that Wordsworth found in his friend, who in the *Eolian Harp*

[19] Chapter 9.

[20] Clement Carlyon, *Early years and Late Reflections*, London 1856, vol. 1, 193 ff.

[21] David Hartley, *Observations on Man.*, etc., Part II, prop. LXXI.

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had spoken of the joyousness of all life and elsewhere of the love that God bears to his creatures.

The content of most mystical experience seems to vary and to lend itself to interpretations that are at least superficially opposed. There is at times a feeling of an energy that pervades all things, a sense of a life, dynamic and universal, that strives toward an end. Opposed to this is the more orthodox sense of a luminous, calm self-sufficience that embraces all change in immutability, the well known experience of simultaneity. With both of these Wordsworth was acquainted. We have already mentioned his early experience at Cambridge through which he was aware of a serene and eternal reality. But there were also moments when he felt that the life with which he came into contact was one of "effort and expectation and desire", telic and conative in a very real sense. In the sixth book of *The Prelude*, stimulated by his meditations upon the awful power of imagination, which arising from the mind's abyss overwhelms the soul, Wordsworth writes,

> Our destiny, our nature, and our home
> Is with infinitude and only there;
> With hope it is, hope that can never die,
> Effort and expectation and desire,
> And something evermore about to be.[22]

Thus the World-Soul seems to be pursuing an end, toward the attainment of which it exerts a fierce energy. In the conclusion of *The Prelude* this theme appears again, although in the version of 1805 it is rather vaguely expressed. Here Wordsworth speaks of

> a mighty mind,
> Of one that feeds upon infinity.[23]

By itself this line is cryptic enough but when we turn to its amplification in the later version, it becomes very significant. Here we find the poet describing

> a majestic intellect its acts
> And its possessions, what it has and craves,
> What in itself it is, and would become.[24]

[22] *Prelude*, VI, 538 ff. For an account of this dynamic experience and its relation to the awareness of simultaneity see Evelyn Underhill *op. cit.* ch. II, in particular, pp. 43 ff.; also F. von Hügel, *Eternal Life*, Edinburgh, 1912, pp. 231, 386.

[23] *Prelude*, XIII, 69.

[24] *Prelude*, Ed. 1850, XIV 68 ff.

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Thus we see that the mind which feeds upon infinity is really feeding upon itself, *i. e.* what it is and would become. In other words its energy is directed toward the reproduction of its own nature—a truly mystical world view.

Such a dynamic philosophy is quite in harmony with Coleridge's thinking, as also with that of the German idealists, Fichte and Schelling. With the latter thinkers Coleridge was acquainted by the time he wrote *Biographia Literaria*, in which he describes Schelling's philosophy as a dynamic one. The following summary of Schelling's early views published in 1798 shows the similarity to Wordsworth's thinking.

> Nature is an infinite self-activity, realising itself in the finite, and yet unexhausted in that realisation. The various forms in which it manifests itself are therefore only apparent products or completed results; in reality Nature is an eternal process that is ever fulfilling itself, and yet is never absolutely fulfilled.[25]

This flow of self-realisation is in a sense analogous to a flow of artistic creation. Schelling had already concluded that "all reality or objectivity implies the presence in consciousnes of something, the primary origin of which must be sought in an unconscious or unreflective act of production."

But we cannot be certain that Wordsworth was acquainted with German idealism at the time when he wrote *The Prelude*. To be sure, there were those who accused Coleridge of drawing unacknowledged material from Schelling. But the poet denied this vehemently: he asserts that he had arrived at a postion very close to Schelling's before he became acquainted with his writings:

> In this instance, as in the dramatic lectures of Schlegel, to which I have before alluded, from the same motive of self-defense against the charge of plagiarism, many of the most striking resemblances, indeed all the main and fundamental ideas, were born and matured in my mind before I had ever seen a single page of the German Philosopher; and I might indeed affirm with truth, before the most important works of Schelling had been written or at least made public. Nor is this coincidence at all to be wondered at. We had studied in the same school, been disciplined by the same preparatory philosophy, namely, the writings of Kant; we had both equal obligations to the Polar logic and dynamic philosophy of Giordano Bruno; and Schelling has lately, and, as of recent acquisition, avowed that same affection and reverence for the labors of Behmen (Boehme) and

[25] John Watson, *Schelling's Transcendental Idealism*, Chicago, 1882, pp. 92–97.

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other mystics, which I had formed at a much earlier period (*Biographia Literaria*, Chap. IX).

An examination of the doctrines of Bruno and Boehme will show us, I think, that Coleridge's acquaintance with their works may well have been the source from which Wordsworth drew inspiration for the extremely dynamic and idealist interpretation of things which approximated the teaching of Fichte and Schelling.[26]

Bruno was anxious to show that the forms of nature live a life of development in which they advance toward their fullest potentialities, while Boehme describes the world as God's mirror. The divine birth is explained as the out-going of God's unfathomable will which ushers itself into eternal intuition of itself.[27] In his treatise on *The Divine Intuition* Boehme asserted that the "divine ground and will through the comprehensibility of its love makes for itself a counterstroke[28] and spiritual being, wherein the divine will works and introduces the divine power into forms and separability for the manifestation of the divine power and glory."[29] Boehme was convinced that the will of God flows toward itself; for there is nothing else towards which it could tend.[30] This certainly suggests Wordsworth's mention of the cosmic intellect in terms of

> what is has and craves,
> What in itself it is and would become.

We have asserted that for Wordsworth mystic insight was intimately joined with apprehension or creation of the beautiful. Thus it is not at all surprising that his theory of mysticism developed with an esthetic. In fact no other approach could have been altogether satisfactory. Now, for Wordsworth as for Coleridge esthetics consisted of an account of the act by which we apprehend or create the beautiful. It was a study of the imagination. We shall find a study similar to this in the philosophy of

[26] For a digest of the literature regarding Coleridge's dependence upon Schelling see Max Herzberg, "William Wordsworth and German Literature," *PMLA*, XL (1925), 302 ff.

[27] Erdman, *History of Philosophy*, I, 234, 3.

[28] Boehme defines a being's "counterstroke" in this very paragraph as "a likeness, wherein it works."

[29] *On the Divine Intuition*, I, 29, J. R. Earle's translation. *Six Theosophic Points and Other Writings* by Jacob Boehme, London, 1919.

[30] *Ibid.*, III, 10.

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Spinoza. Its presence there explains Wordsworth's ardent espousal of Spinozism.

That Wordsworth may have learned much of Spinoza from Coleridge is highly probable, as the latter was deeply interested in Spinozism at the time of their closest intimacy.[31]

The phases of Spinoza's philosophy that seem to have attracted Wordsworth are the accounts of intellectual love and the masterful analysis of the act of knowing, which appears in various forms throughout the philosopher's three original metaphysical works. In these related doctrines, Wordsworth found what he was seeking, a complete account of the nature of imagination,[32] its ethical and mystical functions.

We may know objects (and the relations pertaining between them), Spinoza teaches, in one of three ways.[33] We may apprehend them through mere experience without grasping the rationale of their activity or of their relations to other objects. Thus, to use Spinoza's example, if we solve a problem in proportion by applying the rule that the product of the means is equal to the product of the extremes, a rule which we have seen in successful operation without discovering the reason of its validity, we depend upon mere experience. Such knowledge is prone to error and confusion, for it is based upon no insight into the nature of the objects known, and is perforce superficial. But despite this, mere experience possesses a virtue that the second method of knowledge lacks,

[31] I append a summary of the evidence for Coleridge's knowledge of Spinoza: In *Biographia Literaria*, Coleridge writes (Chapter 10) that while he was living by the Quantock Hills, (the time of his closest intimacy with Wordsworth) his head was with Spinoza but his heart with Paul and John. In later life he spoke with respect of Spinoza, placing his *Ethics*, with the *Novum Organum* and the *Critique of Pure Reason*, as one of the three great works that have appeared since the introduction of Christianity (B. L. ch. 9, note 16). That Coleridge's conversation was full of Spinoza around 1798 and later is very probable. While in Germany at this period we know that he conversed frequently of Spinozism, giving the following concentrated definition thereof: "Each thing has a life of its own, and we are all one life." (See note 20 and text.) Then there is the famous anecdote, to be found in Chapter 10 of *Biographia Literaria*, in which Coleridge and Wordsworth are overheard discussing one Spy Nozy, during their stay on the Quantock Hills.

[32] Spinoza uses "imagination" as a synonym for "mere experience;" Wordsworth for "intuition."

[33] *Ethics*, II, 40, n. 2; *Short Treatise Concerning God, Man and His Happiness*, tr. Al Wolf, London, 1910, p. 69 ff. It is only with the *Ethics* that Wordsworth could have been acquainted. The *Short Treatise* existed at the time only in manuscript. It reveals, however, in certain passages so striking a resemblance between the two points of view that the student should not fail to consult it.

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namely the warmth and vividness of that which we immediately sense. For the second mode of knowledge, which is called Reason, although infallible, deals only with the common properties of objects of which the theorems of geometry and the laws of physics are examples. Thus if we solve the proportion by making use of the nineteenth proposition of the seventh book of Euclid, granted that we understand the demonstration, we employ reason to make use of the common properties of extended objects.

Such knowledge is abstract and gives us the rationale without the object, just as mere experience gives us the object without the rationale. Intuition, the third mode of knowledge, combines the good qualities of both mere experience and reason, giving us the object and the rationale inseparably united. Thus, in solving at a glance the proportion 2:4::3:x, we combine the certainty of the rational demonstration with the familiar vividness of experience.

This mode of knowledge Spinoza considered the most excellent of all. The human mind, he tells us, rejoices in it for its own value; for, when intuiting, the mind is most active. The activity of intuition, we might say, stands to that of mere experience, as the activity of a set of tennis to that of languidly shuffling from one room to another. Indeed Spinoza thought that intuition brings with it man's most pleasurable activity.

With reference to the conative side of human nature, Spinoza thought intuition and reason more powerful forms of knowledge. In fact, they may free a man from the bondage of desire which the life of mere experience engenders. As we come to understand the causes and the effects of possible activities, we cease to follow immediate impulses, and our desires gradually become centered upon lasting goods. Such a state Spinoza deemed true freedom.

In the *Short Treatise* Spinoza tells us that intuition is of greater power than reason in controlling the passions;[34] while in the *Ethics* he seems inclined to grant reason more power than he had done in his earlier work. However, in the *Ethics* intuition is exalted because of its close relation to the intellectual love of God, a phenomenon of the utmost ethical importance, which we must now examine.

All thought, Spinoza maintained, is organized in an infinite intellect, the intellect of God,[35] who knows all things, through the

[34] *Ethics*, V, 3 and Col.; *Short Treatise*, MS, p. 131 ff.

[35] *Ethics*, I, 17, col. 2, n.

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third mode of knowledge. Now, when it grasps an object intuitively, the human mind is absolutely identical, in so far as that act of knowing is concerned, with the intellect of God. To know a thing as it really exists, is to know the thing as God knows it, *sub specie æternitatis* as it exists necessarily in the order of things. When we know an object thus our knowledge and God's knowledge are one and the same, otherwise, when in confusion and error, our knowledge, although depending upon God's, is not identical with it. For when we are in error, God knows that we are wrong and the reason for our being wrong, knowledge from which we are excluded.

Of our identification with the divine mind we become conscious, writes Spinoza,[36] when performing the act of intuition. We know then that we exist in God who is the sustaining cause of all our activities. Thus when we rejoice in the intuition we rejoice in God, who is the cause thereof. This ecstatic contemplation of the divinity as the source of our highest joy Spinoza called the "Intellectual Love of God."

This intellectual love of the mind toward God is that very love of God whereby God loves himself.[37] When the human mind loves God as the cause of its intuition and the source of its joy, it is really contemplating itself in its strength and realising that its strength exists in and through God. But the human mind is engulfed in the divine. Thus when the human mind performs this act, its love is part of a greater love which God, in so far as he can be explained through the human mind, bears himself as he contemplates that mind, rejoicing in himself that he is the cause thereof. Or, to put it briefly, the human mind is a part of God's perfection and hence a source of his delight.

This realisation that the mind exists in and through God is not, when it is the result of the intellectual love, a product of speculative construction—

> although in Part I [writes Spinoza] I showed in general terms that all things (and consequently, also, the human mind) depend as to their essence and existence on God, yet that demonstration, though legitimate and placed beyond the chances of doubt, does not affect our mind so much, as when the same conclusion is derived from the actual essence of some particular thing, which we say depends on God.[38]

This immediate derivation is the fruit of intuitive knowledge,

[36] *Ethics*, V, 32.
[37] *Ethics*, V, 36.
[38] *Ethics*, V, 36, n.

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which Spinoza considers more powerful than knowledge of the rational type.

The love of God, of which the intellectual love is an intense example based upon a flash of insight, was in Spinoza's eyes of the greatest ethical value. It may become the ruling force of a man's life and may free him from the bondage of desire which the goods of this world arouse. The religious man fixes his love upon a secure object that cannot fail him and is thus well oriented in his universe. In Spinoza's words this is expressed as follows:

> We may thus readily conceive the power, which clear and distinct knowledge, and especially that third kind of knowledge, founded on the actual knowledge of God, possesses over the emotions; if it does not absolutely destroy them, in so far as they are passions; at any rate, it causes them to occupy a very small part of the mind. Further, it begets a love toward a thing immutable and eternal, whereof we may really enter into possession; neither can it be defiled with those faults which are inherent in ordinary love; but it may grow from strength to strength, and may engross the greater part of the mind, and deeply penetrate it.[39]

Now, this mystical tendency of Spinoza's was quite akin to Wordsworth's. The relation of intuition to the awareness of God, and the belief that we not only know but feel our immortality[40] are the great points of similarity. But Spinoza differed from Wordsworth in that his profaner interest lay in mathematics and science rather than in art. However, Wordsworth, who in his early days had entertained a passion for mathematics, saw the importance of Spinoza's third mode of knowing as a description of esthetic imagination besides that of the psychic instrument employed in philosophical and scientific progress. Upon this recognition he constructed the philosophy with which he closed *The Prelude* and with which he at once explained his communion with Nature and answered the moral problems which had troubled him since he returned from France.[41]

[39] *Ethics*, V, 20, n.

[40] *Ethics*, V, 23, n.

[41] Sir Frederick Pollock, (*Spinoza, His Life and Philosophy*, London 1899, p. 376) writing of Spinoza's influence, mentions the possibility of Coleridge's having made a Spinozist of Wordsworth. He is aware of the artistic potentialities of Spinozism, but is inclined to doubt that Wordsworth borrowed doctrines from Spinoza. He even asserts that Wordsworth's more or less systematic views of man and of the world are wholly different from Spinoza's. But he says nothing of Wordsworth's interest in the intellectual love that I hope to show casts such a Spinozian color upon one period of his thought.

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Wordsworth considered the highest form of knowledge to be manifest in poetic imagination as well as in intuition employed in other fields. This highest knowledge he describes as

> absolute strength
> And clearest insight, amplitude of mind
> And Reason in her most exalted mood.[42]

In his famous Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*, Wordsworth writes of the distinction between poetry and science. We may discover here what he meant when he related imagination to reason.

> The remotest discoveries of the Chemist, the Botanist or Mineralogist, will be as proper objects of the Poet's art as any upon which it can be employed, if the time should ever come when these things shall be familiar to us, and the relations under which they are contemplated by the followers of these respective sciences shall be manifestly and palpably material to us as enjoying and suffering beings. If the time should ever come when what is now called science, thus familiarized to men, shall be ready to put on, as it were, a form of flesh and blood the Poet will lend his divine spirit to aid the transfiguration, and will welcome the Being thus produced as a dear and genuine inmate of the household of man.

Wordsworth is here referring to the abstract nature of rational knowledge, which is opposed to the warmth and intimacy of the intuitive. This, as we have seen, Spinoza emphasises. In fact, the following statement from the *Short Treatise Concerning God and Man* shows the general similarity of the views of the poet and the philosopher:

> The second [mode of knowledge] we call belief because the things we apprehend only with our reason are not seen by us, but are only known to us through the conviction of our understanding that it must be so and not otherwise. But we call that clear knowledge which comes not from our being convinced by reasons, but from our feeling and enjoying the thing itself, and it surpasses the others by far.[43]

But in this matter Wordsworth goes beyond Spinoza's obvious doctrine. For he tells us in the Preface that poetry, *i.e.*, imagination or intuition, "is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge." Here he seizes upon the truth that the modes of knowledge are not in reality opposed. Mere experience differs from intuition only in that it is hasty and so blunted by habitual repetition that it recognises an object without grasping it. Hence, as Wordsworth

[42] *Prelude*, XIII, 168 ff.
[43] *Short Treatise*, p. 69.

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came to know, what is dull experience to an adult is glorious intuition to a child. High poetry and commonplace thought are after all essentially one; for intuition is the spirit of them both. A comparison of this idea of Wordsworth's with Spinoza's doctrine that could we look into our minds we should find they make no mistakes,[44] shows us that Wordsworth's conclusion is in harmony with Spinoza's doctrines. For even in the most confused and hasty thought, in so far as the mind is active at all, we intuit. Error and the lower forms of knowledge owe their origin purely to the privation of intuition.[45]

Wordsworth did not rest with an understanding of the nature of intuition; he advanced to the doctrine of the intellectual love. The forms of Nature, he had already come to believe, have a passion in themselves,[46] which she compels us to share.

This love which runs

> From earth to man, from man to earth

is inseparably bound with the faculty of imagination, without which it is nothing. In fact, it owes its origin to the imaginative act rather than to the mere contemplation of Nature. To be sure, Wordsworth believes that the activity of imagination is most easily aroused by the contemplation of Nature. Even the least sensitive men are dominated by Nature in this way. But "higher minds," Wordsworth tells us, bear with them as their own this power of imagination and can employ it more as they will. Thus in his reflective moments Wordsworth realised that the forms of Nature are only instruments which draw us toward communion with the World-Soul. The true source of the communion lies in the act of imagination itself, without which there is no intellectual love.

> Imagination having been our theme,
> So also hath that intellectual love
> For they are each in each, and cannot stand
> Dividually.[47]

In a passage,[48] much too long to quote in full, Wordsworth sings the praises of a faculty similar to Spinoza's third mode of knowledge. The following quotation contains the essence of the argu-

[44] *Ethics*, II, 47, n.

[45] Cf. Spinoza, *Ethics*, II, 33: "There is nothing positive in ideas which causes them to be called false."

[46] *Prelude*, XII, 289 ff.

[47] *Prelude*, XIII, 185 ff., see also 166 ff.

[48] *Prelude*, XIII, 84–210, Ed. of 1850, XIV, 86–231.

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ment. Wordsworth writes of those who possess an awakened faculty of imagination

> . . . . in a world of life they live,
> By sensible impressions not enthrall'ed
> But quickened, rouz'd and made thereby more apt
> To hold communion with the invisible world.
> Such minds are truly from the Deity,
> For they are Powers; and hence the highest bliss
> That can be known is theirs, the consciousness[49]
> Of whom they are habitually infused
> Through every image, and through every thought[50]
> And all impressions, hence religion, faith,
> And endless occupation for the soul
> Whether discursive or intuitive;
> Hence sovereignty within and peace of will
> Emotion which best foresight need not fear
> Most worthy then of trust when most intense.
> Hence cheerfulness in every act of life
> Hence truth in moral judgments and delight
> That fails not in the external universe.[51]

The life of imagination brings with it, then, freedom from unruly desire and establishes the soul as a Power which recognises its nature and origin and is thus oriented in the universe. Hence arises moral sovereignty and peace of will, when a man's emotions may be trusted most when most intense; for a consciousness of his true being guides his moral judgments and welds his desire to unquestionable goods.

It is to be noticed how important a part of man's moral life Wordsworth assigns to the orientation of the soul which attends the imaginative life and the love of God. It is this orientation that keeps before us the life of the spirit and withholds us from putting

[49] This doctrine is somewhat similar to Hartley's conception of the religious life. Hartley speaks of the gradual strengthening through association of the comfortable sense that we live in the presence and under the protection of God. But he denies the life of imagination any eudaemonistic or religious value. This sharply distinguishes him from Wordsworth, who regards imagination as the keystone of his natural religion. (See Hartley: *Observations on Man*, Part II, prop. LXXI and prop. LIX.)

[50] Image, thought, impression. These are perhaps Wordsworth's renderings of Spinoza's intuition, reason, imagination.

[51] *Prelude*, XIII, 105 ff.

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> a universe of death,
> The falsest of all worlds, in place of that
> Which is divine and true.[52]

This is, as we have seen, the essence of Spinoza's ethics.

A few moments' reflection will, I believe, show us how neatly this ethic answers the problems which Wordsworth's encounter with Godwinism had summoned to his mind.

In the first place, he found in the life of the imagination a *summum bonum* by which to judge the value of human actions. Thus he was no longer baffled in his search for a criterion of good and evil. He could call all actions good that tend to promote the life of imagination, understanding, and freedom.

The problem of obligation was also solved. For coupled with understanding, the desires of the religious man are to be trusted. If he desires a way of life after he understands it, he may call that way of life good, thus his emotions are trustworthy. Considered in this light, moral problems center about the question, "Do I really want to act thus?" rather than about, "Should I act thus?" This naturally leads to the assertion of an emphatic individualism. The human soul becomes the witness and the judge of things,[53] and the supreme arbiter of right and wrong. Such a step as this Wordsworth was eager to take.

In fact, following Godwin as he seems to have done, Wordsworth had already taken this step despite himself. He was committed to a morality both intellectualist and individualist before he reached the position of *The Prelude*. But his intellectualism had bred only despair. For Godwin was unable to bring home to him the intrinsic power of imaginative knowledge, which doctrine forms the very core of the ethics of *The Prelude*.

According to this interpretation, it was from the Spinozian point of view that Wordsworth described the human frame, as "good and graciously disposed." Perhaps a true Spinozist would be inclined to look upon the *conatus* as quite amoral, for it seems possible to satisfy any phase of man's conative nature either in a good or in an evil manner. However, it is easy to grasp what Wordsworth meant. Only give the *conatus* the benefit of clear understanding and it may be trusted.

To be sure, we cannot say that this theory dispels the fear that many men must always live the dupes of folly and the slaves of

[52] *Prelude*, XIII, 141 ff.
[53] *Prelude*, XII, 367.

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crime. But, at least, it shows us, through its account of the modes of knowing, how man may rise from such a state. And this was enough for Wordsworth.

Thus it was that the poet, brooding upon his mystical experience, dispelled the doubts that had saddened him and drew from the progress of his meditation

> The feeling of life endless, the great thought
> By which we live, Infinity and God.[54]

Through his acquaintance with metaphysics, Wordsworth came to realise the great significance of that intrinsic joy with which he had beheld natural objects in his childhood. He felt about this time that such joy was slipping from him, and yet he rejoiced that the years had brought him a knowledge of its meaning. This he expresses in the *Intimations* ode, where he suggests a slightly different interpretation of his rapture.

His moments of exalted insight are described in this poem as reminiscent of something that is passed, a way of life with which we once were acquainted. In stanza 5, Wordsworth speaks of the soul's pre-mundane life as if each soul had once existed as a personality in another world, where it enjoyed a clearer understanding of the nature of things. But thereafter he turns his attention to "that Immortal Sea that brought us hither" and seems more fascinated by the conception of the World-Soul than by the dream of personal pre-existence. In fact the introduction of the latter is at odds with Wordsworth's usual interpretation of his mysticism as an immediate awareness of an immanent spirit. The idea of reminiscence is in all probability but an incident of Wordsworth's thinking.

As he grew older, Wordsworth's attitude changed and the Spinozian morality ceased to give him entire satisfaction. In the *Ode to Duty* and in *Elegiac Stanzas* we find a new point of view very consciously set forth.

Before the change, Wordsworth had considered the imaginative life the one true goal of human activity. He was willing, if necessary, to dwell in peasanthood, poverty, and seclusion that he might enjoy it. After the change, such an ethic seemed narrow and selfish. Man must seek, he came to believe, not his own happiness but the performance of the duty that he owes his fellows.

[54] *Prelude*, XIII, 183.

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> Farewell, farewell, the heart that lives alone,
> Housed in a dream, at distance from the kind!
> Such happiness, wherever it be known,
> Is to be pitied, for it is surely blind.[55]

His individualism troubled him. He was no longer willing to trust himself as the "judge and witness" of his life. In *The Prelude* he sang of the emotions of the free man.

> . . . . which best foresight need not fear,
> Most worthy then of trust when most intense.[56]

In the *Ode to Duty* he retracted this trust.

> Through no disturbance of my soul,
> Or strong compulsion in me wrought,
> I supplicate for thy control;
> But in the quietness of thought:
> Me this unchartered freedom tires;
> I feel the weight of chance desires:
> My hopes no more must change their name,
> I long for a repose that ever is the same.

His earlier ethic seemed too subjective, too uncertain. A moral guide, thought Wordsworth, must be something objective, steadfast, and commanding; for human beings are weak. Perhaps in a perfect state, all talk of duty would be unnecessary. Man would need no guide but his own intelligence and his own desire. But this world is no Utopia where feeling and insight go hand in hand. Wordsworth was oppressed with a sense of human finitude. He believed that man must often seek aid from his sense of duty if he desires salvation.

Coupled with this sense of finitude, came a realisation of the weight of circumstance beneath which humanity must labor. His brother's tragic death and the collapse of the French Revolution may have swayed Wordsworth toward this point of view,—but that is a problem for his biographers. At any rate, he was driven to putting such words as these into the mouth of the Wanderer, a character who, he asserted, in many respects resembled himself.[57]

> One adequate support
> For the calamities of mortal life
> Exists—one only; an assured belief
> That the procession of our fate, howe'er

[55] *Elegiac Stanzas, suggested by a picture of Peele Castle in a storm.*
[56] *Prelude*, XIII, 115.

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Sad or disturbed, is ordered by a Being
Of infinite benevolence and power;
Whose everlasting purposes embrace
All accidents converting them to good.[58]

Here again occurs the thought that man must seek supplementary aid. Through his own efforts he cannot assure his happiness. Influenced by this feeling, Wordsworth turned toward belief in a future life as a recompense for the evils of the present one. This was indeed a drastic step for the author of *Tintern Abbey* to take.

Whereas Wordsworth had once rejoiced in the possibility of man's communion with the infinite, he now deplored man's unhappy finitude, and whereas he had once joyously affirmed the possibility and described the nature of the moral life, he now brooded over the difficulty of its attainment.

Contrast the lines from *The Prelude:*

. . . . to my conscious soul I now can say—
'I recognize the glory'

with those from *The Excursion*, quoted from Daniel, which close with:

'. . . . unless above himself he can
Erect himself, how poor a thing is man'[59]

Here we find the essence of the new attitude.

In this mood Wordsworth sought practical aid from philosophy. A few years before, he had desired only a theory of ethics; he now sought maxims of conduct. Thus he was no longer interested in speculation for its own sake. Contemplation now seemed to Wordsworth of value only as it answers man's needs, only as it gives him hope and helps him to do the right. In fact, pure speculation seemed to him almost indecent, an insult to the universe, which he felt surely does not exist

Only to be examined, pondered, searched,
Probed, vexed and criticized.[60]

To one thus anxiously seeking an ethical maxim and despairing of man's lot on earth, the philosophy of Kant, who is often called the modern Stoic, would naturally appear attractive. In Kant's little work entitled *Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysic of Morals*, there is much that must have pleased Wordsworth, who

[57] Introd. to *The Excursion.*
[58] *Excursion*, IV, 10 ff.
[59] *Ibid.*, IV, 320 ff.
[60] *Ibid.*, IV, 968 ff.

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apparently accepted the positive side of its doctrine. Again the immediate source is probably Coleridge, who as we have seen had a high opinion of Kant (See above, note 31). In 1815, in Chapter Nine of *Biographia Literaria* Coleridge wrote to the effect that he had been acquainted with Kantian teaching for fifteen years, after which period he asserted that he still read all of Kant's productions "with undiminished delight and increasing admiration."

Kant like Wordsworth had ceased to see in the contemplative life man's highest attainment. He tells us that Rousseau brought home to him the narrowness of such a *summum bonum*. The life of moral relations with one's fellows, the life of duty, began to seem more important.

In the first pages of the *Metaphysic of Morals* occurs a brief argument in defense of this point of view. Nature obviously did not intend man for happiness.[61] For had she wished man to be happy and no more, she surely would have entrusted his happiness to instinct rather than to reason, which in man holds but a fluctuating supremacy. But since Nature has given man his reason to pilot him, we may assume that she intends him to live rationally rather than happily. Rational life then is the goal that we must endeavor to pursue.

In the *Metaphysic* Kant tries to present a formula, the famous categorical imperative, by which we may test the rationality of our actions. The distinctive character of reason being, he thinks, its universal application, he decides that if we can universalise a contemplated action, *i.e.*, if we can conceive of all men acting thus under similar conditions, without having to admit that the universality of the act undermines the possibility of its performance, we may consider it a good act.[62]

But all activity, thinks Kant, must have an end for the sake of which it is performed. This the first formulation of the imperative does not supply. But as the purpose of Nature seems to be the production of rational life the end of human activity should be the preservation of rationality. Thus we should treat human personality, *i.e.*, potential rationality, always as an end and never as a means.[63] This is perhaps Kant's most important ethical conclusion.

We should live, says Kant, *as if* we were members of a Kingdom of Ends in which everyone's personality is respected. The fact

[61] *Metaphysics of Morals*, p. 13 ff.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 22, circa.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 78, circa.

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that we are not in such a state matters little; for the value of our actions lies not in the actual results but in the will that prompts us to try our utmost for the good. In this Kingdom of Ends there are two types of wills.[64] A will whose activity necessarily coincides with the moral law, *i.e.*, the will of a personality which of its own desire seeks the good, is a sovereign will, and good absolutely. A will not absolutely good experiences obligation. The moral necessity which this obligation imposes upon the personality is called duty, which occurs only when reason strives to guide a wayward personality. Without duty the will moves in confusion, drawn hither and yon at the call of impulse. Recognising duty, the will approaches autonomy. Without duty it is—to use the Kantian term—heteronomous. The resemblance of this doctrine to the content of the *Ode to Duty* is obvious, and has been occasionally remarked. The third stanza thereof, which we have already quoted, seems its poetic expression. We shall see below that the doctrine appears again in *The Excursion*.

The problem of human freedom troubled Kant persistently, for he believed that the possibility of experience in space and time demanded absolute determination of effect by cause. To extricate himself from this difficulty, he postulated another experience, "intelligible" rather than "sensible," and, philosophically speaking, more "real" than the experience of space and time. In the realm of such a purely rational experience, he suggested, human freedom might have its origin. Man, as a metaphysical amphibian, belongs, according to Kant's suggestion, to both these worlds. He is autonomous when he acts rationally, for then he is claiming his right as a member of the intelligible world, and his action is a logical one determined by ground and consequent. When he fails to use his reason, when he follows impulse, man belongs solely to the sensible world and is determined in his action by the laws of cause and effect.

As regards a future life in which the righteous man is recompensed for the evils and oppression which he has suffered, Kant is skeptical. For Kant—and here as we shall see Wordsworth followed him—reason is limited to a narrow sphere, the natural sphere, and when it endeavors to climb beyond, it becomes helplessly involved in contradiction. Thus immortality is like the existence of the intelligible world, a matter for faith to grasp but not for reason to determine, for reason can offer no judgment here. However, for

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 63, 64–67.

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practical purposes we must assume that the universe is ordered by a wise and a good God who rules from his seat in the intelligible world, caring for the survival of his creatures after death.[65] Otherwise the aim of all activity, a life that is at once rationally moral and materially happy is but a dream; for in this life happiness and morality are incompatible.

As our study of the *Ode to Duty* has suggested, after 1805 Wordsworth's philosophy was of a very Kantian aspect. He still had faith, however, in his mystical communion with Nature, upon which even at this time he built his philosophy. One of the most beautiful of all Wordsworth's descriptions of this experience occurs in *The Excursion*. The Wanderer, striving to answer the question of the skeptic, exclaims, true to the philosophy of *The Prelude*.

> Access for you
> Is yet preserved to principles of truth,
> Which the imaginative Will upholds
> In seats of wisdom, not to be approached
> By the inferior Faculty that moulds,
> With her minute and speculative pains,
> Opinion, ever changing!

There are times, he holds, when the universe itself

> doth impart
> Authentic tidings of invisible things;
> Of ebb and flow, and ever-during power
> And central peace, subsisting at the heart
> Of endless agitation.[66]

This is the experience of *Tintern Abbey* and *The Prelude*. The presentation here differs in only one essential respect from the earlier ones. Wordsworth feels in *The Excursion* that only to the ear of faith does the universe speak of mysterious union. A skeptic will feel exaltation, but he will not know why he is exalted. He is pious "beyond the intention of his thought." In the later version of *The Prelude*, Professor de Sélincourt thinks Wordsworth intended to give a similar connotation to the lines concerning the love of God by substituting "spiritual" for "intellectual."[67]

Such a change is quite in harmony with Wordsworth's attitude

[65] *Critique of Practical Reason*, Bk. 2, Chap. 2, V.

[66] *Excursion*, IV, 1126 ff.

[67] de Sélincourt's edition of *The Prelude*, note to XIII, 161 on p. 605, also note to XIII, 183 on p. 607.

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at this time. He had ceased to talk, as he did in *The Recluse*, of man's salvation in terms of "nothing more than what we are." The Wordsworth of *The Excursion* is looking for aid, and like Kant he finds it in faith.

At any rate, this mystical experience, confirming his faith as it did, withheld Wordsworth from Kantian doubts as regards a future life and the existence of the intelligible world, which the poet probably identified with the World-Soul of his earlier thought and the "active principle" of *The Excursion*.[68] Thus it is not surprising that we find in Wordsworth less skepticism than in Kant. Wordsworth accepted the latter's severe limitation of human reason, which faculty he condemned when he wrote in *The Excursion*:

> Man is of dust: ethereal hopes are his,
> Which, when they should sustain themselves aloft,
> Want due consistence; like a pillar of smoke,
> That with majestic energy from earth
> Rises; but having reached the thinner air,
> Melts and dissolves, and is no longer seen.[69]

However, for the reasons that we have stated, this did not trouble Wordsworth as it did some Kantians. It is the positive side of the Kantian ethics which the Wanderer presents in *The Excursion*.

All the goods of life, the Wanderer maintains, are unstable, and the passions by which we desire them are fickle, rational duty alone transcends this blight and stands forever immutable.

> Possessions vanish, and opinions change,
> And passions hold a fluctuating seat;
> But by the storms of circumstance unshaken,
> And subject neither to eclipse nor wane,
> Duty exists;—immutably survive,
> For our support, the measures and the forms
> Which an abstract intelligence supplies;
> Whose kingdom is where space and time are not.[70]

Here we find what seems obvious reference to the relation between the sense of duty in man and the intelligible world, which transcends space and time. The first lines of the quotation appear to allude to the condition of the heteronomous will, that moves in confusion unguided by reason. Some lines below Wordsworth

[68] *Excursion*, IX, 1–15.
[69] *Ibid.*, IV, 140 ff.
[70] *Ibid.*, IV, 69 ff.

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describes submission to the intelligible order as "constituting strength and power." Mention of the law of reason is made again in later passages.[71] In the ninth book Wordsworth writes that man was actually created to obey this law of life, a doctrine which, as we have seen, is the very bulwark of the Kantian ethic.

Again in the fourth book conscience is spoken of as the image of God in man.

> conscience reverenced and obeyed
> As God's most intimate presence in the soul,
> And his most perfect image in the world.[72]

This may well be conceived as Kant's teaching concerning the possibility of the intelligible world's influencing the sensible. When God is considered as the subject which contemplates the intelligible world—and Kant tended toward such a theology—Wordsworth's expression appears clearly Kantian. For in the rational moral life man transcends the sensible world and claims membership in the intelligible. Thus conscience considered as the feeling of compulsion which the reason exercises upon us, may well be termed God's most intimate presence in the soul.

Kant's concept of a Kingdom of Ends in which the intrinsic worth of personality, as the seat of reason, is respected seems to have made a profound impression upon Wordsworth.

> Our life is turned
> Out of her course, wherever man is made
> An offering or a sacrifice, a tool
> Or implement, a passive thing employed
> As a brute mean, without acknowledgment
> Of common right or interest in the end;
> Used or abused, as selfishness may prompt.
> Say, what can follow for a rational soul
> Perverted thus, but weakness in all good,
> And strength in evil?[73]

The position of *The Excursion* is Wordsworth's final one. His poems offer no evidence that he ever deserted the views which he puts into the mouth of the Wanderer. Perhaps he grew to emphasise more and more the importance of ordinary piety, of folkways, and of custom in the development of morality, just as he

[71] *Ibid.*, IV, 806 ff. and IX, 126 ff.
[72] *Ibid.*, IV, 224 ff.
[73] *Excursion*, IX, 106 ff.

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grew more and more friendly to the Church of England as a traditional support of the good life. In *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* he leans in this direction. But the change is not a great one. Descriptions of his mystic communion with Nature cease to appear, although, as in the last sonnet on the River Duddon, he occasionally mentions the experience as one with which he is acquainted. On the whole, I think we are justified in saying that after the composition of *The Excursion*, Wordsworth's philosophical life was a thing of the past.

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LIII

WORDSWORTH'S *DESCRIPTIVE SKETCHES* AND *THE PRELUDE*, BOOK VI

IN THE summer of 1790 William Wordsworth and his friend, Robert Jones, spent their summer vacation in France and Switzerland. The record of this memorable journey has been left to us in two of Wordsworth's poems: *Descriptive Sketches* written in 1792 and *The Prelude*, Book VI, written probably in 1804. The journey described in each is, of course, the same, yet variations in the accounts are quite marked. The immediate reaction as to the causes of the differences, no doubt, is that Wordsworth had forgotten many of the details of the journey. Yet this explanation cannot be true, as a careful analysis shows. Garrod,[1] in his paragraph concerning Wordsworth's poetical theory that poetry "takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity," hints at the real reason for the discrepancies:

> The question [he says] is interesting, not only in connection with *Descriptive Sketches*, but also as affecting the problem of the essential truthfulness of large parts of *The Prelude*.

Then in speaking of *Descriptive Sketches* and *The Prelude*, Part VI, he says:

> I have not space here . . . . to institute a detailed comparison of the two pieces. It will, however, be relevant to . . . . show, as it can be shown, the essential untruthfulness of *Descriptive Sketches*. Wordsworth was two years distant from his object; but he did not yet understand, I would suppose, the conditions of his art. I will try and show how this was so; and when I have done so, I will point a contrast by calling attention to portions of the sixth book of *The Prelude* which exhibit, as I think, a remarkable truth to impressions fourteen years old.

It is evident that Garrod, judging between the two accounts as given in *Descriptive Sketches* and in *The Prelude* inclines to the latter as essentially the nearer to the truth.

It is my purpose in this paper to analyze the two records of this journey a little more fully than Mr. Garrod has done, in order to show, first, the variations in relating the itinerary itself; secondly, the changes in Wordsworth's attitude towards certain subjects treated in both of the poems. My conclusions, I may say frankly at the outset, do not agree in all respects with Mr. Garrod's.

When the two boys arrived in France they were a singular looking pair, according to Wordsworth's description:

[1] H. G. Garrod, *Wordsworth*, p. 46.

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Our coats, which we had made light on purpose for the journey, are of the same piece:—our manner of carrying our bundles, which is upon our heads, with each an oak stick in our hands, contributes not a little to that general curiosity which we seem to excite.[2]

Unburdened with luggage, they walked over a great portion of France, the Alps, and even into Italy between July thirteenth and September twenty-ninth. They landed at Calais, July 14, 1790, went through Ardres, Soissons, Château Thierry, Bar-le-Duc, Nuits, Charlons, Lyons, Condrieu, Moreau, Voreppe, and into Chartreuse by August third. Up to this point the *Descriptive Sketches* says nothing of the tour, while *The Prelude* has mentioned only Calais, the Soane, and the Rhone River.

But with Chartreuse, one begins to find changes in the course of the journey as related in the poems. In *Descriptive Sketches* one is told "Of Como Bosom'd deep in chestnut groves"[3] and of fair Locarno almost immediately after Chartreuse, whereas in *The Prelude* Wordsworth speaks of proceeding to Locarno's lake and of Como just before the close of the journey.

Again in the *Descriptive Sketches* Wordsworth mentions in line 243

Now, passing Urseren's open vale serene

while in *The Prelude* it is not until lines 500-550 that he speaks of the enticing valleys of Urseren greeting them. In *Descriptive Sketches* the account of Urseren comes directly after they had crossed Simplon Pass, whereas in *The Prelude* the Pass is described in lines 562–590, some sixty lines *before* the description of the Lake Still again, in the *Descriptive Sketches*, line 690, the view of Mont Blanc is given directly after the description of Chamouny, line 680; while in The Prelude one reads of "the summit of Mont Blanc"[4] immediately before "the wondrous vale of Chamouny"[5] is mentioned.

On September 6, 1790, at Keswill, Wordsworth started a letter to his sister Dorothy in which he outlines his itinerary, and which one may expect to find a reliable source of information. Those places which were mentioned in different orders in the *Descriptive Sketches* and *The Prelude* are given in the letter in the

[2] *Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, III, 230.
[3] *Descriptive Sketches*, lines 81, 82.
[4] *Prelude*, VI, 525.
[5] *Prelude*, VI, 528.

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following order: Chartreuse, Chamouny, Simplon Pass, Lake Locarno, Lake Como, Gravedona, Urseren, and Einsiedlen.[6] From a comparison of this journey with the other two, one discovers that no one of the three coincides with the other two. Since a personal letter of this kind written during the progress of a journey is likely to be reliable, the course of events as given in the poems is evidently wrong.

Harper, in commenting on the journey says,

> The poet makes no attempt, in *The Prelude*, to narrate in order the principal details of this momentous journey. He concentrates attention on its inward results. Events, places, and times, are blurred—it would almost seem purposely—for it cannot be that, after the lapse of only about fifteen years, his memory would have confused Blois and Orleans.[7]

Was it not, perhaps, a habit of Wordsworth's to blur *purposely* events if so doing were advantageous to the final effect of his poem? A few illustrations will show that such was the case. In the prefatory note to *Hart-Leap Well* Wordsworth writes, "*Hart-Leap Well* is a small spring of water, about five miles from Richmond in Yorkshire."[8] In his note at the conclusion of the poem Knight quotes from Mr. John R. Tutin of Hull:

> Visited Hart-Leap Well, the subject of Wordsworth's poem. It is situated on the roadside leading from Richmond to Askrigg, at a distance of not more than three and a half miles from Richmond, and *not five miles as stated in the prefatory note.*[9]

Here is found a discrepancy as to distance. In line 153 of the poem Wordsworth speaks of the "flowering thorn." In Mr. Knight's concluding notes is found this statement taken from a letter written by the Reverend Thomas Hutchinson of Kimbolton, "The tree is not a Thorn, but a Lime."[10]—This time it is nature herself which is not accurately described. After Wordsworth had related the story of the well he stood lost in thought when one

> who was in shepherd's garb attired
> Came up the Hollow.[11]

[6] As traced in the Keswill letter, in Wordsworth's *Prose Works*, III, 222, 226–7
[7] Harper, *William Wordsworth*, I, 139.
[8] *Poems of William Wordsworth*, ed. Knight, III, 128.
[9] *Ibid.*, II, 137.
[10] *Ibid.*, II, 137.
[11] *Descriptive Sketches*, line 118.

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Of this the Reverend Mr. Hutchinson says, "The ascent from the well is a gentle one, not 'sheer,' nor does there appear to be any hollow by which the shepherd could ascend."[12]

The Brothers, another of Wordsworth's poems, shows the same method in regard to the inexact and untruthful use of details. Mr. Knight's note once again goes to prove that Wordsworth sacrificed truth for effect whenever he so desired.

> You see yon precipice;
> . . . . called, The Pillar.
> Upon its aëry summit crowned with heath,
> The loiterer, not unnoticed by his comrades,
> Lay stretched at ease.

So says the poem. The editor makes the following comment:

> The 'aëry summit crowned with heath,' however, on which the 'loiterer' 'lay stretched at ease,' could neither be the top of this 'rock' nor the summit of the 'mountain:' not the former, because there is no heath on it, and it would be impossible for a weary man, loitering behind his companions, to ascend it to rest; not the latter, because no one resting on the summit of the mountain could be "not unnoticed by his comrades.[13]

Upon examining still another poem, *Michael*, one finds in Wordsworth's own words the recording of the combination of facts gathered from various sources into one whole:

> The character and circumstances of Luke were taken from a family to whom had belonged, many years before, the house we lived in at Town-end, along with some fields and woodlands on the eastern shore of Grasmere. The name of the Evening Star was not in fact given to his house, but to another on the same side of the valley, more to the north.—I. F.[14]

The late Bishop of Lincoln in his *Memoirs of Wordsworth* makes a different statement as to the source of the poem. He says:

> *Michael* was founded on the son of an old couple having become dissolute, and run away from his parents; and on an old shephered having been seven years in building up a sheep-fold in a solitary valley.[15]

Since in various poems Wordsworth has combined various facts to make one story; since he has paid no attention to exact detail; and since he has elsewhere been deliberately inaccurate, it seems that the variation of the itinerary in *Descriptive Sketches* and in

[12] Knight, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 137.
[13] *Ibid.*, II, 203.
[14] Knight, *Poems of William Wordsworth*, II, 215.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

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The Prelude from the true itinerary as recorded by himself in his letter at the time of the journey was not the result of accident, but of purpose, or rather, of two purposes at the respective dates of the composition of the two poems. It will be the task of the remaining part of this paper to show what those two purposes were and why, therefore, the two subsequent accounts of the journey differ from each other and from that of the letter. This I may perhaps best accomplish by pointing out briefly the changes which occurred in Wordsworth's attitudes towards (a) the French Revolution, (b) Nature, (c) Religion; and, finally, by showing also (d) the differences due to the development of the "conditions of Wordsworth's art".[16]

The French had declared their independence in 1789; by the summer of 1790 the very air of France was permeated with Revolutionary doctrines. One would expect Wordsworth, the young Cambridge student, to be keenly interested in French politics, and to have his interest reflected in the poems which tell of his summer spent on the continent. One does indeed find references to the Revolution in both *Descriptive Sketches* and *The Prelude*, but whereas the references in *Descriptive Sketches* are charged with the intense feeling of one who is experiencing the struggle itself, in *The Prelude* they are introduced in a far more detached manner.

Only two passages in *The Prelude*, Part VI, deal directly with the Revolution but these are highly significant. The travellers on coming to Chartreuse had seen there a group of Revolutionists who had come probably to destroy the place. Wordsworth comments upon the incident thus:

> our eyes had seen,
> As toward the sacred mansion we advanced,
> Arms flashing, and a military glare
> Of riotous men commissioned to expel
> The blameless inmates, and belike subvert
> That frame of social being.[17]

Here is no exclamation of an ardent enthusiast ready to fight for a cause, but rather a mere statement of one who is almost out of sympathy with the undertaking. Turning to *Descriptive Sketches* one finds the comment far more zealous and more personal.

> Even now I sigh at hoary Chartreuse' doom
> Weeping beneath his chill of mountain gloom

[16] Garrod, *Wordsworth*, p. 46.
[17] *Prelude*, VI, 423–428.

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Where now is fled that Power whose frown severe
Fam'd 'Sober Reason' till she crouch'd in fear?[18]

Thus he writes in the 1793 edition. Reason (the slogan of the Revolutionists) has overpowered religion and in the lines there seems to be a certain satisfaction because this is true. No such attitude is found in the incident as related in *The Prelude*, nor was this attitude manifested in future editions of the *Descriptive Sketches*. The various editions read as follows:

1815 I sigh at hoary Chartreuse' doom
Where now is fled that Power whose frown severe
Fam'd 'Sober Reason' till she crouched in fear?

1820 Even now emerging from the forest's gloom
I heave a sigh at hoary Chartreuse' doom
Where now is fled that Power whose frown severe
Fam'd 'Sober Reason' till she crouched in fear?

Finally, in the 1845 edition, one finds the passage far less vehement than it was in the original.

And now emerging from the forest's gloom
I greet thee Chartreuse while I mourn thy doom
Whither is fled that Power whose frown severe
Awed sober Reason till she crouched in fear?

The second Revolutionary passage in "*The Prelude* gives what Wordsworth says was his reaction toward the political affairs in 1790, thus:

When shortening fast
Our pilgrimage, nor distant far from home,
We crossed the Brabant armies on the fret
For battle in the cause of Liberty.
A stripling, scarcely of the household then
Of social life, I looked upon these things
As from a distance; heard, and saw, and felt,
Was touched, but with no intimate concern.[19]

Immediately one questions the two attitudes, and wonders which was the true one. If Wordsworth were so vitally concerned with the Revolution as the 1793 edition of *Descriptive Sketches* seems to indicate, why did he alter it so as "to take the very heart out of pages pulsing with ardent enthusiasm for liberty?"[20]

[18] *Poems of Wordsworth*, ed. Knight, I, 312, lines 53–56.
[19] *Prelude*, VI, 762–769.
[20] Harper, *op. cit.*, I, 96.

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Since only the 1793 edition shows the passionate support of the Revolution, does not this edition give Wordsworth's attitude toward these events in 1793 and *not* the attitude of 1790 (when the journey was made) nor the attitude of 1804 when *The Prelude* was written? Without a doubt, in 1792 and 1793, Wordsworth was a patriot in every sense of the word, but what was his attitude in 1790?

One's interest usually causes one to talk about the things concerned, and if possible to visit the seat of events. Did Wordsworth in his letters written while on his journey discuss politics, or other phases of life? Did he spend his time in the center of the political world or in the rural communities where the strife was not so poignant?

In the Keswill letter already referred to we find over four pages devoted to the description of the places visited; much of it an excellent account of the Alpine and Italian scenery. But the Revolution, which from *Descriptive Sketches* one might expect to consume a large part of Wordsworth's thinking, is thus disposed of:

> But I must remind you that we crossed at the time when the whole nation was mad with joy in consequence of the Revolution. It was a most interesting period to be in France; and we had many delightful scenes, where the interest of the picture was owing solely to this cause.

Here indeed one finds no undercurrent of deep emotion which would inspire the writing of such sentiments as

> Yet, yet rejoice, though Pride's perverted ire
> Rouze Hell's own aid, and warp thy hills in fire.
> Lo! from the innocuous flames a lovely birth!
> With its own Virtues springs another earth[21]

which, as Harper says, is "the French Revolution with a vengeance," and which it is small wonder that the author softened in later editions.

As has been stated, Wordsworth, had he been especially concerned with politics in 1790, would have spent some time in the large political centers. This was not true; for Paris was not visited at all, though the boys passed within fifty miles of it. At one time the travellers did turn aside from the direct route, not to see war centers, but to visit the Grande Chartreuse, noted for its great natural beauty. Here he spent something over a day admiring its beauty—

[21] *Descriptive Sketches*, lines 775–785.

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later he spent two days at beautiful Lake Como and three whole days at the Lake of Morat; places which are described at length in the Keswill letter.

It would seem, then, that in 1790, Wordsworth's real attitude was that of a boy who passed through these affairs, yet scarcely sensed them, as it is related in *The Prelude*; and that the attitude toward the French Revolution as found in *Descriptive Sketches* is highly colored by events of 1792 and 1793 which were occupying such a large place in his thoughts at the time of composition of the poem that he could not eliminate them from a narration of experiences which occurred two years previously.

As has been hinted, Wordsworth's chief interest in 1790 was not in politics but in nature. The first few books of *The Prelude* are concerned with the growth of his interest in and love for nature; a development which, though gradual, was strong. Though the great outburst of feeling was to show itself in poetry later, in the Keswill letter there is found the true spirit of nature worship experienced during his first tour of France. In this account of the journey he writes:

> I am a perfect enthusiast in my admiration of nature in all her various forms, and I have looked upon, and, as it were, conversed with the objects which this country has presented to my view so long and with such increasing pleasure, that the idea of parting from them oppresses me with a sadness similar to what I have always felt in quitting a beloved friend.[22]

It was Wordsworth's intention at first to give "to these sketches the title of Picturesque: but the Alps are insulted in applying to them that term. Whoever, in attempting to describe their sublime features, should confine himself to the cold rules of painting would give his reader but a very imperfect idea of those emotions which they have the irresistible power of communicating to the most impassive imaginations";[23] and in the reason for changing the name is found a love for nature vastly superior to that found within the poem itself.

Both the Keswill letter and the quotation in regard to the title of *Descriptive Sketches* show Wordsworth's love of nature: which evidently was his real feeling both in 1790 and 1792. Why, then, does he not infuse more of his feelings into *Descriptive Sketches?* For this, it would seem, there are two distinct reasons.

First, Wordsworth was only a college youth still under the

[22] *Prose Works*, III, 225.

[23] Legouis, *Youth of William Wordsworth*, p. 152.

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influence of all that the classic school held most dear. One should not be surprised, therefore, when the fledgeling poet uses verse forms and methods of the age, and discusses nature in a stilted form through the use of many personifications and metaphors. The traditions of the age influenced Wordsworth to such an extent that few nature passages in *Descriptive Sketches* are spontaneous and powerful.

But there was still another reason why he wrote about nature as he did. The explanation is to be found in the manner in which Wordsworth reacted toward nature (1) immediately, and (2) ultimately. Undoubtedly, the passages in the two poems describing the crossing of the Alps illustrate these attitudes better than any others.

This was the time in Wordsworth's life when nature was to him a source of sensuous pleasure only with no deeper significance, as he tells us in *Tintern Abbey*.

> The sounding cataract
> Haunted me like a passion: the tall rock,
> The mountain and the deep and gloomy wood,
> Their colours and their forms, were then to me
> An appetite; a feeling and a love
> That had no need of a remoter charm,
> By thought supplied, nor any interest
> Unborrowed from the eye.[24]

Realizing, then, that at the time that Wordsworth crossed the Alps, nature was the source only of immediate pleasure through the senses, it is not surprising that in *Descriptive Sketches* "this central and supreme memory is wholly lost."[25]

In *The Prelude*, Wordsworth admits that many incidents which were without special significance to him at the time of their occurrence led to

> tender thoughts by means
> Less often instantaneous in effect;
> Led . . . . to these by paths that, in the main
> Were more circuitous, but not less sure
> Duly to reach the point marked out by Heaven.[26]

Such, indeed, was the crossing of the Alps, which in *The Prelude* becomes the supreme memory of the entire tour. In it Wordsworth says that at the time that he crossed the Alps he felt as if he saw

[24] *Tintern Abbey*, lines 75–83.
[25] Garrod, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
[26] *Prelude*, VI, 748–'53.

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their beauties, yet as one estranged and dazed thereby—"halted without an effort to break through."[27] Imagination, to him the "awful Power," seemed an

> unfathered vapour that enwraps
> At once some lonely traveller.[28]

By 1804—and the time of the writing of *The Prelude* Wordsworth had realized the full significance of the experience and knew that often one's senses are temporarily extinguished by emotion and that only later

> With an eye made quiet by the power
> Of harmony, and the deep power of joy
> We see into the life of things.[29]

So it was that at the time of the crossing of the Alps Wordsworth felt his faculties shrouded in a mist, while years later he realized that this was the beginning of his deeper understanding of nature; and that

> To my conscious soul I now can say
> 'I recognize thy glory.'[30]

The third and perhaps most important reason for Wordsworth's treating nature in *Descriptive Sketches* as he does is due to the fact that the poem was written in 1792 and not 1790. The poem was written on the banks of the Loire river, in the midst, therefore, of the Revolutionary scenes in which Wordsworth was so highly interested at the date of composition, 1792. Here again, as was noted before, interest caused him to talk about things in which he was vitally concerned. In the descriptions of the mountains he "mingles many varying moods and many references to Swiss history,"[31] but it is in the descriptions of the French scenery that one finds the influence of political conditions.

The vale of Chamouny was a beautiful spot, from the higher part of which Mont Blanc was visible. One would expect Wordsworth to describe the place in some detail; but not so, for his chief interest in the scene seemed to be drawn to the half-starved peasants found there. This sight led to a sympathetic passage on the place as a "slave of slaves,—doom'd to pine"[32] and to a panegyric on freedom, in which nature is described as it would be when tyranny and oppression are no longer in the land.

[27] *Ibid.*, line 597.
[28] *Prelude*, VI, 595–6.
[29] *Tintern Abbey*, lines 46–48.
[30] *Prelude*, VI, 598–'99.
[31] Harper, *op. cit.*, I, 97.
[32] *Descriptive Sketches*, line 706.

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Wordsworth sums up his attitude toward nature in 1792 at the close of his apostrophe to France when he says

> Yet, hast thou found that Freedom spreads her pow'r
> Beyond the cottage hearth, the cottage door:
> All nature smiles,[33]

and again

> Yes, as I roam'd where Loiret's waters glide
> . . . . . .
> Methought from every cot the watchful bird
> Crowed with ear-piercing power till then unheard;
> Each clacking mill, that broke the murmuring streams,
> Rock'd the charm'd thought in more delightful dreams;
> Chasing those long, long dreams the falling leaf
> Awoke a fainter pang of moral grief;
> The measured echo of the distant flail
> Winded in sweeter cadence down the vale.[34]

The nature passages in *The Prelude* show a vastly different attitude from that in *Descriptive Sketches*. In contrast with the stereotyped description of Chamouny found in the latter poem, in *The Prelude* it becomes a real place.

> The wondrous vale
> Of Chamouny stretched far below, and soon
> With its dumb cataracts and streams of ice,
> A motionless array of mighty waves,
> Five rivers broad and vast, made rich amends,
> And reconciled us to realities.[35]

Even superior to this description are the lines in praise of Lake Como in which he speaks of

> thy chestnut woods, and garden plots
> Of Indian corn tended by dark-eyed maids;
> Thy lofty steeps, and pathways roofed with vines,
> Winding from house to house, from town to town,
> Sole link that bands them to each other.[36]

The description of the restless night at Gravedona is so vivid that the experience becomes real to the reader.

[33] *Ibid.*, lines 756–'58.
[34] *Ibid.*, Lines 760–771.
[35] *Prelude*, VI, 528–'33.
[36] *Prelude*, VI, 663–7.

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An open place it was, and overlooked,
From high, the sullen water far beneath,
On which a dull red image of the moon
Lay bedded, changing oftentimes its form
Like an uneasy snake. From hour to hour
We sate and sate, wondering, as if the night
Had been ensnared by witchcraft . . . . .
. . . . . .
[We] could not sleep, tormented by the stings
Of insects, which, with noise like that of noon,
Filled all the woods.[37]

During the years immediately following Wordsworth's summer in France, nature more and more became a source not only of inspiration, but even of divine inspiration and eventually a Divinity in itself. The *Descriptive Sketches* and *The Prelude* show Wordsworth's religious attitudes at variance and in these attitudes one may trace the essential doctrines of Wordsworth's religious beliefs.

The passage telling of the soldier's visit to Grand Chartreuse has already been quoted to show Wordsworth's attitude toward the French Revolution, but it may well be referred to again as showing Wordsworth's religious feelings at the time. Says Garrod:

In *Descriptive Sketches* the incident is viewed in a manner, obviously detached and skeptical. Though he talks of 'Blasphemy within the shuddering fane' yet it is not difficult to see that, upon the whole he derives some satisfaction from the fact that 'the power whose frown severe' used to tame reason till she crouched in fear' (i.e. the power of religious superstition) is now obliged to crouch before the revolutionary arms of 'Reason.'[38]

Even more pronounced skepticism is shown in the passage in which he compares his melancholy with the faith of the Swiss and wishes their delusions were his own. He says that,

Without one hope her written griefs to blot,
Save in the land where all things are forgot,
My heart, alive to transports long unknown
Half wishes your delusion were it's own.[39]

This passage was eventually suppressed, so that in the later editions the lines dealing with the Swiss have no personal note whatever and read merely:

[37] *Ibid.*, VI, 703–713.
[38] Garrod, *Wordsworth*, page 51.
[39] *Descriptive Sketches*, lines 676–679.

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> In that glad moment will for you a sigh
> Be heaved, of charitable sympathy.

Here we have the doubting, skeptical youth who was so filled with the Revolutionary theories that he was willing to allow Reason to be the supreme power, and yet who felt a slight yearning for the simple faith of the Swiss peasants. This was the Wordsworth of 1793, but not the Wordsworth of 1790 as the Keswill letter again proves. "Among the more awful scenes of the Alps," he writes, "I had not a thought of man, or a single created being; my whole soul was turned to Him who produced the terrible majesty before me."[40] The Wordsworth of that day was one who believed in God the Creator of Nature and not in Nature as God; nor in Reason as God.

What were Wordsworth's religious beliefs in 1804, the date at which *The Prelude* presumably was written? Here one finds various mentions of God Himself, which was a new development, for it is only in poems written after 1804 that God seems to be a personality to Wordsworth other than the Supreme Power mentioned in Tintern Abbey. Wordsworth's greatest nature poetry had been written; and with the decay of his interest in Nature there came a deepening interest in personal Christianity, so that one is not surprised to hear God characterized as "the giver of all joy" who "is thanked religiously, in silent blessedness."[41]

Quite different, too, is Wordsworth's attitude in *The Prelude* toward the convent of Chartreuse and the soldiers who came there. Instead of any feeling of joy as was found in the 1793 attitude there is found a deeply religious prayer for the place. He asks that they "Spare these courts of mystery," realizing that the penitential tears of the suppliants result in an equality in "God's pure sight of monarch and peasant." No devotee of religion could be more reverent and sincere than Wordsworth appears in these lines, and such, in general, was his attitude throughout *The Prelude*.

Even a casual reader of the two poems must notice the difference in the tone. The early poem is infused with a spirit of melancholy and gloom, while *The Prelude* is permeated with the joy any person would naturally expect to feel on such a trip.

> Oh, most belove'd Friend! a glorious time,
> And happy time that was[42]

and

[40] *Prose Works*, III, 226.
[41] *Prelude*, VI, 685.
[42] *Prelude*, VI, 663–7.

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I wanted not that joy, I did not need
Such help; the ever-living universe
Turn where I might, was opening out its glories,
And the independent spirit of pure youth
Called forth, at every season, new delights,
Spread round my steps like sunshine o'er green fields.[43]

This spirit is the same as that described in his letter to Dorothy. Here he says,

I assure you that I am in excellent health and spirits, and have had no reason to complain of the contrary during our whole tour. My spirits have been kept in a perpetual hurry of delight, by the almost uninterrupted succession of sublime and beautiful objects which have passed before my eyes during the course of the last month.[44]

To understand the full significance then of such lines as the following, in *Descriptive Sketches*,—

Me, lur'd by hope her sorrows to remove
A heart, that could not much itself approve (45–46)
. . . . . .
But doubly pitying Nature loves to show'r
Soft on his wounded heart her healing pow'r (13–14)
. . . . . .
No sad vacuities his heart annoy (17)
. . . . . .
Alas! in every clime a flying ray
Is all we have to chear our wintry way,
Condemn'd, in mists and tempests ever rife,
To pant slow up the endless Alp of life (590–593)

one must again examine conditions of the time. Once more, one must remember that Wordsworth had not yet thrown off the poetical conventions of his day. He, no doubt, had read the works of the Graveyard Poets in which melancholy was an outstanding quality. Indeed, if one may rely on the veracity of *The Prelude*, such was the case, for in it Wordsworth says,

How sweet at such a time, with such delight
On every side, in prime of youthful strength,
To feed a Poet's tender melancholy
And fond conceit of sadness.[45]

But surely convention alone would not cause the deeply melancholy note which predominates in the poem. In 1792, when *Descriptive Sketches* was written, mingled with the joy which the poet

[43] *Ibid.*, 773–778.
[44] *Prose Works*, III, 230.
[45] *Prelude*, VI, 364–367.

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felt over the French Revolution, there certainly was a sense of sadness. He believed with *all his soul* that the cause was right, and yet he must have felt a deep sense of gloom over the affairs of the day. This unrest of his senses and feelings made it impossible in treating the events of an earlier period to avoid imparting to them something of the sombre colors of contemporary events.

There was still another reason, far more personal for the gloom which he discloses. Sometime in the year 1791 (probably) Wordsworth had met Annette Vallon and had loved her. In 1792 she had borne him a child, Caroline, and, although Wordsworth seemingly loved her and intended to marry her, conditions made this marriage impossible. Wordsworth undoubtedly grieved to think he must leave Annette and Caroline in France while he returned to England. Hence, there was a real personal question in the lines

> When the poor heart has all its joys resigned
> Why does their sad remembrances cleave behind?

which is not found in *The Prelude*, for the experience was a thing of the past in 1804 when the latter poem was written. Legouis it was who asked:

Is it *The Prelude* that errs in representing the Swiss tour as a triumphal march, or the *Descriptive Sketches* which, instead of describing the young man as he was, presents us with the picture of an imaginary hero of the melancholy type then in fashion?[47]

The preceding analysis of the *Descriptive Sketches* and *The Prelude*, Book VI, and of the Keswill letter, justifies, it seems to me, the following conclusions:

First; that the poems differ from each other and from the Keswill letter;

Second; that in poetic composition, Wordsworth used his material not with literal accuracy but with a view to produce a desired effect;

Third; that the poems reflect accurately, therefore, not the original journey which inspired them, but the respective mood at the time of the composition of each;

Fourth; that the question as to which is the more accurate, is, therefore, meaningless.

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[46] *Descriptive Sketches*, lines 622–23.

[47] Legouis, *Early Life of William Wordsworth*, p. 157.

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LIV

THE *CORRESPONDANCE* OF HONORÉ DE BALZAC

ITS SIGNIFICANCE AND ITS UNRELIABILITY

THERE are four volumes of Balzac's letters: two volumes of miscellaneous letters known as the *Correspondance* and two very substantial octave volumes containing the master's messages to Madame Hanska during the seventeen years they were engaged. The latter collection has been poetically entitled *Lettres à l'Etrangère.* All four volumes have always been considered a rich store of biographical information. The *Correspondance* has been twice edited: in the two-volume edition published by Calmann-Lévy in 1877, and in an octave volume which forms part of what is known as the *édition définitive* of the *Œuvres Complètes* (Calmann-Lévy, 1876). The *Lettres à l'Etrangère* were published by Calmann-Lévy in 1906. None of these volumes contains information as to its editors or their method of procedure.

The manuscripts of Balzac's letters were saved from destruction by the greatest of all Balzac scholars, the Vicomte de Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, who devoted his life to the rather exciting pursuit of Balzaciana. The 'grand vicomte des Balzaciens'[1] has published a number of excellent detailed works and monographs concerning his idol, all of which contain, sometimes in the body of the text, sometimes in footnotes and appendices, copies of Balzac's published and unpublished letters. Like Lovenjoul, other Balzac scholars who have had access to the Lovenjoul library have transcribed here and there, à propos of other subjects, various published and unpublished letters of Balzac's and have copied directly from the 'Vicomte's' manuscripts the dates of these individual letters. Taken together, such scattered pages divulge an important list of lacunae and errata in the *Correspondance.* An attentive sifting of internal evidence contained in the official text brings to light other discrepancies, misstatements, and omissions, and proves that the reliability of the *Correspondance* as a whole ought to be called into question.

For the student of Balzac there can be no doubt that the *Correspondance* is full of inaccuracies, due to three causes:

First: Carelessness on the part of the editors;

[1] Paul Bourget gives an interesting sketch of Lovenjoul's personality and work in his *Pages de Critique et de Doctrine,* Vol. II: Plon-Nourritt, 1912.

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Second: Actual alteration by the editors of the text;

Third: Misleading declarations on the part of the great Honoré himself—a criticism which applies to Lovenjoul's excellent edition of the *Lettres à l'Etrangère* as well as to the *Correspondance*. As the four volumes stand we may say about them what Froude says of Erasmus' letters: that they assign to him movements contradictory and often impossible and drop whole decades out of his life.

The *Correspondance* was edited in large part by Balzac's two nieces,[2] the daughters of Madame Surville. One can hardly read it without becoming curious as to the two women. Though we know of them only the little which Balzac has told us, it is possible in a measure to gratify this curiosity since we know who their parents were. Both their father and their mother were intellectual. Balzac's brother-in-law earned recognition as a boy in school and was admitted to the *Ecole Polytechnique*. He distinguished himself greatly as an engineer and a man, and the canal of the Loire, one of the proudest engineering feats in France, is still there to attest his vision and his tenacity. His wife, Laure Balzac, has given us a lasting proof of her ability in the delightful little biography she has written of her brother. She is also responsible for plots and various details in the *Comédie Humaine*, possibly for a part of its execution. Hereditary influence, then, would seem to attest the intelligence of Valentine and Sophie Surville. As to their contact with Balzac, they probably knew him well. To be sure, in his letters to other people he refers to his nieces rather casually, and scarcely more than nine times in all: once to ask his sister if the baby has stopped saying Ga; once he speaks of Sophie in the same breath with Paganini and Liszt, telling how the family delight in hiding her music in order to enjoy the 'cruel' surprise of the people who condescendingly ask, Won't you play something?[3] Once they, with Balzac's mother and sister and Madame Hanska, are going to ornament the pedestal of David's famous bust. Once he tells Madame Hanska how attractive the fourteen-year-old Valentine is and how ridiculous she appears with her pretty dress all greased up at the waist by her dancing partners. Again, he tells Count Mnisznech that he finds the latter's wife far more attractive than Sophie, with whom he cannot

[2] Cabanès. *Balzac ignoré*. Appendice: *Les descendants de Balzac*.

[3] *Etrangère*. II, 161. For other information concerning the nieces given here see *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 220, 383; also *Correspondance*, ed. 1877, I, 81; II, 286, 343.

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help comparing her. There is nothing in any of these references to show that Balzac regarded his nieces seriously, but we must remember that Balzac, boastful as he was, never was eager to vaunt members of his family. If he could not find fault with them he preferred to keep still. The fact that the uncle did not often mention his nieces should not be interpreted to mean either that he had no reason to be proud of them or that he saw them but rarely. Sophie seems to have had less contact with the novelist than Valentine. As far as we can judge, that part of Sophie's girlhood which was not given to her music was spent in an unsuccessful attempt to avoid marrying the husband whom her parents were thrusting upon her, and it is significant that her chief objection to him was his lack of literary talent. Valentine was her uncle's secretary, an occupation which may have been either trying or tremendously amusing, but one which at any rate gave ample opportunity to become acquainted with the novelist and his affairs.

Now, if the Survilles were as intelligent as their parentage would lead us to expect and if they knew Balzac better than most of his friends, how shall we explain this edition of theirs, which shows sometimes a lack of scholarship, sometimes a lack of faith? Perhaps meticulousness was not a feminine characteristic in 1850; possibly it was hardly in the line of the charming person who was so glad to spoil her best dresses with a polka; perhaps, like their mother, the Survilles were too proud to be identified with Balzac to wish to put him before the world in any but a favorable light—whatever their motives, they have made important alterations in the *Correspondance* and Balzac doubtless owed them a debt of gratitude.

The mechanical part of the task they undertook was, it must be admitted, sufficiently discouraging, for—except when Balzac was writing to his fiancée—nothing was less important to him than a date. Balzac, Madame Surville herself tells us, never dated his letters, yet every one of his published letters bears a date.

As one skims through the *Correspondance* one is struck by the oddity of some of this dating: 1819, for instance, or September, 1819, or Tuesday evening 1822, or Saturday morning at the end of 1830, or the end of 1832, or the end of September 1832, or Monday, two o'clock in the morning, 1836, or Monday, June, 1836, or Wednesday, March or April. 1839. The above are chosen haphazard from among two hundred strange examples. It is not illogical to suspect that in many cases the Survilles, not being

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able to fix the dates accurately and, not being scholars, or hard workers, were willing to put down whatever rough guess they could make, trusting to luck not to hit too wide of the mark.

L. Arrigon copies Letter 1 from the manuscript[4] and gives the date of August twelfth, 1819, not April twelfth, as it is written by the Survilles.

Hanotaux and Vicaire in the *Jeunesse do Balzac*[5] have pointed out that Letter 10, dated Paris 1820, to which is attached the plan of *Cromwell*, must have been written in 1819. Balzac was not in Paris in 1820. He had been brought back under the parental roof at Villeparisis in semi-disgrace at that time. *Cromwell* was written in 1819. M. André Le Breton, in following the *Correspondance*, has made an error of a year therefore concerning the beginning of Balzac's literary career.[6] Though Hanotaux has not so applied it, the same argument must of course apply to Nos. 8 and 9, in both of which Balzac refers to *Cromwell* in the process of making. Numbers 8 and 9 belong therefore in 1819.

Letter 11, dated June 1821, is written to Madame Surville. "Day before yesterday," it runs, "was the feast day of Villeparisis, a sad day for us, not at all like the last fête when there was a young troubadour revolving around Mademoiselle Laure." Laure Balzac was married in May 1820, Villeparisis annually celebrated the Pentecôte, so this letter must have been written in 1820, not in 1821.

The most startling of the Survilles' guesses occurs toward the very beginning of the collection, in Letter 12, dated June 1820, where the text refers to its being written on the first anniversary of a student named Lallemand, who, a footnote tells us, was killed on June 3rd, 1820. The error of a year is obvious. Curiously enough, it is a mistake which did not occur in the edition of the *Correspondance* that forms part of the *Œuvres Complètes* issued one year previously, by the same publishers. This may be a typographical error. If there were no others in the volume it would certainly be so considered.

Letter 23, dated Paris 1827, is dated in the Lovenjoul manuscript February 14th, 1827.[7] In so dating it the Survilles have advanced Balzac's time of struggle by two whole years.

[4] *Les Débuts littéraires d'Honoré de Balzac.* Paris 1924; p. 28, note.
[5] *La Jeunesse de Balzac.* Ferroud, Paris 1921; p. 19, note.
[6] A. Le Breton, *Balzac, l'homme et l'oeuvre.* Colin, Paris 1905, p. 13.
[7] L. Arrigon. Op. Cit. p. 233.

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The date of 1828 assigned to Letter 24 is impossible since Balzac took no trip at this time and since the Carrauds did not go to Issoudun until later. It may have been written in 1830.

Letter 25, to the Duchesse d'Abrantès, is dated Villeparisis, 1828. This letter could not have been written later than the first half of 1826 since the Balzacs left Villeparisis in June of that year. The rectification is important, proving, as it does, that Balzac was interested in other women than Madame de Berny even as early as 1826, and that even as early as 1826 he was brooding on the grandiose plan which his life work so nearly realized.

Internal evidence shows that Letter 35 is incorrectly dated by a spectacularly wide margin. In this letter, marked Paris 1830, Balzac complains that he has not travelled for five years. Now Balzac went to Brittany in 1828. It cannot be objected that he did not consider this travelling since we have another letter of his referring to a visit to Tours as a *voyage assez long*.[8] We know that he travelled in 1828, in 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835 and 1836.[9] In 1837 he visited Madame Carraud for at least a month, in February and March,[10] and in 1838 he went to Italy. As we read the letters written during this period we find that Balzac was always either travelling or planning a trip. In 1841 he spent a fortnight in Brittany;[11] in 1843 he spent some time in Russia with Madame Hanska. The foregoing facts would lead us to conclude that the letter was written in 1842 or 1843. Other internal evidence establishes this conclusion: on the same page Balzac excuses himself for a fit of temper and for having neglected his friend Dablin on the ground that for the past fifteen years he has been getting up at midnight to work and for the past fifteen years his days have not been long enough. Balzac's struggle did not begin until his debts overwhelmed him, in 1828; the letter therefore must have been written in 1843. At any rate it would be absurd to infer from it that Balzac started his strange mode of living when he was sixteen, or that he was allowed to keep it up at M. Lepitre's fashionable boarding school.

Letters 44 and 45 should be reversed in order. In No. 45 Balzac asks directions as to how to enter the parliamentary race at Cambrai and in 44 he speaks of his candidacy as if an act already accomplished.

[8] *Correspondance.* Letter 24, p. 50. *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 24.
[9] *Etrangère*, I, 363.
[10] *Etrangère*, I, 363.
[11] *Etrangère*, I, 556.

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Letter 69 bears in the *Correspondance* the date 1832, whereas the Lovenjoul manuscript is dated April 1832. Letter 109 in the *Correspondance* is dated June 1833. The heading of the manuscript is Saturday, October twelfth, 1833.[12] M. Marcel Bouteron in the *Revue des deux Mondes*[13] points out that Letter 111 should be dated September second 1833, not August second. Letter 112 should be of September, not August. Balzac left for Besançon on Sunday the twenty-second. This letter is written from Paris. In the *Revue des deux Mondes*[14] M. Bouteron copies No. 121 as of some time after the eighth of February 1834, not the end of September 1833. Letter 125, to Madame de Girardin, which is dated 1834 in the *Correspondance* has been reprinted from the manuscript by Lovenjoul[15] with the en tête fin de 1833. Number 126, of Saturday morning 1834, is more exactly headed Saturday morning, July twelfth, 1834 in the original.[16] Letter 129 is dated 1834; the manuscript[17] has 1835. M. Bouteron, custodian of the Lovenjoul manuscripts, reprints No. 142 as belonging to the end of December 1836, not to 1834.[18]

Number 158, *Vienne, novembre* 1835, should be dated May eighteenth. Balzac was not in Vienna in November; he arrived there on May sixteenth. The same argument applies to No. 159. Letter 160, which refers to the *nouveau-né* of Madame Carraud, should be placed in 1834; Yorik, was born in October 1834. A reference to the *Mêmoires de deux jeunes mariées* would also point to the same conclusion. As for No. 164, which notifies Fournier of a complaint against him and Buloz in connection with the famous law suit of the *Revue de Paris*, it belongs either in December 1835 or January 1836. Number 168, *aôut* 1836, was written from the *Hôtel des Haricots*, and therefore is to be dated April twenty-third, four months earlier. Letter 169 must belong to 1835: in October 1836 Madame de Berny had been dead three months. The *Lettres à l'Etrangère*[19] show that Balzac was at La Boulonnière in 1835.

According to M. Bouteron No. 203 belongs to December 1839,

[12] Lovenjoul, *Un Roman d'amour*, 2me éd. 1896.
[13] 1923. Vol. 14 p. 152 note.
[14] 1923. Vol. 14, p. 74 note.
[15] *Genèse d'un roman de Balzac*, p. 120.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 131.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 135.
[18] *Revue des deux mondes.* 1823. Vol. 15, p. 104.
[19] Vol. I, p. 376.

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not to March of the same year[20] and No. 232 belongs to 1839, not to 1840.[21] The letter to Nodier No. 262 in which Balzac withdraws his candidacy to the Academy, is dated in the *Correspondance* 1844. It should have been placed at December twenty-fourth 1843, since in the *Lettres à l'Etrangère* Balzac tells Madame Hanska on the twenty-fourth that he is thinking of writing these letters and on the twenty-fifth tells her that he has written them.[22] The *Genèse d'un roman d' Honoré de Balzac*[23] reprints No. 274, dated Paris December 1844, in the *Correspondance*, with the heading, Passy, Thursday December nineteenth 1844.

Letter 286 is shown by the *Lettres à l'Etrangère* of this date to belong to April, not May 1845. The real date of No. 304 is the sixteenth of March 1846, but through an inexplicable error it has been transcribed the seventeenth.[24]

In 1836 and 1837 Balzac wrote twenty-three letters to a mysterious *Louise* who wrote to him in care of his publishers. Balzac never saw her and she never divulged her identity. A group of Romance Language students in the University of Wisconsin have shown in their senior theses that, in view of the reference made in the last but one of these letters to the death of Madame de Berny, it is probable that only one of them was written in 1837, since Madame de Berny died on July twenty-seventh 1836. They have also shown that the letters have not been placed in the proper order.[25]

In almost every one of Lovenjoul's volumes we find important letters whch have been omitted from the published collection. Pontavice de Heussey, in his *Balzac en Bretagne*, gives five unpublished letters to Breton friends written during the earlier part of the author's life.[26] The *Genèse d'un roman d'Honoré de Balzac* contains a whole series of letters and notes exchanged between Balzac and the Girardins which show Madame de Girardin in a very favorable light. They give little gossipy bits of information. There is a letter concerning the famous cane,[27] the head of which "boiled over with turquoises" and which about 1836 acquired an

[20] *Revue des deux mondes*, 1923. Vol. 15, p. 642.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 640.
[22] *Lettres à l'Etrangère* II, 249 note.
[23] Page 243.
[24] Lovenjoul, *Genèse d'un roman de Balzac* p. 255.
[25] Janet Anderson, Dorothy Marshall, Dorothy Jones, Senior Theses 1925.
[26] Du Pontavice de Heussey, R. *Balzac en Bretagne.* Rennes 1885.
[27] Page 138.

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international reputation. Another letter shows us that Balzac, notwithstanding his protestations to the jealous Madame Hanska that he saw nothing of Madame de Castries, was quite willing in 1835 to bring about an acquaintance between her and Madame de Girardin.[28] Another tells us that Madame de Girardin's editor can have the *Droll Stories* and that Balzac's editor, Werdet, has never gone into bankruptcy.[29]

Three letters to Académiciens written on December 24th, 1845, and mentioned in the *Lettres à l'Etrangère*[30] are also missing from the *Correspondance*, as well as two letters to Urbain Canel (1835) cited by Arrigon.[31] The letters exchanged between Balzac and Tomassy are not included in the collection.[32] The *Revue des deux mondes*[33] contains a number of letters to Madame Carraud and to Madame de Berny. The *Revue Bleue*[34] also contributes various unpublished missives. *Modern Language Notes*[35] adds a few business letters. Lovenjoul's *Autour d'Honoré de Balzac*,[36] a work in which the author assumes his share of the responsibility for the imperfection of the *Correspondance*, gives a list of sixty-four letters or groups of letters which should have been included in the volume.

Balzac's nieces, as we have seen, did not always assign correct dates to letters that had none, nor did they hesitate to change those on the manuscripts when, for some inexplicable reason, they wished to do so. There is also evidence that they were not above doing something far more serious: namely changing the text itself. Possibly, as I have already suggested, the fact that they were Balzac's relatives and wished the world to see, not necessarily the real man, but an image of him that approached somewhat nearer perfection, furnishes a sufficient explanation for such conduct. It would not be just to blame the Survilles for the numerous changes made by Madame Hanska in the text of the fifty letters which she contributed to the volume, but we must blame both

[28] *Etrangère*, I, pp. 107, 108, 114, etc. *Genèse d'un roman d'Honorè de Balzac*, p. 133.

[29] *Genèse d'un roman* etc., p. 151.

[30] II, 249.

[31] *Débuts littèraires d'honoré de Balzac*, p. 193 note.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 174.

[33] For 1922 and 1923. The Berny letters are in the 1921 volume.

[34] For 1903.

[35] For February 1924. See also *Mercure de France*, Vol. 170.

[36] Page 272–290.

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them and her for having materially lessened the value of this important collection of letters.[37]

We can understand Madame Hanska's desire to exclude from the *Correspondance* everything which either indirectly or directly might be construed as being derogatory to herself. We can understand, somewhat less readily, how she might wish to add, here and there, a phrase regarding herself that was decidedly flattering. Naturally she would think that some of the references to money and its power might be cut out of the *Correspondance* without making it appear less sordid. It may have seemed highly desirable to her that the word order be changed in some cases, that the text be purged of the slips in grammar, and that *mots bas* be replaced by *mots nobles*. It may even have seemed to her that qualifying adjectives were necessary to make the master's expression flower. It is less easy to see why she would change the gender of nouns that were correct in the first place or why she would add a fulsome paragraph like this:

> Si la paix et la prospérité progressive de ce règne continuent sous les règnes suivants on ne saurait croire à quel dégré de bien-être et de béatitude matérielle atteindra ce bienheureux pays, surtout si les circonstances n'entravent pas la marche de la nature, qui l'a traité avec une si matérielle prédilection.[38]

Whoever composed the foregoing lines might be capable of improving someone else's prose, but in themselves thay seem hardly good enough to warrant insertion in the body of the text.

It has not been possible, of course, to compare all the letters of the Survilles' editing with transcripts of the original manuscripts. Those examined, however, show that the Survilles altered texts even more ruthlessly than did Madame Hanska and that there was quite as great a desire on their part to perfect Balzac's mode of expression and to protect him from possible criticism by their

[37] Lovenjoul in the *Lettres à l'Etrangère* reprints the fifty letters of Balzac to Madame Hanska included in the *Correspondance*. These letters were copied in her own hand by Balzac's widow, who, as Lovenjoul remarks (*Roman d'Amour*, p. 61), gave but very inexact copies of the manuscript.—The changes are of different kinds, most of them with a view to improvement of style. There are: (1) corrections of punctuation; (2) explanatory passages added in the body of the text; (3) corrections of grammar; (4) word substitutions; (5) omissions; (6) changes of word order; (7) words are spelled out in the *Correspondance* which were merely initialed by Balzac.

[38] Letter 193. The 7th of August 1838.

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contemporaries; witness the manuscript of No. 126[39] where Balzac refers to the flirty black eyes of Madame O'Donnel, which in the *Correspondance* are merely black; and No. 274, to Madame de Girardin, which says in the manuscript: "J'irai ce matin, à trois heures, causer de mes malheurs avec vous," whereas the Survilles have written: "J'irai tantôt, vers trois heures,"—all the difference in the world.[40] Sometimes their desire to shield Balzac led them to rewrite whole letters, for instance No. 23,[41] the original of which is a prosy letter home, completely lacking the spontaneity and enthusiasm and interest of the published version; the letter lacks also an allusion to a family dispute which the nieces could not have cared to air in public.

From letter 1[42] is omitted a description of the furniture in Balzac's attic and a request for two pair of socks and a towel, an omission calculated to preserve the glamour surrounding the years passed in the rue Lesdiguières. In No. 3 the editors[43] suppress an altogether too ingenuous reference to the number of verses a tragedy requires (two thousand) and the sum total of "thoughts" they should represent (eight to ten thousand), as well as further mention of the difficulties that confront him.

From Letter 6 the editors delete a reference to M. de Villier's past and present flirtations,[44] and another to Balzac's newly acquired habit of burning the midnight oil, also the twenty-year-old Balzac's instructions to his sisters as to how to bring young M. Surville to their feet, to which is added a brotherly admonition to the effect that whether a girl wants to use it or not, a conquest is always worth making. Letter 6 also mentions strained relations between Balzac and his parents which are lacking in the printed text.

References to ideas or occurrences of an unpleasant or embarrassing nature are thus seen to be systematically weeded out of the published version. Disrespectful remarks relative to Madame de Berny and even the mere mention of her name have also been carefully eliminated.[45] An important passage showing the early anti-Catholic attitude of the novelist has disappeared from Letter

[39] Lovenjoul, *Genèse d'un roman* etc., p. 132.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 243.
[41] Hanotaux and Vicaire, *La Jeunesse de Balzac*, p. 49 note.
[42] Arrigon, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 37.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 48.
[45] From Letters 6, 15, and 18. See Arrigon, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 93, 100.

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13.[46] Disparaging references to his mother and even to friends have been removed from several letters, particularly from No. 18.[47] Of the important Letter 109 only fragments have been given to relate the enthusiasm for Balzac of certain German families." Of Balzac's secret engagement to Madame Hanska, of his implied criticism of her,[48] of the scandalously long list of his *inamorate*, of his references to past misconduct, not a word.

Balzac's early letters as they appear in the *Correspondance*, are splendidly written. To cite but one example, the famous Letter 14 quoted by all his biographers—which rises to a final passionate wail, almost a prayer: "Laure, Laure, mes deux seuls et immenses désirs, être célèbre et être aimé, seront-ils jamais satisfaits? . . ."—is as well written as any of Voltaire's, and would indicate that Balzac had a style of his own when he was twenty years old. On the other hand, Balzac himself, as Gautier tells us, was convinced that he did not know how to write artistically, and his biographers speak of the pathetic trust which he showed in the literary opinions of persons who were far from being his equals. Observing this contradiction, the reader who has discovered that some of the best of the Balzac letters simply are not authentic is inclined to suspect that Letter 14 has been rewritten, at least in part, if not in its entirety, by some member of the family.[49]

As a possible explanation of the discrepancies between the manuscripts and Balzac's letters as published in the *Correspondance*, Professor Canfield[50] suggests to me that the Survilles may have used other manuscripts than those found by Lovenjoul. In support of this view he points out that no real motive existed for changing dates already given in the manuscripts, and also that Balzac wrote scratch copies of other letters, notably those to Madame de Berny which have been deciphered by Hanotaux and Vicaire. On the other hand, it seems reasonable to suppose that

[46] Arrigon, *op. cit.*, p. 150 and note.

[47] Arrigon, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[48] She reminds him of Madame de Lignolles, the heroine of the *Chevalier de Faublas*, one of the most licentious tales of the eighteenth century. Lovenjoul *Roman d'amour*, pp. 79–85. The authenticity of this letter has been questioned.

[49] Part of this letter is quoted from the manuscript by Arrigon, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[50] Professor Arthur Graves Canfield, of the University of Michigan, has been very helpful to me in my study of Balzac and in the composition of this article. I acknowledge with pleasure my indebtedness to him. Professor Canfield, who read this article in manuscript, suggested the addition to my list of corrections of Nos. 24, 112, 114, 135, 159, 160, 162, 164, 167, 169, 286, as above.

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the two nieces are responsible both for the errors in dating and for the discrepancies we have noted. If this supposition is correct it would perhaps have been just as well had the Survilles been not quite so intelligent and a little bit more trustworthy. I have cited some thirty-six mistakes in dating to prove that they were careless, and the list does not pretend to be complete. Also we have seen that they suppressed whatever, in their opinion, it behooved them to suppress. Worse than their carelessness, however, or even their suppression of intimate and disagreeable situations and events are the deliberate changes they have made in the text. Delightful as the *Correspondance* is, it is, in part at least, their style, their literary taste, their spirit, their uniform vivacity, their text, not that of the great man whose ideas it purports to give us and whose moods it is supposed to portray.

Even if the Survilles had done their work in scholarly fashion and had produced an edition as accurate as the meticulous Vicomte de Lovenjoul has made the *Lettres à l'Etrangère*, it would still have been impossible to consider any statement in it as in itself authoritative. In endeavoring to get at the real Balzac in the letters we should still have to contend with the difficulty which confronts us in the *Lettres à l'Etrangère*, namely, the question as to Balzac's sincerity. From this point of view, the letters, when taken as a whole, become singularly illuminating. The conflicting statements they contain throw vivid light upon Balzac's character and even give rise to doubts concerning that famed literary method of his.

For we shall have to admit that Balzac was not, as he was traditionally represented, the overgrown boy, perennially childlike and touching in his naïveté. His regard for the truth was much the same as his wife's or his nieces'. Concerning any subject which really interested him he said what he considered it profitable to say under the circumstances, heedless of the fact that murder will out, and dreaming as little as did the Survilles and Madame Hanska that the indefatigable Vicomte de Lovenjoul and a whole troup of erudites would become Balzaciens and would interest themselves in collecting papers scattered by the four winds and following into shadowy, dark and secret places every step of his they could trace. Though Lovenjoul has demonstrated through his patient researches that Balzac was what might be called insincere, he has not drawn this conclusion, as we should rather have expected, from the numerous discrepancies existing even between the expurgated edition of the *Correspondance* that the Survilles

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have left us and the *Lettres à l'Etrangère* which he himself has edited.

Professor Canfield calls my attention to an interesting instance of Balzac's perversions in the matter of his habit of laboring at night and in the early morning hours. Balzac begins one of his letters to Madame Hanska in the usual way, with a long tale of woe,—how long he has been at work, how early he started, how he has suffered at his post. But Professor Canfield notices that a few pages farther on he has evidently forgotten the opening paragraphs, for he absent-mindedly vouchsafes the information, "Auguste forgot to wake me this morning,"—a slip of the pen which calls into question our whole idea of Balzac's method of work.

When Balzac was left bankrupt after the failure of his famous foundry-printshop he rented an apartment in the rue Cassini and settled down to write. Another man would have been crushed by the catastrophe. Balzac's first thought was to make himself a far more luxurious home than he could afford. He changed a partition, had the place painted and varnished, bought hangings, carpets, the finest clock he could find, a handsome mahogany bookcase and a number of richly bound books, not to mention an entire new personal wardrobe. Madame Balzac like any other mother felt it her duty to remonstrate. Her son answers this protest in Letter 23 which we have already discussed. Though the Survilles carefully censored this letter they have not succeeded in making it wholly innocuous. Even in the expurgated text we find Balzac justifying himself and informing his sister that the expensive wall hangings which were causing such a fuss belonged to him before his catastrophe. As it happens Lovenjoul, who found everything, found the bills for this installation which have been quoted in another connection.[51] These bills prove that everything was bought new, *including* the hangings which came from a shop known as the *Belle Anglaise* and from another of which we first read in Anatole France, the *Deux Magots* in the Boulevard Saint-Germain. This probably is not the first time—it certainly is not the last—that Balzac relied on glibness to get him out of a minor scrape. Balzac, as we have said, did not hesitate to fib about any subject that really touched him, especially in his love affairs, where etiquette seemed to demand it. He reiterated to Madame Hanska that she was the first person he really loved. "Vous ne savez pas avec quelle force un homme qui n' a rencontré que tra-

[51] Arrigon, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

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vaux sans recompense et douleurs sans joie, s' attache à un coeur où pour la première fois il trouve des consolations." . . . . le constant et fidèle amour que vous avez ranimé pour la première et la dernière fois dans sa plénitude"[52]—statements which he was contradicting in the unpublished letters to Madame Surville written at the same epoch. He maintained to Madame Hanska that he wrote no one but her, that he saw no woman, that his beloved companion was a dragon-fly whom he adored and flattered and courted because the insect, which might have crossed the Italian Alps beyond which the "polar star" was sojourning, reminded him of her; and all the while he was writing long letters to "Louise" and paying court to Madame Visconti, to mention but two out of his long list of flirtations.[53] Can any one now imagine Balzac living in *plus complète isolement* and *plus profonde solitude*, as he affirms in these letters?[54] He tells his fiancée that the *poésie du voyage* (Madame Claire Brunne, the pretty little page who followed him everywhere on his Italian trip caused furore among the gossips) was "poésie" and nothing more. He goes on to describe her:

Je vous dirai naïvement ce qu'il en fut, et, quand vous serez à Paris je vous la montrerai pour votre punition; vous verrez que jamais je n'eus de goût pour ces femmes qui, semblables à Madame de Lamartine, inspirent des vers de vieille comédie:

Et parbleu, chevalier, je veux être un coquin,
Si ce diable de nez n'est pas d'un bleu turquein!

avec lesquels j'ai fait pouffer de rire tout un salon, où l'on me demandait mon avis. C'était, cara diva, une amie intime de Madame Carraud. Je ne l'ai plus revue depuis.[55]

Balzac reiterates in his letters to Madame Hanska protestations of indifference and hatred for the Countesse Visconti and her marvellous blond beauty, as well as for the Duchesse de Castries, of whose convulsing effect on his emotions he gave us a very different account in the *Histoire des Treize*.

[52] *Etrangère*, I, p. 31.

[53] *Revue des deux mondes*. See the letters to Madame Carraud already mentioned. His request that Madame Carraud find him a young girl with 200,000 or perhaps 100,000 francs dowry which can be applied to the payment of his debts may be a blind.

[54] *Etrangère*, 22 February, 1842.

[55] Conf. H. Prior, *Revue de Paris*, 15 janvier 1924. M. M. Serval: *Une amie de Balzac*, Paris 1925, has written a history of Mme Marbouty in which he accepts Balzac's versions of the episode. It is perhaps à propos to note that Mme Marbouty paid 500 francs toward the twenty days' outing.

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Hanotaux and Vicaire have gone to much trouble to prove that Madame de Berny had for Balzac a noble, self-sacrificing love which Balzac more than once acknowledges that he returned. Yet in 1842, he writes that poor Madame de Berny has spoiled the six or eight years she has given him in his horrible youth.

Relating to Madame de Berny there exists an example of untrustworthiness of a different kind. In a letter dated *du 13 juillet au 22 août* 1836,—a date to which Balzac in the letter draws particular attention: "cette date n' est pas indifèrente,"—he tells Madame Hanska that the news of Madame de Berny's death combined with the annoyances attendant upon the liquidation of the *Chronique de Paris*, crushed him and almost killed him so that he seized upon the first pretext to go to Italy to recuperate from the shock. And yet at the same time in the *Correspondance* he writes as follows in Letter 22 of the series to *Louise*:

> Don't ask me why I didn't write on the twenty-fifth of August. The twenty-fifth I slept fifteen hours, my physical nature having worn itself out on the twenty-third and twenty-fourth. I had taken these two days off on my return from Italy to read my mail, answer it and take up the payments that had fallen due. . . . . The frightful sorrow that was to come to me did come; it was there among all the other letters, the letter of mourning. I succumbed. I slept fifteen or sixteen hours during three days. I could do nothing. I was like a child two days old.

Madame de Berny died on the twenty-seventh of July.

In the Preface to the *Comédie Humaine* Balzac gives the public the impression that he is an ardent Catholic. He tells Madame Hanska he is a Swedenborgian. Deleted passages in Letter 13 show him to be unequivocally anticlerical. "Vas-tu donc aller à la messe et plier le genou devant les préjugés et les plâtres de l'église?" Interpreted this means that politically Balzac is Catholic and that personally he is a Swedenborgian, even though Catholicism and Swedenborgianism are "diametrically opposed."

Balzac first pretends he was cheated when he sold his scrapbook on Napoleon for four thousand francs and that the storekeeper who bought it will make one hundred thousand francs and a title out of it. A month later he forgets and tells Madame Hanska that he had to be as crafty as Figaro to make the storekeeper pay four thousand francs for something no editor would buy.[56]

[56] *Etrangère*, I, 490, 494.

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It is not in the least probable that the reactionary French Academy of the day ever considered giving the Prix Montyon to the author of the *Contes Drolatiques* and the *Physiologie du Mariage.* Nevertheless Balzac tells us that in trying to avoid this prize for the *Médecin de Campagne* he used as much effort as another man would have given to obtain it.[57]

Rather illuminating are Balzac's remarks that he had for money the same contempt that Madame Hanska professed for it; that he strove for glory only to lay it at Madame Hanska's feet,[58] that had it not been for Madame Hanska he would have gone to live in some hole or other on twelve hundred francs a year;[59] that all his political striving was for Madame Hanska too; that his ideas of honor and probity were so inseparably bound up with Madame Hanska that but for her he would have repudiated even his debts; that all his work and his overwork were merely to prove his love for her.[60]

And how shall we judge his affection for Madame Hanska, "that high idealistic love of his," as Mr. John Cooper Powys puts it, the force that brought into being *Eugénie Grandet* and Balzac's best work if we are to believe M. Le Breton? Even if we had not Letter 109, could we help noticing, in close proximity to his protestations of affection, his craftily prepared hints for loans and gifts which Madame Hanska did not appear to understand? Balzac's biographers have made him out to be a sort of dual personality, a striver and a sentimentalist,—on the one hand a man with a thirst for power and dominion, and on the other a sort of French Lord Byron, with this difference, that he fell in love with any women who happened to look at him aslant. Balzac's letters when taken as a whole at least prove conclusively that, like all the other great men we know anything about, Balzac was dominated by a single ambition. With a fixity of purpose of which only genius is capable, Balzac wrung from life what he wanted it to give him,—preëminence in his chosen field.

[57] *Ibid.*, 158.

[58] *Etrangère*, I, 64, 180, 440, 572; II, 18, 243, etc.

[59] *Ibid.*, II, 12, 59.

[60] Lovenjoul, *Roman d'amour*, p. 70–71, tells us that when Balzac wished to see Madame Hanska in Switzerland he told everyone, and wrote to Madame Carraud, that he was going to seek in the little mountain country a cheap vellum paper on which to print an edition of the classics within the reach of the poorest classes. Here he succeeds in pulling the wool over every one's eyes. One critic even cites this quest of paper as a particularly dazzling proof of Balzac's flightiness and instability. Cf. also *Correspondance*, p. 182.

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His biographers to the contrary, notwithstanding, Balzac was emphatically not a sentimentalist. Numerous as were the women whom he is reported to have adored, not one, except perhaps for a comparatively short time Madame de Berny, ever really took first place with Balzac; every one of them served his ambition, helped in one way or another to write the *Comédie Humaine*. His biographer has justly remarked that the years Balzac passed in the office of M. Guyonnet-Merville were not wasted, and the time which he spent with his women friends was turned to equally good account. Hanotaux of course, following Lovenjoul, shows that Madame de Berny trained the writer, formed his taste and became his willing slave. We may be equally sure that he is analysing a Duchesse de Castries whenever he depicts a flirt. What is more, even Madame Hanska did not divert him from his work.[61] Long as were the letters he wrote to Madame Hanska during the whole period prior to their marriage in 1850, he never once lost his head; he kept his eyes continually on the horizon, seeking some more tractable wealthy woman of the highest aristocracy of Europe to whom he might bring his troubles and his debts. In this connection is there more than one conclusion to be drawn from Balzac's continual harping on money and his need of financial aid in all the hundreds of pages he wrote to the Russian countess and mistress of forty thousand serfs?[62] Hardly a page, certainly not a letter passes without some mention being made of the unhappiness which it would be so possible for her to assuage. Following are a few of these allusions, the first dated the nineteenth of July 1837 and headed "Pour Vous:"

Je serais bien injuste si je ne disais pas que de 1823 à 1833 un ange m'a soutenu dans cette horrible guerre. Mme. de B . . . . quoique mariée, a été comme un Dieu pour moi.

Elle a été une mère, une amie, une famille, un ami, un conseil; elle a fait l'écrivain, elle a consolé le jeune homme, elle a créé le gout, elle a pleuré comme une sœur, elle a ri, elle est venue tous les jours comme un bienfaisant sommeil, endormir les douleurs. Elle a fait plus; quoique en puissance de mari, elle a trouvé le moyen de me prêter jusqu'à 45,000 francs, et j'ai rendu les derniers six mille francs en 1836, avec les intérêts à cinq pour cent, bien entendu. Mais elle n'a jamais parlé de ma dette que peu

[61] *Etrangère*, II, 36. He is speaking of the difficulty of concentrating. "Ordinairement, quand je puis vous écrire quelques lignes, c'est et ce fut toujours le matin en me levant, en attendant que mes esprits me reviennent et soient en état de reprendre les travaux de la veille (1842).

[62] *Correspondance*, p. 561.

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à peu; sans elle certes je serais mort. Elle a souvent deviné que je n'avais pas mangé depuis quelques jours; elle a pourvu à tout ave cune angéavais bonté; elle a encouragé cette fierté qui préserve un homme de toute bassesse, et qu'aujourdhui mes amis me reprochent comme un sot contentement de moi-même, cette fierté que Boulanger a peut-être poussé à l'excès dans mon portrait.

Aussi ce souvenir est-il pour beaucoup dans ma vie; il est ineffaçable, car il se mêle à tout. Il n'y a plus chez moi de larmes que pour deux personnes, pour elle, qui n'est plus, et pour celle qui est encore, et qui, j'espère, sera toujours.[63]

La dette est une comtesse qui m'aime un peu trop tendrement. Je ne puis la renvoyer; elle se met obstinément entre l'amour, la paix, l'oisiveté et moi. C'est trop laid, ce sort-là, pour le jeter à qui que ce soit. Je le souhaiterais à mes ennemis. Il n'y a qu'une seule femme au monde de qui j'accepterais quelque chose, parceque je suis sûr de l'aimer toute ma vie. Mais, si elle ne m'aimait pas ainsi, je me tuerais en songeant au rôle que j'aurais joué. . . . J'ai trente-neuf ans, 150,000 francs de dettes; . . . . Je n'ai pas la courage d'achever, car je m'aperçois que la tristesse qui me dévore serait trop cruelle sur le papier, et je dois faire à l'amie la grâce de la garder sur mon cœur.[64]

Je ne vous parle pas de nos élections qui sont finies, car j'éprouve une rage en pensant que faute de quatre mille ducats, je ne suis pas cette année à la Chambre.[65]

Sans dette et dans l'aisance, tout m'arrivera; la députation, l'Académie, etc. Bien plus, je serais débarassé de toutes les calomnies qui me poursuivent, quand on me verra, marié, dans la position où je dois être.[66]

M. Paul Bourget and as recently as 1924 M. André Bellesort maintain that no one can entertain the slightest doubt of Balzac's sincere and passionate love for Madame Hanska:

From one end to the other of this voluminous correspondence[67] words of tenderness, amorous transports succeed each other without interruption. She is his strength, his happiness, his treasure, his pearl, his dear love wife, a masterpiece of the heart which is not met with twice in a human life-time. He loves her with all the joys, all the superstitions, all the illusions of the first love. For her, if she wished it, he would break his pen! 'I am frightened to see how you have become my life!—You have the most heavenly soul I know and you have intoxicating beauties.—Other men haven't as I have, in their heart an immense love, a throne before which they prostrate themselves without baseness.'

[63] *Etrangère*, I, 418.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 478—May 20th, 1836.

[65] *Ibid.*, II, 55. July 12th, 1842. Cf. I, 254.

[66] *Ibid.*, II, 74—October 31st, 1842.

[67] André Bellesort, *Balzac et son oeuvre*. 1924, p. 116. M. Bourget's views are given in his *Pages de critique et de doctrine*. Vol. II, Art. Balzac.

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MM. Bourget and Bellesort maintain that it would be impossible to keep this up for seventeen long years with an ulterior motive. At the same time, one should not forget in this connection a certain conversation between Balzac and his friend Gautier, which Gautier relates in detail. Balzac gives the younger man a rule of life, measures the energy a man wastes in loving a woman, and ends with the words: Only make love through letters. It forms the style.

Even the casual reader of the *Comédie Humaine* is struck by the frequency with which Balzac's finest women, as well as some who are not fine, come to the rescue of their lovers with important, or merely timely, sums. To a student of Balzac it is evident that from their conduct Balzac derives a certain nervous relief and unquestioned intellectual satisfaction.

It is perhaps in connection with *Eugénie Grandet* that the *Lettres à l'Etrangère* become most illuminating. Written in 1833, soon after the master's first meeting with his fiancée, *Eugénie Grandet* has been explained as the miracle of his love, the tangible artistic embodiment of his erotic exaltation. It would appear that this exquisitely delicate analysis of a sensitive woman's soul, this masterpiece among masterpieces, had a supernatural, or a divinely natural, cause, nothing less than the power of ecstasy proceeding from the communion of Balzac's spirit with the source of his inspiration. Only read again the *Lettres à l'Etrangère*, noting the strong hints for gifts of money that run like a leit-motif through their pages, read again the central incident of *Eugénie Grandet*, where Eugénie joyously gives all her treasure to her cousin, and judge whether *Eugénie Grandet* is not rather the magnificent artistic realization of a scene a thousand times longed-for, a thousand times *rehearsed* in the imagination of the author.[68]

Our quotation from the *Lettres à l'Etrangère* would prove that MM. Bourget and Bellesort and critics generally give somewhat too literal an interpretation to the terms of endearment in which these volumes abound, and that in his relations with Madame Hanska Balzac was not absolutely and altogether idealistic. Examples could be multiplied. Balzac was not more simple and straightfor-

[68] Madame Surville, in the biography of her brother which forms a preface to the *Correspondance* in the *Oeuvres complètes*, tells us that all his life her brother expected confidently that some millionaire would make him an unconditional gift of his entire fortune, merely because as a genius he could make better use of it than the millionaire himself.

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ward when writing to Werdet or to Madame Bechet or when talking of the trips he was saving (!) to take. Our study of the *Correspondance* has convinced us that we can accept the declarations contained in it only with very considerable limitations and that we must receive much of the information available in the *Lettres à l'Etrangère* not as the truth, necessarily, but as Balzac's statements of what he wanted his friends to believe.[69]

Obviously, a scholarly edition of the *Correspondance* should be given to the public. M. Marcel Bouteron, the learned librarian of the *Institut de France*, is the person logically fitted to direct such a work.

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[69] There are other interesting rapprochements.—One of Balzac's last published letters to his mother announces his marriage and informs her that his wife has settled her fortune upon her children and reserved only an annuity for herself.

On August 18, 1850 Balzac writes to M. Louis Véron from Dresden: "Oh! Que de belles choses il y a ici: J'en suis déjà pour une toilette de vingt-cinq à trente mille francs qui est mille fois plus belle que celle de la duchesse de Parme. Les orfèvres du moyen âge sont bien supérieurs aux nôtres, et j'ai découvert des tableaux magnifiques. Si je reste il n'y aura plus un liard de la fortune de ma femme, car elle a acheté un collier de perles à rendre folle une sainte."

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LV

DAUDET'S ATMOSPHERIC SENSIBILITY

THE writer of the present paper, while engaged recently in editing *Tartarin sur les Alpes*, was particularly struck by the recurrence of rain, the continual drip from sky and mountainside that accompanies Tartarin in all his adventures. The dampness in the book seemed almost an obsession, as if Daudet had deliberately let loose floods that gushed and gurgled through his pages. Through what a wealth of humid detail, what sprinkles and splashes, wettings and soakings, the author delights in dragging his hero! Upon reflection, Daudet's other works somehow began to seem reminiscently full of weather. Pages resplendent with Midi sunshine mingled in memory with northern damp and fog. The writer was thereupon moved to re-examine the works of Daudet from this point of view. The results of that study, set forth in the following pages, seem to justify fully the impression with which it began; namely, that it is not so much as an author full of meridional sunlight that Daudet should be known, but rather as worker in moisture, a dabbler in damp, a keen observer of the vagaries of mist and rain.

Let us begin by noting the rôle that the sun plays in the Midi, according to our author, and then proceed with his implications concerning Parisian weather, and rain in general. These will lead to a few considerations on light and water, each suggesting phases in our author's literary development.

I. Dependence on Sunlight

Careful examination of the pages of Daudet seems to lead to the conclusion that the sun is an animating orb, actually more manifest by its influence than its presence. Daudet calls his race of *Méridionaux* crickets that sing at their doorways in the sun (24, p. 50).[1] There was something of the *grillon*, in all the *félibrige* fervor, and Mistral's own poem, *Les grillons*, voices perfectly the cheerful hum-chant of Provençal poets and insects alike. It is a song to the sun begging for its light, a prayer that is instinctive in Daudet as it is in his compatriots of the south. He is said to have exclaimed, many a time, his arms waving in air, his monocle swinging (35, p. 81): "Le Midi, mais c'est la vie, le soleil, la

[1] The first number in the parenthesis indicates the title of the book according to the list at the end of the study.

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joie, l'art!" He notes with a quaint surprise hinting of incredulity that there is actually a M. de F., a Provençal whose hands were once frozen (24, p. 18). It was the view of a sunset over the Tuileries in ruins that suggested to him the theme of *Les rois en exil* (27, p. 10). The very vagaries of Tartarin are a comic manifestation of what the sun's rays can do in shaping thought and action down in the Midi:

> Et pour bien me comprendre, allez-vous-en dans le Midi, et vous verrez. Vous verrez ce diable de pays où le soleil transforme tout et fait tout plus grand que nature. . . . . Ah! le seul menteur du Midi, s'il y en a un, c'est le soleil . . . . . Tout ce qu'il touche, il exagère! . . . . (4, p. 14)

This is equally true of the more serious *Numa Roumestan*. The author's comment on this book is illustrative of how the climate of his native heath affected him. After refuting any intention of portraying Gambetta in Numa, he maintains:

> Le vrai est que pendant des années et des années, dans un minuscule cahier vert que j'ai là devant moi, plein de notes serrées et d'inextricables ratures, sous ce titre générique, LE MIDI, j'ai résumé mon pays de naissance, climat, mœurs, tempérament, l'accent, les gestes, frénésies et ébullutions de notre soleil. (21, p. 43)

We can echo the cry of anguish that runs through *Tartarin sur les Alpes* as he adventures through a sunless land, a cry that escapes from Daudet from the very first line as he remembers his own travels in Switzerland and finds his mind chilled by yellow fogs and constant rains. He speaks of the fabled hour of the sunset with a sinking of the heart, as if there never were any sun to set in that country.

Even at night *l'homme du Midi* turns instinctively to the sky, for in lieu of the brilliant orb there will be a blue limpidity, warming and consoling, presaging the arrival of a sunny day. He does not need to look at landmarks to tell him where he is. A glance above reveals his latitude. In one of his reminiscent books, Daudet admits that he cannot remember the place where a certain episode occurred but insists that it was in the Midi because the sky was limpid, deep blue, starry (22, p. 95). He is equally sure a little later (p. 124) that they were no longer in the Midi because "le bleu de la nuit [est] moins profond." This geographical instinct is amazing in its self-confidence and its assumptions. It is based almost entirely on sensitiveness to climate. It crops out in Daudet's writing so spontaneously, one has only to bend down to pick

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these little flowerings of latitude. Thus, Numa, who has fallen asleep on the train speeding south, suddenly opens his eyes, like a child called by its mother. "Déjà le Midi commençait, le ciel se creusait d'abîmes bleus entre les nuées que chassait le vent. Un rayon chauffait la vitre . . . ." (10, p. 356)

Such assurance, such a taking for granted that the sun is doing his duty in the right place, must be contagious. Sunstroke by suggestion seems entirely possible in the company of these worshippers of Phœbus. Mme. Daudet shows it, although she was a Northerner. She lived in close companionship with her husband. One quotation will suggest how fully his influence works in her. From the Côte d'Azur, March 30, 1917, she writes:

> J'écris ceci . . . . en face d'une mer superbe, agitée et bleue sous mes fenêtres; immense coupe de saphir écumant, sous un soleil d'un bleu plus pâle. L'idée de la guerre, ses horribles suites de massacres et de morts, s'atténueraient dans cette atmosphère de vie intense et de soleil exaspéré; et l'on comprend presque ces méridionaux, qui osent dire, en parlant de la catastrophe mondiale: "Votre guerre! . . . ," comme s'ils n'y étaient pour rien! . . . . (25, p. 167)

Here is the same inevitable sunlight, inexorably permeating a diary and causing sudden shadows to fall athwart unhappy thoughts.

One day Daudet helped a poor fellow southerner, opened his home to him, and even translated and published in French a Provençal work he had written. Daudet asked him why he chose to write in dialect and Bonnet answered (28, introd.) first, to imitate the example of Mistral, and second because, amidst the somber hours of Paris,

> toujours le provençal m'a fait lumière et tenu chaud. Je me souviens de soirs d'hiver où n'ayant à la maison ni pain, ni feu, ni lampe, j'écrivais debout dans la rue, au clair d'un bec de gaz ou d'une devanture. Eh bien! malgré les gelées les plus dures, mon crayon restait ferme et mes doigts ne sentaient pas le froid, chauffés par nos jolis mots de soleil comme par une poignée de châtaignes toutes fumantes.

Daudet well knew the warmth that comes from his Nîmois dialect which his parents had strictly forbidden him to use but which he stealthily acquired in spite of them. Bonnet at the beginning of their acquaintance admitted to Daudet whom he called his "Baile" (*seigneur*) his surprise that in spite of his coming to Paris at such a tender age he had maintained his Nîmois fervor in the love of his native soil and its language. Daudet's only response was to launch

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into Provençal and to insist that between them no other tongue be used. (32)

The contact with these sunny sources revived in Daudet hidden wellsprings more or less covered over by the hermetic fogs of the North. We know well enough what inspiration and renewed health his so-called mill brought him. He eagerly sought the sun and his compatriots as one starving asks for food. Installed in his grasshopper library, wrapped in warmth, his fancy awoke to prodigious leaps. His son Léon who accompanied him on some of these restorative trips to the Midi tells us:

> Nous avons été maintes fois dans le Midi ensemble. Nous avons parcouru ces routes où il avait jadis promené sa jeunesse . . . . avec cette éblouissante gaîté et cette surabondance de vie . . . . (27, p. 12)
>
> Près de son ami Frédéric Mistral, ou bien chez les Parrocel, encore en Provence, c'est là que je l'ai vu le plus tumultueux, le plus propagateur d'allégresse. Sa race, son milieu, le contact de ses compatriotes exaltaient en lui ces forces vives, imprévues, étourdissantes. (34)

This yearning for the life giving elements of his sunny south was naturally all the more accentuated by Daudet's illness and his long sojourns in Paris, foggy and cold, where he felt more an exile than a resident.(33, p. 17) Perhaps his son has expressed his father's nostalgia best:

> L'auteur de *Tartarin* et de *Numa Roumestan* répondait à ceux qui lui demandaient s'il pensait souvent à son pays d'origine: "Le Midi, j'en crève," exprimant par là qu'au milieu des brouillards de Paris il ne perdait jamais le regret de son soleil, de sa chaude Provence, de ses horizons nets. Cette nostalgie est sensible à travers l'œuvre tout entière. (27, p. 12)

This frequent testimony shows how he missed his Midi, and how like Antæus he needed contact with his soil. Under the southern sun, his sap circulates. This sun, however, must be considered figuratively. There is more toying with the idea of its light and warmth, more spiritual affinity, more psychological interaction, than an actual physical relationship to it. When the sun appears as heat, it is not so attractive, and it is this side of Daudet's presentation of sunlight that proceed next now to consider.

II. Heat and Dust

The realistic pictures drawn by our author of the heat of the Midi, the long periods of drought, the descriptions where the words *brûlé* and *poussiéreux* alternate with the inevitability of the seasons,

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would hardly serve as advertisements for attracting tourists. It would seem evident from the consideration of even a few of these passages that Daudet was aware of the desolateness of his carbonized landscapes, but was intuitively seeking nevertheless in the midst of the inexorable heat those benefits which we know scientifically today only the sun's rays can impart. Let us not be prepared then for a picture of a Midi of dazzling beauty. It would be hard to find anywhere more exactly expressed the implacable scorching, the breathless exhaustion of those exposed to this ebullient temperature. Ernest Daudet, the brother of Alphonse, finds almost similar words in his writings to convey the heat. He speaks (26, p. 51) of the family excursions at Nîmes: "Un autre but de promenade, c'était la vigne, petite propriété située aux portes de la ville . . . . toute rôtie par le soleil et qui ne nous offrait d'autre abri qu'un kiosque en treillage." He too mentions "la terre durcie par les longues sécheresses de cette saison." The adjective *rôti* is his favorite qualificative in connection with the effects of the Midi sun. Alphonse instead uses and abuses the term *brûlé*. "A mesure que nous approchons, l'aspect change, le terrain véritable apparaît, désolé, brûlé de soleil . . ." (21, p. 250) "Il faut vous dire que ma ville natale est un pays extraordinaire, brûlé, desséché par le mistral et le soleil . . ." (22, p. 19) Even in the *Lettres de mon moulin* where he paints in his exuberant youth the charm and gayety of the local scenery, we can discover such passages as these on the famous Camargue, still containing the aforementioned *brûlure*: (3, p. 272)

> Le fait est que, l'été venu, quand les marais sont à sec et que la vase blanche des roubines se crevasse à la grande chaleur, l'île n'est vraiment pas habitable. . . . . C'était pitié de voir les visages jaunes, tirés, les yeux cerclés, trop grands, de ces malheureux condamnés à se traîner, pendant trois mois, sous ce plein soleil inexorable, qui brûle les fiévreux sans les réchauffer. . . . .

Even more ubiquitous than the simple burning and roasting administered by Phœbus is the combination of heat and dust. The dust seems very much alive in the Midi, pervasive and penetrating, covering vegetation with an unpleasant grayness and entering lungs at every breath. Ernest is as much aware of it as his brother and his phrase "une belle journée sous le soleil, sur les routes blanches de poussière" (26, p. 41) furnishes a theme on which both elaborate. Alphonse describes an excursion (21, p. 213): . . .

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"on loue un omnibus et fouette dans le vent, le soleil, la poussière aveuglante et brûlante." He also mentions here the "chemin blanc comme la neige." His reminiscences on his birthplace cannot exclude these ever-present elements of discomfiture (2, p. 1): "Je suis né le 13 mai, 1840, dans une ville du Languedoc où l'on trouve, comme dans toutes les villes du Midi, beaucoup de soleil, pas mal de poussière. . . . ." It is the wind of course, the *mistral*, that stirs up these fine particles and makes its presence felt as well as heard when it swoops down from the "ciel de vent et de flamme qui vous dévore la moelle." (21, p. 43) So constant is this combination, so inevitable in the mind of Daudet is the association of dust and heat, that any reference to one will generally elicit a mention of the other. It is well to exhibit by a few additional quotations this warp and woof of which his climatic reminiscences are woven:

> Justement ce matin-là il faisait un temps admirable, mais qui ne valait rien pour courir les routes: trop de mistral et trop de soleil, une vraie journée de Provence. . . . . (3, p. 136)
>
> A perte de vue, la route de la Combe-aux-Fées poudroie sous le soleil du Midi. . . . . L'air est embrasé . . . . et sur les ormeaux du bord du chemin, tout couverts de poussière blanche, des milliers de cigales se répondent d'un arbre à l'autre. . . . . (3, p. 153)
>
> . . . . pour rester deux heures debout sur ces dalles flambantes, deux heures dans ce soleil, tuant, aveuglant, à respirer de la flamme et de la poussière à odeur de poudre. . . . . (10, p. 10)
>
> . . . . Roumestan voyait se lever devant lui son enfance de gamin provençal courant les fêtes de campagne, dansant sous les platanes feuillus des places villageoises, dans la poudre blanche des grands chemins, sur la lavande des côtes brûlées. (10, p. 23)

It is clear that these are the two principal elements of Provençal climate according to Daudet. They do not make the Midi seem quite like fairyland. This country rarely presents itself under any other natural aspects, except possibly in winter. "Le 1er décembre, 186 . . . . , à l'heure de midi, par un soleil d'hiver provençal, un temps clair, luisant, splendide . . . " (4, p. 23) We are in Marseilles and in the city at least the dust will be laid. We find another dustless Midi scene (3, p. 147) of a morning when Daudet's little hill shivers under a white carpet of frost. But these are exceptional situations when for reasons beyond his control the sun will have to do without his Provençal attendant. How awkward, how disagreeable and overwhelming climatic dust can be only those who have lived near wide prairies or deserts can

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know. Our author's association of sun and dust is realistic and accurate. If his descriptions are read deliberately, they will suggest sufficiently sweat and itch, two human concomitants of heat and dust. It cannot be said that on the objective side, Daudet has made the climate of the Midi seem attractive.

III. Paris in the Sun

La matinée était magnifique, un de ces grands soleils de mai qui emplissent les fruiteries de bottes de lilas et de cerises en bouquets. (5, p. 214)

Thus Daudet, in the dilation of heart which Spring might bring to the contracted wintry spirit of the city-dweller. The fever of the season is upon him, added to the fact that in the story of *Les petits pâtés*, artistic background has to be sunlit. Lest the reader believe that the quotation above is characteristic of our author when he refers to Paris weather, let us hasten to say that it was culled only after much turning of pages. There is one more spot in an early work where Daudet permits a sunbeam to stray, but its appearance is most stagy: (1, p. 121)

> Ce jour-là, jour inusité,
> Il faisait un vrai temps d'été,
> Et du Temple à la Madeleine
> La vieille Lutèce était pleine
> De soleil et d'activité.

In another early book the sun affords excellent backdrop effects, his shining presence explicable only because the artistic sense of our writer beckons him in. As Le Petit Chose walks on the boulevard in the sun, he feels more keenly the ineptitude of his *caoutchoucs*, the only footgear he has brought from Provence. Later, when he reads his poems to his brother Jacques who is seated at the window, the setting sun makes a flame-lit curtain out of the panes. (2)

For these few instances of a normal sunshine, the references to a bizarre, distorted, equivocal light are legion. The simplest way to indicate how Daudet reacts to sunshine in Paris is to say that he sees no such thing. He is painfully aware of the sun's absence when he touches the subject of weather, and when he does not go out of his way to refute its presence, he diminishes and impoverishes it to the vanishing point. He describes a schoolyard (7, p. 71), "éclairée d'un étroit et court soleil si maigrement distribué .... qu'il fallait, pour le sentir, pour le humer, pour le savourer, s'ados-

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ser aux grands murs noirs qui l'absorbaient tout entier." Can a more queer and terrifying sunshine be imagined than one that slants its rays across a courtyard threshold at the asylum of La Salpétrière, making a bar behind which is visible a row of gesticulating crazy people afraid to approach the light? (23, p. 135) It is noteworthy that by some association of unpleasant experience Daudet thinks in connection with hot city sunshine of sticky paving. The disagreeable association occurs frequently enough to be called characteristic. "Pendant les grands mois de chaleur, quand l'asphalte des boulevards devient tiède et mou sous les pas . . . ." (20, p. 55) He jots down among his notes this arresting pathetic scene:

> Vu par un jour d'été une chose touchante: un papillon égaré en plein soleil sur la Place de la Concorde. L'air brûlant, l'asphalte molle, la bestiole s'en allait dans ce Sahara, voletant au ras du sol, cherchant la fraîcheur au dessus de quelques gouttes d'eau tombées d'un tonneau d'arrosage. (24, p. 15)

The notion of liquefaction includes the sun itself, "un ciel de soleil fondu" (23, p. 18), and puts a fitting climax to our treatment of this ineffectual urban orb. It is spiritless, devoid of cheering warmth, of those healthy ebullient rays that make the *soleil de Provence* the only sun there really is. The Midi is the region where this heavenly body vibrates sympathetically to a people attuned to its magnetic power. As for Paris, with all its paving, the sun is practically unknown there. When he does come, he merely liquifies asphalt.

IV. Paris Fog and Damp

No one can read Daudet's realistic novels with their scenes in Paris without sharing the author's unhappy reaction to the intolerable weather which that capital endures in his books. Fog and damp, slippery sidewalks, dripping window-panes, deluged fountains, humidity that drifts penetratingly, torrents that swirl down façades, mud, wet, these are a few of the sad elements that compose Parisian weather. A series of passages illustrating these gloomy conditions makes formidable reading. They prove that our son of Nîmes, because of his illness, hypersensitivity to cold and damp, could not enjoy the climate of the North. So sincere are his laments, so evident his resentment against weather conditions, that a review of them is most impressive. Without resorting

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to long quotations, let it suffice to repeat here a few of the explosive terms in which he characterizes the unqualifiable climate from which he flees whenever he can:

Votre Paris bruyant et noir (3, p. 25)
ciel parisien, gris et brouillé . . . . trottoirs luisants (10, p. 15)
Pénétré de froid jusqu'aux moelles malgré les calorifères (10, p. 327)
toute lourde de rhumatismes dont elle souffrait depuis qu'elle habitait Paris (10, p. 43)
un déluge de novembre qui rejoint les bassins du parc au ciel bas, étouffé de brume (10, p. 100)
le ciel boueux de Paris (10, p. 201)
le bruit du vent et les torrents de pluie ruisselant aux gouttières (5, p. 273)
Les pieds dans l'eau (5, p. 21)
Ciel bas, bise froide, brouillard (5, p. 111)
une pluie fine, une pluie de côte (23, p. 95)
les brumes de la Seine et ses quais en grisaille (28, introd.)
ce Paris boueux et transi (7, p. 18)
jardin parisien où se dressent de grands murs sombres, muets, couverts de lierre, dont l'ombre répand une moisissure partout où elle traîne (7, p. 60)
Si seulement le ciel avait voulu sourire, lui aussi, au lieu de ruisseler sans cesse d'une petite pluie fine et cinglante, ou de s'envelopper de tourbillons de peluche blanche . . . . , si le soleil avait échappé pour de bon, en déchirant le gaz trouble dont il s'entourait continuellement (7, p. 75)
la pluie, une petite pluie serrée, froide, craquante, tomba sans discontinuer (7, p. 159)
du froid, de la boue, les arbres dépouillés frissonnant tristement sous le ciel brumeux (14, p. 219)

From what depth of soreness of spirit does Daudet extract all these adjectives, *détrempé*, *humide*, these nouns, *buée*, *averses mêlées aux fumées de Paris*, of which only a few have been indicated above! His sensitiveness to inclement weather was extreme and his writing in a way is a rebellious lament against the unpleasant environment of fog and damp, the *boîte à rhumatisme*, in which his work forced him to live a good part of his life. He reflects or broods over these things, from his arrival in Paris after two shivering nights on a train spent in nursing frost-bitten toes, to the spitting of blood which sent him scurrying south four years later, on to the gathering malady that sapped his creative power when he was barely forty-five years of age. He realizes the fight he is waging to maintain not only his health but his humor:

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Dans les brumes de Paris, dans l'éclaboussement de sa boue, de ses tristesses, j'ai peut-être perdu le goût et la faculté de rire: mais à lire Tartarin, on s'aperçoit qu'il restait en moi un fond de gaîté brusquement épanoui à la belle lumière de là-bas.. (14, p. 149)

It would be unfair to say that Daudet was never able to see anything attractive in low and overcast skies. In winter especially there is something soothing in the billowy wrapping overhead that sifts a softer filtered light down upon gray Paris:

L'hiver est la vraie saison de Paris. Pour le voir beau, heureux, opulent, ce Paris du diable, il faut le regarder vivre sous un ciel bas, alourdi de neige. La nature est pour ainsi dire absent du tableau. Ni vent, ni soleil. Juste assez de lumière pour que les couleurs les plus effacées, les moindres reflets prennent une valeur admirable, depuis les tons gris roux des monuments, jusqu'aux perles de jais qui constellent une toilette de femme. (6, p. 208)

Even in fog, when our author lets his æsthetic sense guide him in his perceptions instead of his impatience and unhappiness, he can see a drifting beauty not entirely spoiled by the city:

Un vrai brouillard, en effet. Dans les rues, ce n'est rien encore; au cœur des grandes villes le brouillard ne tient pas plus que la neige. Les toits le déchirent, les murs l'absorbent; il se perd dans les maisons à mesure qu'on les ouvre, fait les escaliers glissants, les rampes humides. Le mouvement des voitures, le va-et-vient des passants, ces passants du matin, si pressés et si pauvres, le hache, l'emporte, le disperse. Il s'accroche aux vêtements du bureau, étriqués et minces, aux waterproofs des fillettes de magasin, aux petites voiles flasques, aux grands cartons de toile cirée. Mais sur les quais encore déserts, sur les ponts, la berge, la rivière, c'est une brume lourde, opaque, immobile, où le soleil monte, là-haut, derrière Notre-Dame, avec des lueurs de veilleuse dans un verre dépoli. (5, p. 238)

A passage like this is almost a justification for the transplantation of our Méridional. One can easily think of Daudet as cursing the weather not without a little sense of admiration at its persistence. As his own state of health was intimately concerned with these reactions to external conditions, we can understand his rather severe arraignment of a latitude to which he never became acclimatized. When musing along the quais one evening, he came across a vendor of oranges, a fruit like himself exotic to this shivering temperature, and which awakened a responsive memory within him of Algerian landscapes. One is tempted to substitute for the tropical fruit the name of our méridional author and place him, a *dépaysé*, in the fog-laden landscape:

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A Paris, les oranges ont l'air triste de fruits tombés sous l'arbre. A l'heure où elles vous arrivent, en plein hiver pluvieux et froid, leur écorce éclatante, leur parfum exagéré dans ces pays de saveurs tranquilles, leur donnent un aspect étrange, un peu bohémien. Par les soirées brumeuses, elles longent tristement les trottoirs, entassées dans leurs petites charrettes ambulantes, à la lueur sourde d'une lanterne en papier rouge. (3, p. 203)

Distantly redolent of the fir and the palm of Heine!

V. Rain

It is a common belief that a foreigner can analyze more searchingly the workings of a government than can one of its citizens. A mere transplantation often gives a man the authority to utter wisdom. Perhaps by the same token a Méridional may be the only one to fathom feelingly what rainy weather signifies in its essence. Daudet would certainly encourage us in this fantastic conclusion, for I can recall no writer whose agony amidst the wet has elicited from him such manifold accents of irony, of vexation, of hatred, of despair.

To be sure they have rain in the Midi, but is so harmless, so friendly. See it fall on any of Daudet's pages:

Puis, vers midi, il vint un gros orage, et je pensai que la mule n'avait pas pu se mettre en route à cause du mauvais état des chemins. Enfin, sur les trois heures, le ciel étant lavé, la montagne luisante d'eau et de soleil, ... (3, p. 60)

Dimanche dernier, en me levant, j'ai cru me réveiller rue du Faubourg-Montmartre. Il pleuvait, le ciel était gris, le moulin triste. J'ai peur de passer chez moi cette froide journée de pluie. . . . . (He visits Mistral a little later that day) Nous sortîmes; tout le village était dans les rues; un grand coup de bise avait balayé le ciel, et le ciel reluisait joyeusement sur les toits rouges mouillés de pluie. (3, p. 177, 184)

The mistral sweeps away the clouds, the sun shines through, the storm has vanished as if by magic. The weather of the Languedoc resembles the inhabitants in its facility, mobility, and predominant cheer.

Take a Méridional and place him in the midst of lasting rain and he becomes a sadly different being, dispirited and aimless. Daudet has repeatedly indicated this hopeless reaction to wet weather. One could make a respectable anthology of the passages in which he paints comically the despair of Tartarin lost in the midst of the deluge. A few sentences will indicate sufficiently to what depths one can sink in this moist ambiency:

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Les plus vaillants n'avaient même pas le courage de travailler, tellement s'amollissaient les corps dans ce climat détrempé. (15, p. 29)

De temps en temps un touriste attardé traversait le salon, guêtres trempées, caoutchouc ruisselant, allait à un grand baromètre pendu sur la muraille, le tapotait, interrogeait le mercure pour le temps du lendemain et s'allait coucher consterné. (12, p. 57)

Il pleut. A travers les vitres ruisselantes se lisent les noms de stations d'aristocratique villégiature, Clarens, Vevey, Lausanne; les chalets rouges, les jardinets d'arbustes rares passent sous un voile humide où s'égouttent les branches, les clochetons des toits, les terrasses des hôtels. . . . . Excourbaniès, aphone pour la première fois, regarde piteusement le lac qui les escorte aux portières:—En voilà de l'eau, Boudiou! . . . . après ça, je ne prends plus de bain de ma vie. . . . . (12, p. 56)

Mais le soleil manquait, et les Tarasconnais regardaient ce joli pays à travers une buée d'eau qui montait du lac bleu, grimpait les rampes, les petites rues caillouteuses, rejoignait au-dessus des maisons en étage d'autres nuages noirs amoncelés entre les sombres verdures de la montagne, chargés de pluie à en crever.

—Coquin de sort! Je ne suis pas lacustre, dit Spiridion Excourbaniès essuyant la vitre pour regarder les perspectives de glaciers, de vapeurs blanches fermant l'horizon en face. . . . .

—Moi, non plus, soupira Pascalon . . . . ce brouillard, cette eau morte . . . . ça me donne envie de pleurer. (12, p. 52)

There is more in these passages than a mere satire on Switzerland. There lies underneath these comical sketchings a deep feeling of rebellion against sunless climate. The consternation depicted is profound. The never ceasing rain leaves our Méridional rudderless, like a ship broken by an angry ocean. He is baffled by the mist that shrouds his view, he feels imprisoned by these parallel streaks of water that surround him on all sides unremittingly, his ears are annoyed by the clammy drip from walls, his breathing is hindered by the air laden with cold moisture. It happens that these very lines are being written high up in a Paris apartment overlooking the wet square of Saint Sulpice, with a heavy tapping of drops accompanying the scratching of the pen, and the vaporous curtain of rain softening the gray outlines of housetops against the sky. The writer feels at least by environment attuned to his subject.

It is hardly surprising then to find that Daudet pictures rain with an affluence of sad vocabulary, a variety of despairing idiom that marks a distinctive quality in his writing. Perhaps more than

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to his treatment of méridional sunlight, attention should be paid to his description of rain. For accuracy of observation, for completeness in the rendering of every drip, every splash, all the little delicate incidents of rainfall, it would be hard to surpass our sensitive Southerner. There are probably no two books that contain more wet weather than the last two of the Tartarin series. They were written at a time when our author's ailments were gradually gaining ground, making him take opiates, and engendering a bitterness that affected his writing. This is the period of his satire on Switzerland, and on the French Academy.

How well he has observed rain, how perfectly he has chosen in his descriptions those objective details, contrary to his procedure with sunlight, that correspond to an inner misery of spirit, can only be illustrated by a few quotations, which will need no further comment:

A—From *Tartarin sur les Alpes*

A droite et à gauche, de grands vergers, des prairies grasses et humides traversées de ces mêmes canaux d'irrigation en troncs d'arbres. Cela faisait un long clapotis du haut en bas de la montagne, et chaque fois que le piolet de l'Alpiniste accrochait au passage les branches basses d'un chêne ou d'un noyer, sa casquette crépitait comme sous une pomme d'arrosoir. (p. 15)

—Dieu! que d'eau! soupirait l'homme du Midi. Mais ce fut bien pis quand, le cailloutis du chemin ayant brusquement cessé, il dut barboter à même le torrent, sauter d'une pierre à l'autre pour ne pas tremper ses guêtres. Puis l'ondée s'en mêla, pénétrante, continue, semblant froidir à mesure qu'il montait. Quand il s'arrêtait pour reprendre haleine, il n'entendait plus qu'un vaste bruit d'eau où il était comme noyé, et il voyait en se retournant les nuages rejoindre le lac en fines et longues baguettes de verre au travers desquelles les chalets de Vitznau luisaient comme des joujoux frais vernissés. (p. 15)

. . . . Pour l'achever, un ciel toujours gris, moutonneux, et une pluie battante.

Il pleuvait à Bâle sur les petites maisons blanches lavées et relavées par la main des servantes et l'eau du ciel; il pleuvait à Lucerne sur le quai d'embarquement où les malles, les colis semblaient sauvés d'un naufrage, et quand il arriva à la station de Vitznau, au bord du lac des Quatre-Cantons, c'était le même déluge sur les pentes vertes du Rigi, chevauchées de nuées noires, avec des torrents qui dégoulinaient le long des roches, des cascades en humide poussière, des égouttements de toutes les pierres, de toutes les aiguilles des sapins. Jamais le Tarasconnais n'avait vu tant d'eau. (p. 15)

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Il avait laissé la neige au Rigi-Kulm; en bas, sur le lac, il retrouva la pluie, fine, serrée, indistincte, une vapeur d'eau à travers laquelle les montagnes s'estompaient, graduées et lointaines, en forme de nuages. (p. 20)

. . . . des villas grelottant parmi des massifs inondés, des peupliers en file au bord de routes boueuses le long desquelles de somptueux hôtels s'alignaient avec des lettres d'or sur leurs façades, hôtels Meyer, Müller, du Lac, et des têtes ennuyées apparaissant aux vitres ruisselantes. On abordait le ponton de débarquement, des gens descendaient, montaient, également crottés, trempés et silencieux. C'était sur le petit port un va-et-vient de parapluies, d'omnibus vite évanouis.

. . . . C'était le même pont lugubre, les mêmes caoutchoucs miroitants. . . . . (p. 21)

C'était à la pointe extrême du lac des Quatre-Cantons, sur ce rivage d'Alpnach, humide, infiltré comme un delta. . . . . (p. 28)

Une pluie fine, en pointes d'aiguilles, tombait depuis le matin. . . . . (p. 37)

. . . . à travers le frais tamis de cette perpétuelle ondée. . . . . (p. 39)

Le fracas des torrents . . . . , l'humidité surtout, cette buée au fond de cet entonnoir, ce sol mou, fleuri de plantes d'eau, où jamais le soleil n'a pénétré. . . . . (p. 43)

Un air lourd, avec cela, une haleine orageuse qui roulait des nuages lentement le long des cimes, sur leur tête. (p. 43)

. . . . une pluie rayante et battante, un échange d'eau et de brouillards du ciel au Léman et du Léman au ciel, les nuages touchant les vagues. (p. 54)

B—From *Port-Tarascon*

Bézuquet n'avait pas menti. Il pleut à Port-Tarascon, il pleut. . . . . La pluie vous entoure de partout, vous enferme comme dans un grillage serré de cage à cigales. Plus d'horizons. La pluie, rien que la pluie. Elle inonde la terre, elle crible la mer, qui mêle à la pluie tombante une pluie remontante d'éclaboussures et d'embruns. . . . (p. 34)

Jour par jour . . . . , avec la minutie des grises rayures de la pluie, avec la monotonie terne et désespérante de son embue sur la rade. . . . . (p. 36)

Cependant toujours la mouillure, toujours le ciel gris et l'eau qui tombait. . . . . Le matin, en ville, on voyait s'entr'ouvrir les fenêtres, des mains se tendre dehors: (p. 38)

Dans les cases voisines, l'eau s'égouttait sur les parapluies ouverts . . . . et toujours le crépitement de la pluie sur les vitres, sur le toit de zinc, toujours le gargouillement des gouttières en cascades. (p. 40)

Perhaps this long list of excerpts will indicate sufficient ground for a new appraisal of Daudet as an observer of rain. At least, the objectivity of these passages contrasts strangely with his

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good-natured references to Midi sunlight, satirically invoked rather than described. It would seem quite fair to say that in his own climate Daudet becomes subjective, noting mockingly the psychological reactions of his compatriots. In the North, away from dazzling brilliance, he observes better and more objectively. Perhaps nothing will illustrate more aptly this significant change in him than a consideration of the development of his concept of light.

VI. Light

It is necessary to remember that from boyhood Daudet was troubled by nearsightedness. This defective vision made him uncertain of the outline and detail of objects, and he came to depend on a hazy, sketchy notion of the exterior, a sort of impressionistic viewing that one might call squinting. In his descriptions, either of people or places, this screwing of the eyes translates itself into what critics have called his "telegraphic style," that is, a restless angular method of choosing qualities and transcribing impressions, conveyed often by a single dominating adjective like a flash running through a picture. This indefiniteness of outline, this dependence on an intuitive interpretation of objectivity, was due also, it would seem, to the kind of light that drenches the Midi. It is the light that destroys hardness, concreteness, and with the aid of the mistral, turns the world into a vast reverberation where no form is steadfast. In this restless brilliance, color as well as form loses significance. It is interesting to contrast the pages of Mme. Daudet with those of her husband. She is from the North and her perception of color is most marked. Her description of a garden has the iridiscence of a kaleidoscope. (25, p. 138) Daudet seems to possess naught of this concrete viewing of color. He did not even develop this quality in his impressionable youth when an artistic uncle from Lyons came to stay with the family in the foulard factory near Nîmes. This relative was to have charge of the dyeing room and it was his mania to spend hours coloring illustrations in various books. He colored everything, even a Spanish grammar. Alphonse was his favorite and the boy must have watched his uncle with great interest.

The fact is that the reaction of our author to light is most abnormal. He tells us (24, p. 160): "Mes yeux, très affaiblis, ont peur de la lumière éblouissante . . . . . Le dessus des paupières est d'une sensibilité incroyable." With this extreme sensitiveness doubling his awareness, his curiosity concerning the nature of

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light seems natural. He was profoundly stirred by the discovery that light is movement, a form of energy, and he exclaims in a jotting in his famous notebooks (24, p. 73): "Belle image à tirer, dans le monde des idées, de cette récente découverte de la science que la lumière n'est que le mouvement. Est-ce assez le Midi, cela?"

It seems that this idea struck Daudet with much force. His awareness of this scientific analysis of the nature of light colored his ideas and influenced his style. In a true series, from a mere juxtaposition of the two notions of movement and light, *i.e.*, "l'écho de cette fête de lumière et de frénésie" (28, p. xxii), to a fusing of these two elements into a single phenomenon, he continues to express, especially in his choice of nouns and adjectives denoting motion, the vibratory concept he had of light. A few quotations will clarify this interesting background of thought that made Daudet glimpse the traveling atom:

. . . . car il n'avait vu en venant, par toute la plaine embrasée et déserte, qu'un immense battement de lumière. (23, p. 35)

En route, avec Veillon, c'était une immense plaine du Midi, éblouie et papillotante sous la lumière d'un grand ciel blond, tout vibrant de chaleur intense. (23, p. 76)

Les paysages du Languedoc . . . . d'un gris d'oliviers poussiéreux, ont, sous les couchers irisés de leur soleil implacable, de ces splendides flamboiements traversés d'ombres féeriques. . . . . (9, p. 46)

Pour animer le décor, la lumière d'une belle journée d'hiver méridional, le mistral qui soufflait de haut, fouettant et brisant un large soleil rouge, faisant courir de longues ombres sur un ciel bleu admirable. (20, p. 25)

C'était en revenant de Nîmes, une après-midi de juillet. Il faisait une chaleur accablante. A perte de vue, la route blanche, embrasée, poudroyait entre les jardins d'oliviers et de petits chênes, sous un grand soleil d'argent mat qui remplissait tout le ciel. Pas une tache d'ombre, pas un souffle de vent. Rien que la vibration de l'air chaud et le cri strident des cigales, musique folle, assourdissante, à temps pressés, qui semble la sonorité meme de cette immense vibration lumineuse. . . . . (3, p. 211)

The last passage shows that Daudet was aware of the pulsations of air and light, produced in the Midi by a very apparent cause, namely heat. Even if light everywhere else were like a glassy sea, in Provence it would be a flapping blanket because of the temperature and because also there is the mistral to be reckoned with, the moaning mistral that fans the blaze lit by the sun. "Par là-dessus, un grand coup de mistral qui secouait toute cette lumière" (5, p. 91). Or again (10, p. 80), "C'était l'heure de la sieste. La ville dormait, déserte et silencieuse, bercée par le mistral, soufflant

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en grands coups d'éventails, aérant, vivifiant l'été chaud de Provence." Like the Méridional, nature about him assumes a restlessness that makes a fitting background for his vagaries. Wind, light, character, all fuse into a mobility which makes of the Midi, climate and people, a steadfast whole, a cohesive unit in the midst of change.

Years in Paris bring to our author deep reflections on the subject of light.

> Je sais maintenant ce qu'est la lumière du Nord, les objets y rayonnent comme d'eux-mêmes et d'une façon toute concentrée, le soleil n'y est presque pas, les couleurs dansent distinctes, ce n'est plus notre grand éparpillement, l'effervescence du Midi. Tout ceci encore très vague dans ma tête, mais je sens que j'arrive à comprendre: dans le Midi, la lumière est sur les objets, dans le Nord, elle est au dedans. (24, p. 24)

Daudet reveals in this analysis the æsthetic background from which he views the phenomenon of light and its effect in different latitudes. In the sunless North he feels a concentration of power, in the sunlit South an effervescent scattering. His books are full of various renderings, often humorous, of this fundamental theory of race and sun, of North and South. While he reaches it intuitively at the beginning of his career, he evolves creatively all his life the illustrations that prove it. He may be said to feel his way into a manifold corroboration of it in all his imaginative writing. The more he considers different regions and climates, the more does what we might call his theory of light become a point of departure in his fiction. In this last passage we see him arriving at a secure statement of this intuitive science of his invention. While experiment may identify light with constant measured motion, the artist knows that it varies in its directions and intensities when addressed to his spirit.

VII. Water

There is an evident distinction between water and rain. It is possible to get away from the former, to control its proximity and to regulate its amount. It can exist under sunlight from which it receives an added beauty, and its absence can make a heart grow decidedly fonder. When given to boys in the shape of creeks, it can be a refuge of joy, providing opportunities for truancy and mischief. No wonder Daudet loves water when properly delivered in the shape of diminutive streams.

> J'ai passé mon enfance dans une grande ville de province coupée en

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deux par une rivière très encombree, très remuante, où j'ai pris de bonne heure le goût des voyages et la passion de la vie sur l'eau. . . . . Oh! les pleins midis tombant d'aplomb sur la rivière, il me semble qu'ils me brûlent encore. Tout flambait, tout miroitait. Dans cette atmosphère aveuglante et sonore qui flotte au-dessus des vagues et vibre à tous leurs mouvements. . . . . (5, pp. 315, 318)

There is another happy association with water related to us by our author. It seems that in his dreams he would see very beautiful imaginary landscapes. He admits that it was in his somnolent fancies that he felt most keenly "la poésie du paysage." One night he was profoundly moved by the vision of a pool shrouded in green foliage. Its surface was no bigger than the palm of a hand but it shone brilliantly through the dark leaves. "Jamais visage aimé et baigné de larmes ne m'a attendri comme cette mare!" he exclaims (24, p. 168). When he used to hunt in the Camargue, this image would flash back to his mind as he stumbled through the brush. Not that he was an ardent huntsman:

Eh bien! oui, j'en conviens, je suis un mauvais chasseur. L'affût, pour moi, c'est l'heure qui tombe, la lumière diminuée, réfugiée dans l'eau, les étangs qui luisent, polissant jusqu'au ton de l'argent fin la teinte grise du ciel assombri. J'aime cette odeur d'eau, ce frôlement mystérieux des insectes dans les roseaux. . . . . (3, p. 270)

We see again that same strange joy in a pool, in water that reflects, that is fresh. He appreciated oceans which he saw at Le Havre and at Corsica, but his descriptions of these great waters do not show that same tenderness which his bosom shelters for the humble streams. The oceans remind him of Paris. It is not the immensity of water that stirs his imagination, but rather the fineness of the inland rivulet. This interest in the diminutive may come in part from the scarcity of water at Nîmes, a city subject to excessive dryness. One of his stories recounts how in these spells, the washerwomen used to take their bundles on the railway to the Rhône. When they returned in the evening, crowds gathered at their passage and absorbed through their nostrils that cooling odor of fresh-washed wet linen, toward which burning hands were outstretched as in supplication while parched lips murmured: "O! d'aigo!" (de l'eau). Daudet adds: "Si vous trouvez l'anecdote un peu excessive, mettez cela sur le compte de l'imagination de votre ami. Ah! Cette damnée imagination, c'est elle qui dans ce milieu de sécheresse m'avait donné dès ma plus petite enfance la passion de l'eau, de la mer. Je ne rêvais que d'elle." (22, p. 27)

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This teasing of his mind by visions of water translates itself into his style and when he speaks of rain, as we have seen, he finds words to echo every drip, every splash, every gush. But there is one more interesting evidence of the appeal of water to our artist and that occurs in many of his metaphors concerning Paris. He often makes the city seem a great container, an ocean bed, a beach. He calls it "une cuve gigantesque surmontée de buées chaudes, de rumeurs confuses," as he views it from the Buttes-Chaumont. He speaks of it as a vast reservoir into which are drawn off the elements of vice from the provinces. Quite strikingly he compares the movement of life in the capital to the turbulence of the ocean, the human wreckage to débris brought in by the tides. A few of these quotations will not come amiss to indicate the literary devices by which our author conveys picturesquely this similarity between the action of the waters and the activity of humanity in a large city:

Les aventures s'y précipitent sur une lame courte et brusque comme celle de la Méditerrannée, recouvrant la lame suivante de débris aussitôt submergés. (11, p. 265)

. . . . un naufragé de la vie, meurtri et jeté à la côte avec les débris lamentables de son luxe artificiel dispersé et broyé par le tourbillon parisien. (8, p. 507)

. . . . des débris . . . . que Paris amène continuellement dans l'écume de ses bords. (13, p. 54)

C'était un de ces brasseurs d'affaires . . . . qui depuis trois mois avait disparu dans un formidable plongeon. Après un bouillonnement de quelques jours à l'endroit de sa chute, le flot s'était uni, et il n'avait plus été question de lui. (5, p. 248)

Conclusion

This study has reviewed the rôle that sunlight and the *mistral* play in the Midi pictured by Daudet, and has indicated the existence of that added ever-present element of dust. Contrary to the general impression, our author in spite of his love of Provence, did not always paint it in glowing colors. Instead of presenting ideal climatic conditions, realism led him to picture heat and dust in their disagreeable aspects. However, in dealing with the Midi the weather is suggested rather than depicted: the brilliance of the sun produces a pleasant vibrating warmth which obscures objective detail. It is rather in the somber North that his vision is cleared and his observation finds fuller play. In fog-bound, cloudy

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Paris he employs his inexhaustible vocabulary to create a new style of minute climatic description. When it comes to rain, the Northern rain, his atmospheric powers reach their fullest expression. He dwells on these manifestations of bad weather in a way that shows almost a morbid reaction, due in part to ill health. The ironic impatience expressed in *Tartarin sur les Alpes* assumes a bitter tone in *Port-Tarascon*. In the effect of light, Daudet, as we have seen, always had a keen interest, while with reference to water he possessed a background of youthful experience as well as something of a "complex," as we term it today.

A special section might have been added on the weather of the city of Lyons which moved Daudet to execration. The quotations at hand are legion: the following may stand as a fair sample:

> Je me rappelle un ciel bas, couleur de suie, une brume perpétuelle montant des deux rivières. Il ne pleut pas, il brouillasse; et dans l'affadissement d'une atmosphère molle, les murs pleurent, le pavé suinte, les rampes d'escalier collent aux doigts. L'aspect de la population, son allure, son langage, se ressentent de l'humidité de l'air. (quoted by Ernest, 2, p. 81)

If Daudet is to be known as a stylist in foggy damp climate rather than as a reflector of méridional sunlight, it would seem that one of his favorite theories was not valid. He once jotted this down as an article of faith:

> Plus je regarde, plus je vois et compare, plus je sens combien les impressions initiales de la vie, de la toute enfance, sont à peu près les seules qui nous frappent irrévocablement. A quinze ans, vingt ans tout au plus, on est achevé d'imprimer. Le reste n'est que des tirages de la première impression. (24, p. 77)

He himself occasionally questions the validity of this printing-press doctrine, wondering whether certain persons of his entourage were completely formed by their youthful environment. Our study permits us to wonder similarly concerning Daudet. Does it not seem possible, in spite of the general acceptance of our author as a Méridional, that he owes more to the North in the development of his genius? In any case, we cannot grant that Daudet was off the press, "achevé d'imprimer," at fifteen when he began to earn his living. Although this study has been limited to climate, enough has been said to show that his work generally involves depressing elements. It consists of a sort of superimposition of a cold sullen sunless North on a warm cheerful brilliant South, the drift of a

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fog-laden gloom over a gleaming dusty landscape, the spreading of a blanket of pessimistic dark over a bed of optimistic color. In this mingling of the Septentrional and the Méridional, it is not the latter that is predominant in Daudet's works, and that is why we should ask for a revision of a generally held opinion concerning him. We incline to believe that aside from sentimental attachment to the Midi, from which he obtained the materials for his first credentials to solid glory, Daudet may be considered a product of the North where he ripened his talent and chose most of his subjects. Some such acknowledgment may have been in his mind when he discussed with his wife an outline of his last work which was to be entitled *Caravane* and wherein he was to speak, as Mme. Daudet tells us (24, p. xiii) "dans son langage imagé de méridional mûri dans le nord, c'est à dire mêlant le soleil et les ciels voilés. . . . ." Daudet sets us a good example in this attempt at re-appraisal of the nature of an author's work through his climate by his own comment on Turgueniev. He notes that although the Russian comes from the cold North, in his landscapes he gives impression of a Russia that is warm, *brûlé*, swarming with bees; only twice does snow fall in his pages. (24, p. 17) There seems to be suggested here an examination of the rôle played by climate in the works of certain writers. I have tried to show that such a study of weather reaches significantly into the thought and spirit of our barometrical Daudet.

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LIST OF TITLES REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING PAPER

(1) 1858 Les amoureuses, Boulanger, Paris
(2) 1867 Le petit chose, Vilhagen und Klasing, Leipzig (1898)
(3) 1869 Lettres de mon moulin, Nelson, Paris, s. d.
(4) 1872 Tartarin de Tarascon, Flammarion-Select, Paris, s. d.
(5) 1873 Contes du lundi, Nelson, Paris, s. d.
(6) 1874 Froment jeune et Risler aîné, Flammarion, Paris
(7) 1876 Jack, Flammarion, Paris
(8) 1878 Le nabab, Flammarion, Paris
(9) 1879 Les rois en exil, Flammarion, Paris
(10) 1881 Numa Roumestan, Nelson, Paris, s. d.
(11) 1883 L'évangéliste, Flammarion, Paris
(12) 1884 Tartarin sur les Alpes, Flammarion-Select, Paris, s. d.
(13) 1887 Sapho, Flammarion, Paris
(14) 1888 Trente ans de Paris, Flammarion, Paris
(15) 1890 Port-Tarascon, Flammarion-Select, Paris, s. d.

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(16) 1892 La Belle Nivernaise, Flammarion, Paris
(17) 1892 Rose et Ninette, Flammarion, Paris
(18) 1893 Soutien de famille, Charpentier, Paris, 1898
(19) 1894 Entre les frises et la rampe, Dentu, Paris
(20) 1897 Le trésor d'Arlatan, Charpentier, Paris
(21) 1888 Souvenirs d'un homme de lettres, Flammarion, Paris
(22) 1897 Premier voyage, premier mensonge, Flammarion, Paris
(23) 1897 La Fédor, Flammarion, Paris
(24) 1899 Notes sur la vie, Charpentier, Paris
(25) Journal de famille et de guerre, Mme. Alphonse Daudet, Charpentier, Paris, 1920
(26) Mon frère et moi, souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse, Ernest Daudet, Plon, Paris, 1921
(27) Notes sur Alphonse Daudet, Léon Daudet, Rixheim, 1907
(28) Vie d'enfant, Batisto Bonnet, traduit par Alphonse Daudet, Dentu, Paris, 1894
(29) La langue d'Alphonse Daudet, Mary Burns, Thèse, Paris, 1916
(30) Alphonse Daudet, Léon Daudet, Paris, 1898
(31) Figures contemporaines, Bernard Lazare, Paris, 1895
(32) Lou Baile Anfos Daudet, Batisto Bonnet, Paris, s. d.
(33) Les idées morales et littéraires d'Alphonse Daudet, Gino A. Ratti, Thèse, Grenoble, 1911
(34) Revue de Paris, Tome II, 1898, p. 244
(35) L'amour chez Alphonse Daudet, A. Albalat, Paris, s. d.
(36) Journal des Goncourt, 9 vols., Paris, 1887-96
(37) La société française d'après l'œuvre d'Alphonse Daudet, Lorley Ada Ashleman, Thèse, Paris, 1910.

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LVI

WALT WHITMAN AND SHAKESPEARE [1]

I. *WHITMAN'S KNOWLEDGE OF SHAKESPEARE*

THERE are perhaps few persons now vitally concerned about American letters who would not concede that Walt Whitman is at least the most outstanding individualist—poet out of the beaten track—of our national literature. And yet a compilation of parallels and relationships of one kind and another which have been suggested as existing between Whitman's writings and the writings of others, would reach astounding proportions. Moreover, these suggestions, so far as I have been able to learn, have usually been reasonably pertinent. They have justified the intuition of Whitman's first brave sympathizer, Emerson, as recorded in the now famous letter of commendation of 1855, in which Emerson declared that *Leaves of Grass* "must have had a long foreground somewhere." They have given an element of plausibility to the statement of John Burroughs, his best contemporary interpreter, that Whitman "had looked over the whole field of literature . . . . and absorbed the spirit of the great bards." And they have tended, as Whitman has been more and more exploited, to confirm the poet's own words, however immodest they may seem: "Immense have been the preparations for me."

To mention only a few of these relationships pointed out by Professor Bliss Perry in his *Walt Whitman*, we are reminded that Whitman attempted, as did Balzac in the *Comédie Humaine* and Zola in *Rougon-Macquart*, to portray the emotions of a representative man in an age of science and democracy. We are told, and with reason, that his poetical style, especially his poetic rhythm, was formed largely upon that of the Old Testament; that another aspect of his style—his fondness for naming himself in his verse—is clearly parallel to the oriental *Bhagavad-Ghita*, with which, in translations, he was familiar; that in many of the social aspects of their work, as well as in their personalities, Whitman and Rousseau were strikingly similar; that his passion for what he called the "divine average" is akin to a similar passion in Wordsworth;

[1] Richard Clarence Harrison, the writer of this paper, died suddenly on May 5, 1927, at Lubbock, Texas, where he had been head of the English Department in the Texas Technological College since the establishment of that institution. For some time prior to his death Professor Harrison had been engaged upon a study of

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that in his "Transcendental strain" he was most indebted to Emerson; that in his passion for cataloguing and in his rhythmical prose he nearly resembled Martin Farquhar Tupper; that his strange verse rhythm was perhaps influenced by Samuel Warren's "The Lily and the Bee;" that Poe was the only contemporary whose style he seemed to imitate, though here Professor Perry, if he had looked further into the embryonic poetry and prose of Whitman, would have included at least Bryant and Hawthorne. Other Whitman students, foremost among them Professor Emory Holloway, have drawn attention to contacts of the poet with various other literary works, to all of which Whitman often, but only in a general way, was accustomed to acknowledge indebtedness.

Few, if indeed any, of these probable influences have been exploited to the extent of their possibilities, owing perhaps to the fact that advanced graduate work in American literature has only within the last few years assumed any challenging attention, and to the further fact that Whitman, by the very nature of his work, first invites consideration in other directions, as, for instance, in his æsthetic significance, in his media of expression, in his relation to our national democratic genius, or in other aspects of his individualism.

In this study, which is in a measure an epitome of a larger one under way, I have attempted, by an examination of the poetry and prose available to me, to determine the relation of Shakespeare to the American poet, a relation which, in general terms, has been suggested often, but the true character of which has not been

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Whitman's origins with special reference to his relations to Shakespeare. The results of this inquiry he expected to offer as a dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Texas. At the meeting of the Modern Language Association in Chicago in December, 1925, Professor Harrison presented before the Shakespeare Group a paper embodying a general statement of his findings up to that time. That paper with a few abridgments and revisions and the supplying of certain omitted references to Whitman's works constitutes the first part of the present article. As a basis for his general findings Professor Harrison had collected a large body of illustrations and historical material, which he had recorded on cards. The bulk of this material, so far as it involves specific quotations and echoes of Shakespeare, Professor Robert Adger Law has very kindly listed and embodied in a paper that constitutes the second half of this article. For the verification of passages from Whitman and his biographers the undersigned is responsible. A few references, I regret to say, I have been unable to run down.—Killis Campbell.

[2] Traubel, Horace L., *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, New York, 1908, I, 275.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 122.

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made plain. The study has led me to a conviction that there is far more of the relationship of cause and effect between the two poets than has been supposed. I propose, first, to show that Whitman had assimilated a great body of the poetry of Shakespeare, and then to show how he carried this over into his own expression —prose and poetry; and, second, to point out that his conception of Shakespeare as the soul or genius of what he called a "feudal" literature, in juxtaposition with his own ideal of a democratic literature, became an actuating motive which lies at the base of his work. One type of evidence I shall offer is stylistic, having largely to do with Whitman's prose as affected by his saturation with the poetry of Shakespeare, and is palpable, tangible; the other type deals with the American poet's æsthetic and social philosophy, which was very largely ethical, and is necessarily more or less subjective and circumstantial. In the latter case a preponderant insistence of the poet upon a democratic genius in literature, as opposed to an aristocratic one, and his identification of Shakespeare with the latter, and of himself or his ideal with the former, has led me, by its cumulative force, to discern an actuating motive, which became, it seems to me, one of the springs of Whitman's poetry.

From Whitman's own works, from the vast amount of biography and criticism that has accumulated about him, and from the testimony of contemporaries who came in contact with him, we have indisputable evidence of his extensive and discriminating reading. His own attitude toward such reading is best stated by himself:

> The best man in the world is the man who has absorbed books—great books—made the most of them—yet remains unspoiled—remains a man. It is marvelous what capacity books have for destroying as well as making a man.[2]

Again, Whitman's own statement of his manner of reading is pregnant with suggestions of his relation to books. But a caution here: let not the wretched ghost of violated grammar frighten away the significance of his language.

> I don't know [he says] but in reading the best method is to simply let the mind caper about and do as it chooses—or as it don't choose, as it must. I never try to create interest for myself in a book; if the interest don't come of its own account I drop my experiment: I would no more force my reading than my writing.[3]

And yet we should be far from the truth if we supposed that he did

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not ponder over and thoroughly assimilate what he read. One finds abundant evidence on every hand that he was both a voracious reader and a consummate absorber of books.

I read a book [he says] in which I have special interest three times or more—once to get its capital features—then after some delay I go at it again—this time for its atmosphere, spirit, and so on: that's reading number two, remember: then comes number three: I read finally for conclusions.[4]

One more statement is significant here:

I used to go off, sometimes for a week at a stretch, down in the country, or to Long Island's sea-shores—there, in the presence of outdoor influences, I went over, thoroughly the Old and New Testaments, and absorb'd (probably to better advantage for me than in any library or indoor room—it makes such difference *where* you read,) Shakespeare, Ossian, the best translated versions I could get of Homer, Eschylus, Sophocles, the old German "Nibelungen," the ancient Hindoo poems, and one or two other masterpieces—Dante's among them. As it happen'd, I read the latter mostly in an old wood. The *Iliad* (Buckley's prose version) I read first thoroughly on the peninsula of Orient, northeast end of Long Island, in a shelter'd hollow of rocks and sand, with the sea on each side.[5]

Carpenter, in his admirable biography of Whitman, puts the matter thus:

Uneducated in a sense, unacquainted with foreign languages, untrained in history and philosophy, he was yet pushing onwards toward education in a truer sense of the word. He had not the temptations of the man of university training: literature and language did not present themselves to him as an established scheme, already definitely determined, with which he was to become familiar according to a system; the duty of understanding why masterpieces are what they are did not lie heavy on him; philosophic and philological and historical comments did not obtrude themselves between him and literature itself. He was free to comprehend, to appreciate, to absorb with reference to his own needs alone. And, as the result showed, his miscellaneous reading bred in him power.[6]

Indeed item after item in Whitman's own biographical notes, scattered throughout his *Complete Prose*, through Professor Emory Holloway's volumes of *The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, through *The Gathering of the Forces*, edited by Rodgers

[4] *Ibid.*, I, 165–166.

[5] *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, Camden Edition, New York, 1902, III, pp. 55–56. Hereafter referred to as *Works*.

[6] Carpenter, G. R., *Walt Whitman*, pp. 22–23.

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and Black, through R. M. Bucke's *Walt Whitman* and *In Re Walt Whitman*, through Horace Traubel's *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, testify to Whitman's close acquaintance with Shakespeare, some of his comment being pretentious, but a greater body of it incidental, being emphasized more particularly in such works as his "Prefaces" and his conversations as recorded by Horace Traubel and others.

First, then, in regard to Whitman's reading of Shakespeare, even outside of the wealth of corroborative evidence which will follow, it is clear that the poet had read extensively and intensively the sonnets, but more particularly the plays of Shakespeare. One of his own statements about such reading has already been noted. Another from *Specimen Days* is very much in point here:

> As a boy or young man I had seen (reading them carefully the day beforehand) quite all Shakspere's acting dramas, play'd wonderfully well.[7]

Again, in the same work he says:

> As a young fellow, when possible, I always studied a play or libretto quite carefully over, by myself (sometimes twice through), before seeing it on the stage; read it the day or two days before. Tried both ways—not reading some beforehand; but I found I gain'd most by getting that sort of mastery first, if the piece had depth.[8]

He speaks more specifically about carrying in his pocket, books which he had read as occasion presented—a habit which he maintained throughout his life.

> Shakespeare, for instance [he says], one of the Plays: I think it was Richard II, in some respects the most characteristic—I carried it most: I would buy a cheap second-hand book—tear out the play I wanted—paste the sheets carefully together—keep them with me.[9]

Just what such a practice meant to him is clearly seen when, some forty years later, he turned up among his notes in his chaotically kept den, a "home-bound" copy of this play. He bursts out with almost unrestrained enthusiasm:

> What a flood of memories it lets loose. It is my old play-book, used many and many times in my itinerant theatre days. Richard: Shakespeare's Richard: one of the best of the plays, I always say—one of the best in its vehemence, power, even in its grace. I took the sheets from a

[7] *Works*, IV, 26.
[8] *Ibid.*, VII, 50.
[9] Traubel, *op. cit.*, III, 265.

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book, a big book—from a book too big to carry—and bound them so for practical use.[10]

Then, further memories of the play crowding in upon him, he exclaims:

> How often I spouted this—these first pages—on the Broadway stage-coaches in the awful din of the street. In that seething mass—that noise, chaos, the bedlam—what is one voice more or less?[11]

H. B. Binns notes that the poet kept in his den "old-time, companionable books . . . . and best read of all, Shakespeare and the Bible." Just what plays he had in mind when he said he had often seen and read all the acting plays of Shakespeare, I have not exactly determined, though the following list of plays and some of the actors seen in them is approximately correct. There is no significance in the order in which I give them.

Julius Caesar, with Forrest as Brutus, and Booth as Caesar.
Richard III, with Booth as Richard.
King John, with Hamblin as Faulconbridge, Charles Kean as the King, Ellen Tree as Constance.
Lear, with Booth as Lear and Clarke as Lear.
Othello, with Booth as Iago, and Booth as Othello.
Macbeth, with Hamblin as Macbeth.
Richard II, a minute account of which he gives in one of his reminiscences.
The Tempest, (musical version and likely the drama), with Clarke as Prospero, Mrs. Austin as Ariel, Richings as Caliban.
Henry IV, Part 1, with Hackett as Falstaff.
Hamlet, with Clarke as Ghost.
Merchant of Venice, with Booth as Shylock.

In all probability he had seen, perhaps many times, both *As You Like It* and *Much Ado*, for he paraphrases Dogberry's language rather closely for an extended passage, and he quotes three times from *As You Like It* in a way to indicate that he was familiar with this comedy. This would make thirteen plays in all. But there are

[10] Traubel, II, 245.—A copy of *Richard II* which answers quite to this description is among the treasures presented by Harned to the Library of Congress. It bears this note in Whitman's handwriting and is signed by him:

> "Had it put [in] this shape to take in my pocket to Coney Island. My sea-shore jaunts—read it and spouted it there I have dwelt on this play a good deal—seems to me sometimes the most *characteristic* (polished, deepest laid in of Shakspere's productions had it near me at times 1860 to 1889."—K. C.

[11] *Ibid.*, II, 246.

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eleven more from which he quotes, and there is a strong probability that he saw several of them. At any rate, most of the plays in this list were repeated time after time in New York during the period of Whitman's close contact with the theatre; and, so far as we know Whitman never lost an opportunity to witness one of the dramas of Shakespeare. Indeed the minute and frequent mention of plays and actors, aside from other corroborative evidence, indicates that he had seen—and some of them very often—all of the plays that were given in New York for a period of more than twenty-five years, with the slight exception of a period of some four months consumed by him in a trip to New Orleans.[12]

We have already noted Whitman's habit of declaiming Shakespeare as affording evidence of his knowledge of the plays. But further evidence of this may be cited. In his reminiscences of his life in Brooklyn, he says:

> While living in Brooklyn (1836–50), I went regularly every week in the mild seasons down to Coney Island, at that time a long, bare, unfrequented shore, which I had all to myself, and where I loved, after bathing, to race up and down the hard sand, and declaim Homer or Shakespeare to the surf and sea-gulls by the hour.[13]

Recalling his experiences with New York bus-drivers, he speaks of

> riding the whole length of Broadway, listening to some yarn (and the most vivid yarns ever spun and the rarest mimicry) or perhaps declaiming some stormy passage from *Julius Caesar* or *Richard*.[14]

On another occasion he speaks of a "serious fault of too strong and frequent emphasis" he had acquired "from repeating the Shakespearean passages." Peter Doyle, the central figure of *Calamus*, in an interview with Whitman's biographers and literary executors, says it was often Whitman's habit, in their long walks about Washington, to "recite poetry, especially Shakespeare."[15] Whitman says it was his habit in his recreation exercises down at Timber Creek, near Camden, after his stroke of paralysis in 1893, "to shout declamatory pieces, sentiments, sorrow, anger, etc., from stock poets or plays." There is, then, the most indisputable evidence of a mind saturated with the language of a goodly number of the plays.

[12] If Mr. Holloway is right in his assumption that Whitman made a second trip South, then Whitman was away from New York longer than four months.

[13] *Works*, IV, 16–17.

[14] *Ibid.*, IV, 24.

[15] *Works*, V, 9.

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A third evidence of the poet's persistent pre-occupation with Shakespeare is to be found in his abundant reading about Shakespeare and his age. It is well known that up to the time of his temporarily enforced physical inactivity, he contemplated lecturing on various topics of a literary nature; in fact, he never entirely gave up this idea. With this in mind, no doubt, although he was always a persistent note-taker, he made copious fragmentary notes and annotated and underscored numerous articles from a considerable number of sources. Of the vast extent and full import of such practice it is impossible to speak here. But a glance at certain items listed in Volume X of the Camden edition of *The Writings of Walt Whitman*, under the general title of "Magazine and Newspaper Articles" given as a partial basis for the poet's later expression in poetry, is highly suggestive. The list—and it indicates only a part of what was left—contains 554 miscellaneous items, among which these are typical:

268—Newspaper piece on Shakespeare.
269—Shakespeare as a man.
270—Shakespeare's stage.
271—The Stage in Shakespeare's Time.
273—Newspaper report of an oration on Shakespeare by Richard O'Gorman, dated April 21, 1857.
274—Magazine Article—Shakespeare vs. Sand, May, 1847.
284—Shakespeare—His Life and Text.
285—Shakespeare's Sonnets.
307—Literature of the Age of Elizabeth, torn from a book and pasted in—much scored and annotated.

Volme IX of the same edition (pp. 71–77) contains closely packed notes on Shakespeare, obviously intended as a basis for general lectures on the dramatist. The range of topics here suggested is indeed broad, touching upon intimate biographical facts; questions as to the sources of Shakespeare's plots; Shakespeare's attitude toward printing his own plays; Shakespeare's financial holdings in theatres; Shakespeare's relation to his contemporaries; Shakespeare's style in the sonnets and plays; remarks on Shakespeare criticism by Malone, Pope, Emerson, W. H. Smith, among others; Shakespearean actors; and so on. Moreover, Whitman repeatedly read Dowden's studies in Shakespeare, and frequently advised others to read them. The works of other commentators of more or less note were known to him, among whom were O'Connor, Donnelly, Voltaire, Jenkins, Winter, and Elze. It is not surprising, there-

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fore, that the poet put himself in the rôle of Shakespearean critic. Indeed, his prose is replete with incidental and usually informal comment on Shakespeare, and contains some noteworthy critical remarks as pretentious and formal as Whitman was capable of making them. Here is a partial list of the more pretentious criticism in Whitman's prose:

Shakespeare—The Future
A Memorandum at a Glance
British Literature
Lacks and Wants Yet
What Lurks Behind Shakespeare's Plays
A Thought on Shakespeare
George Fox and Shakespeare
An Old Man's Rejoinder
Shakespeare for Americans

In his *Prefaces*, in *Democratic Vistas*, and in his "A Backward Glance O'er Travell'd Roads," the name of Shakespeare as the exponent of a "feudal" literature, as Whitman termed it, comes forward, I am confident, oftener than that of any other literary personage. Next after Shakespeare come Scott and Tennyson, also symbolic, as Whitman regards them, of "feudal" Europe. Whitman's own words about the two latter poets are:

> From first to last . . . . Walter Scott and Tennyson . . . . exhale that principle of caste which we Americans have come on earth to destroy.[16]

But, as has been suggested already, Whitman's criticism of Shakespeare is by no means comprised in such material as that just indicated. Indeed there is quite as much that is incidental in his editorial and other random reflections as a journalist, in various prose writings not already specified, in recorded conversations with people who were close to him, as instanced by those of John Burroughs, R. M. Bucke, Horace Traubel, Thomas Harned, J. Johnston, J. W. Wallace, among others. In these conversations, the greatest recorded body of which is contained in the copious, Boswellian *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, the name of Shakespeare is repeatedly upon the poet's lips, practically always in some context of criticism.

To give any adequate notion of the extent and character of this criticism would require a very respectable volume. I know of no other way to indicate it briefly than to mention some important

[16] *Works*, V, 209.

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topics to which he repeatedly recurred. I give some of them taken at random—in a style indeed which would have met with the author's heartiest approbation. They are: Shakespeare as the genius of the Elizabethan Age; Shakespeare's characters, or "personalities," as Whitman often spoke of them; the non-moral character of Shakespeare; Shakespeare's over-ornateness; Shakespeare's humor; Shakespeare's dramatic skill; Shakespeare's place in the evolution of poetry; the emotional element in Shakespeare; Shakespearean diction; Shakespeare's attitude towards the rabble; bombast, or the over-declamatory in Shakespeare; Shakespeare's aristocracy; Shakespeare as a violator of literary canons; Shakespeare as compared with the Greek dramatists, Æschylus and Sophocles; Shakespeare and Homer; Shakespeare and George Sand; and so on.

Likewise it would be difficult to appraise, in brief compass, Whitman's criticism of Shakespeare. But the language of Professor Perry in regard to Whitman's estimate of such poets as Poe, Emerson, Bryant, Longfellow, Burns, and Tennyson, is applicable to his criticism of the great Elizabethan. He says that certain of Whitman's passages about the poets just named "reveal a critical tact, a fineness both of perception and of phrasing, which has surprised many readers who knew Whitman only as a chanter of 'barbaric yawps.' "[17]

Some of the language of Whitman's criticism may be cited. He speaks of Shakespeare's great skill in "movement, intensity of life, action;" of his ability as a "depicter and dramatist of passions at their stormiest out-stretch;" of some of the humor of the comedies as "very broad, obvious, often brutal, coarse;" of the humor of some of the tragedies as "more remote, subtle, illusive." Speaking adversely, he mentions that Shakespeare is "full of conceits;" that certain parts of his plays are "over-ornate—their elaboration extreme;" that his style in the sonnets and some of the plays is "tangled and florid," having "countless prolixities." But Whitman always came back to what he most opposed in Shakespeare—not the Shakespeare for Elizabethans or for the lovers of poetry, but the Shakespeare who was a reflector of ideals not consonant with American Democracy. If, however, one wished to give a final word of Whitman's appreciation of Shakespeare, this passage would be as fitting as any:

> But to the deepest soul, it seems a shame to pick and choose from the

[17] Bliss Perry, *Walt Whitman*, p. 235.

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riches Shakespeare has left us—to criticise his infinitely royal, multi-form quality—to gauge, with optic glasses, the dazzle of his sun-like beams.[18]

Now, recurring to the poet's objection to the aristocratic element in Shakespeare, just here is the key to the impelling force back of Whitman's determination to encourage a literature which was to be American and democratic. Shakespeare, however artistic and adequate he was for his own country and his own day, was not, in his social significance—for literature, Whitman insisted, both reflects and moulds social ideals—the poet to hold up to an evolving, advancing democracy. Such an ideal, he stoutly maintained, was inimical to democratic institutions and democratic art. This negative force, this staunch turning his back upon the aristocracy which America was trying to shake off, was, I am convinced, as much an actuating influence upon Whitman as the more palpable one manifested in his more or less unconscious imitation, in his prose particularly, of Shakespeare's diction, style, or what not.

One more contact of Whitman with Shakespeare must be noted a little further—his acquaintance with the acting of Shakespeare's plays, extending over a period of some twenty-five years, roughly from 1835 to 1860, the first fifteen years of which represent his most intense experience in this direction. I have already quoted from his own utterances about his seeing all of Shakespeare's acting plays in the New York theatres, and his habit of reading carefully the plays beforehand. He speaks often and minutely about the matter. Being a newspaper man, frequently on the editorial staff of Brooklyn papers, and being a contributor to various New York papers also, he had, by a pressman's pass, ready access to the theatres. I suppose no one ever took greater advantage of such a privilege than did Whitman. Speaking of a definite period of such activity, he says:

> In my boyhood—say from nineteen on to twenty-six or seven—New York was in its prime for theatricals—still possessed the fine old extra-efficient stock-companies.[19]

He then proceeds to specify some of the theatres which he frequented most—the Park, the Bowery, the Broadway, and the Chatham Square. In *November Boughs*, under the title of "A Reminiscence of New York Plays and Acting Fifty Years Ago," he gives an account replete with suggestions about his contact with

[18] *Works*, VI, 126.

[19] Traubel, *op. cit.*, I, 455.

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the theatre, writing intimately about plays, actors, theatres, and audiences he knew so well. Of the actor Edwin Clarke, he says, "I could write a whole paper" on his "peerless rendering of the Ghost in *Hamlet* at the Park, when I was a young fellow."[20] He says that nothing in his old age is "more likely to start up memories of his eary manhood than the mention of the Bowery and the elder Booth."[21] Indeed, he grows intimately reminiscent and eulogistic about "Booth père," as he calls him, recalling gossip with others who were also fond of Booth's acting. He discusses this actor's "most effective parts" as Richard III, Iago, or Shylock. He then recalls Tom Hamblin as Caesar and as a first-rate foil to Booth as Brutus, yet doing his best acting as Faulconbridge in *King John*. A short excerpt here will reveal the vividness and lasting quality of his impressions:

> But I thought Tom Hamblin's best acting was in the comparatively minor part of Faulconbridge in *King John*—he himself evidently revell'd in the part, and took away the house's applause from young Kean (the King) and Ellen Tree (Constance), and everybody else on the stage—some time afterward at the Park.[22]

The article continues with a discussion of the theatres—the aristocratic Park theatre and the democratic Bowery, of the audiences; of the opera, and of other plays than those of Shakespeare; of celebrities seen at the theatre—Cooper, Bryant, Paulding, Irving, Willis, Halleck, among others. He then points out the decline in the quality of the drama after 1840, and closes with a minute account of Booth as Richard III on a certain occasion. To read the account is almost to experience the play itself, but I must refrain from giving it. Other accounts inform us that he had seen Hamblin as Macbeth, Clarke as Prospero, Forrest as Brutus, Hackett as Falstaff, Mrs. Austin as Ariel, Peter Richings as Caliban, Booth as Shylock, and so on.

Significant also is a considerable body of criticism of drama and the theatre in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, of which paper Whitman was editor during the greater part of 1846–47. Among topics in this discussion are: "The Miserable State of the Stage;" "Why Do Theatres Languish?"; "Dramatics and the True Secret of Acting" (an epitome of Hamlet's words to the Players); "About Acting;" "Acting . . . . the Keans;" "Dramatic Affairs and Ac-

[20] *Works*, VI, 185.
[21] *Ibid.*, VI, 185.
[22] *Ibid.*, VI. 189

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tors" (here chiefly discussions of Charles Kean and Edwin Forrest); and "The Condition of the Stage."

Thus through the contacts noted we have gained an impression —though an incomplete one indeed—of the extent to which Whitman absorbed Shakespeare. We proceed now to note briefly the actual content of the plays carried over into Whitman's language, chiefly his prose, and to certain other aspects of Shakespearean style—such as allusions, phrasing and idioms, grammar, and even shadows' shadows of Shakespearean thought and language which, both for their individual import and their cumulative effect, furnish evidence of a type of influence which speaks for itself. This body of material I have accumulated simply by taking note, in Whitman's work, of any suggestion or echo of the texts of Shakespeare's plays. Since I lay no claim to carrying in my head either a Shakespearean lexicon or a Shakespeare concordance; since, of necessity, I am more intimate with some of the plays than with others; and since indeed there is still more *Whitmania* to come in—the study can hardly be complete. Any further study of the thesis, however, could only strengthen the conclusion already anticipated.

I shall present first a summary of the actual, identifiable quotations I have tabulated up to this time in twenty-three of the plays from which Whitman quoted. These quotations are both formal and informal, the formal being practically negligible: I have found no more than a half-dozen—these occurring usually as preludes or "head quotations" to some essay. The informal quotations are always fragmentary, often slightly inexact, but worked into Whitman's context and his actual sentences with admirable felicity and smoothness. Usually they occur when the subject at hand has nothing whatever to do with a discussion of Shakespeare, though sometimes they are apparently induced by a fervent interest in the Shakespearean topic at hand. But whatever the nature of their context, they reveal, as I see it, a mind stored with the actual content, and a style reminiscent of the style, of Shakespeare. I repeat that the study is, though far advanced, not complete. This is the summary:

Number of plays quoted from, 23.
Number of informal quotations readily identifiable, 155.
Number of formal quotations, 6.
Number of duplications in quotations, 38, of which 15 are from *Hamlet* alone.
Numbers of quotations (net), 123.

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Number of characters from which quotations are taken, 45.[23]
Number of characters from tragedies, 22.
Number of characters from comedies, 14
Number of characters from histories, 9.[24]

Let it be repeated that these quotations, while nearly always short, are long enough to enable the mind familiar with the play quoted from to recognize the context. For example, one would readily recall in *Macbeth* the original of the following: "All the perfumes of the most ingenious chemists;" "It is fallen into the sere and yellow leaf;" "A tale told by an idiot, and often signifying nothing;" "Put before our children as the be-all and end-all;" "It was a long time before I could screw my courage up to the sticking point;" or again, from *As You Like It*: "Motley your only wear;" " 'swate' " [in whimsical style and in Irish dialect] "are the uses of adversity;" "The ugly and venomous toad of Whig success," etc.

Moreover, certain modifications—paraphrases of Shakespeare—are quite as convincing as the type of quotation to which I have just referred, in proving that the poet was saturated with the text, and thus affected by the style, of Shakespeare. Here are specimens from *Hamlet*: "The book! the book! that was always the thing," suggesting Hamlet's "catching the conscience of the King;" "rich but not massive," a variant of Polonius' "rich, not gaudy;" "went off excellent well," suggesting Hamlet's answer to Polonius' question as to how he (Hamlet) fared; "around by these directions and indirections," suggesting Polonius' plan for having Reynaldo spy upon Laertes; "but it is the sleep of death," suggesting Hamlet's soliloquy, "for in that sleep of death what dreams may come." My count for these echoes needs to be revised, and will ultimately be increased; but Whitman's prose, especially his earlier and later work, is full of such echoes of Shakespeare's texts.

At still other times a single word will take one's mind to Shakespeare: "Ergo;" "certes;" "memorize" (in the sense of "memorize another Golgotha"); "reck;" "ostent;" "vagrom" (occurring only once in Shakespeare and once in Whitman); "convoy" for "convey;" "haply," used often by Whitman and forty-four times by Shakespeare in his plays; "hurlyburly" (in a context suggesting its use in the first witch scene in *Macbeth*); "vile phrase," suggesting Polonius's criticism of the "beautified Ophelia;" "indifferent" as

[23] Of these characters the men are 39, the women, 6.

[24] Further reading will inevitably increase the figures given here.

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an adverb of degree in a context of "indifferent good," "indifferent bad," etc. These are simply representative, and while it is not claimed that they all came from Shakespeare, the evidence for most of them is conclusive, and for others highly plausible.

Allusions, moreover, where there is no further suggestion involved, take our minds to certain passages in the plays. For instance, he characterizes the language of Father Taylor, a preacher whom he admired in Boston, as "impassioned pleading, such human harrassing reproach (like Hamlet to his mother in the closet)." He sees in the feminine characters of contemporary works a "lack of assertiveness comparable to that of Ophelia." He speaks of the literature of England as often "melancholy as in Hamlet, moping, sick, uncertain." He refers to himself in his old age as "garrulous, irascible, like old Lear." Sometimes the allusion is light—little more than a mention of characters in Shakespeare. In such mention one finds an astonishingly large array of the characters of Shakespeare's plays.

It is well to pause here and note that these echoes of Shakespeare's poetry, from the most readily identifiable to the most subtle of shadows' shadows, occur in Whitman's prose—and to a far less extent in his poetry—from his very earliest to his very latest writings. It is significant, too, that in his prose he felt free to use such materials—obviously delighted in doing so—as would anyone who is conscious of his style at all; although, as is well known, he deliberately sought to refrain from allusions and references to other poets in *Leaves of Grass*. To what extent his habit of quoting and referring to Shakespeare was carried over into his poetry against his avowed purpose will be noted later.

A little chronology connected with the frequency of Shakespearean quotations is illuminating. Of the one hundred and fifty-five readily obvious quotations of appreciable length already referred to, approximately sixty per cent belong to the decade of the forties; seven per cent, to the decade of the fifties; five per cent, to the decade of the sixties; two and one-half per cent, to the decade of the seventies; thirty per cent to the decade of the eighties; and one and one-half per cent, to the decade of the nineties. However far the study might be carried, I am confident that the proportions would not be materially altered.

The explanation here is not far to seek. The decade of the forties was for Whitman a period of vast reading; of attempting in a conventional way to find himself in creative writing; of consid-

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erable journalistic activity of a miscellaneous character; of his obsession with the theatre, ostensibly with a dramatic critic's point of view, but more particularly for his own love of the excellent Shakespearean drama New York afforded at that time. The decade of the fifties marks the period in which he came to a deliberate decision about his great work, *Leaves of Grass*, which was to be individual and indigenous. In the very middle of this decade, and in the middle of the year (July, 1855) he courageously gave to America, in the "Preface" and in the poems of *Leaves of Grass*, respectively, both his theory of poetry and an adequately representative body of the poetry itself. In this illumination period, more than in any other, his chief life-work was, in his own language, "a-borning;" hence little mention of Shakespeare at all outside of what is implied in the famous first "Preface." The decade of the sixties is likewise meagre in echoes of Shakespeare. The Civil War and his work in the hospitals were his all-absorbing interests, though he found time among other things, to write *Drum Taps*, and to add to his *Leaves of Grass*. The decade of the seventies, the period of the fewest quotations for any decade, is marked by his most intense physical suffering and by his pre-occupation with musings upon nature, while he was trying to build up his strength. During this period he wrote a considerable body of nature reflections which are not surpassed in quality by similar works of Thoreau, John Burroughs, or John Muir.[25] The decade of the eighties marks a continual decline in his health which limited his writing, but which brought him to "talking age," and to limitless reminiscences which he poured out to Boswellian admirers. It is within this period that thirty per cent of the quotations noted belong. His talk about Shakespeare, among others, is frequent and abundant, as testified by the three large volumes of Traubel's *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, covering a period of months rather than of years.[26] And, so far as I have noted, no one has seriously accused this American Boswell of disobeying his patron's injunction: "Be sure to write about me honest: include all of the hells and damns." At the end of this decade Whitman had only a little while to live; he died on March 26, 1892. Only one and one-half per cent of the quotations belong here. But even in this small percentage is a note fraught with peculiar significance,

[25] Compare Bliss Perry's statement on this same topic, in his *Walt Whitman*, p. 22.

[26] See also *Visits to Walt Whitman*, by J. Johnston and J. W. Wallace.

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considering the light it throws upon the persistent lingering of Shakespeare in the mind of the feeble, worn-out Whitman. In his very last utterance to the public through the press, a farewell note entitled "Walt Whitman's Last," occurring in *Lippincott's Magazine*, August, 1891, are two beautifully turned but pathetic quotations from *Hamlet*, and one felicitous allusion to Lear; and this, despite the fact that the entire note contains only three short paragraphs. Referring to *Good Bye My Fancy* as the "last clustre" of his *Leaves*, and to his life purpose in keeping forward a typical personality throughout his work, he confesses that he himself has become "garrulous irascible (like old Lear)." He requests that *Good Bye My Fancy* be interpreted as the "Leaves" of his younger life, but "with a difference." "The clef," he says, "is changed here to its lowest, and the book is a lot of tremolos about old age, death, and faith;" "the physical just lingers," he murmurs, "but almost vanishes." The note here of his faith in his life achievement is typical of his personality, as was his courage in presenting to the world his completed *Leaves of Grass*, as he says he is now doing, "with all its imperfections on its head." Thus in three short paragraphs, containing a last message to the world, is artistically woven the spirit of Shakespeare at his acme of literary achievement, with the spirit of Whitman at his death.

Such, in various ways, are the echoes of Shakespeare in Whitman's prose, from which there is no apparent effort to exclude them, but rather a normal consciousness of the enhancement that such a practice lends to style. Is it natural to suppose that Whitman, who, true to the Quaker element in him, spoke largely as the spirit moved him, and who was rich in memories of reading, declaiming, and hearing from actors the choice poetry of Shakespeare, could keep out of his own verse, even though consciously trying to do so, all trace of the Elizabetnan's wealth of poetry? Let us see for a moment.

A consecutive reading of the latest edition of *Leaves of Grass* has revealed the presence of these suggestions of Shakespeare: a frequent use of the words "indirections" and "directions," suggesting Polonius' advice to Laertes, "Thus do we by indirections find directions out;" the frequent use of "reck'd" and "unreck'd" in the sense that Shakespeare uses these words in *Hamlet*, in *As You Like It*, in *Troilus* and *Cressida*, in *Cymbeline*, and in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*; a note of criticism of Shakespeare implied in the phrase, "blazoned with Shakespeare's purple page;" the use

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of the word "alarum" twice in a vivid chanting which suggests Whitman's consciousness of the actor's pose, and which reminds us of his vivid word memory, inconsequential as this may seem, in noting stage directions in the printed plays of Shakespeare; the sentence "Now we see what there is in a name," and the phrase "earth of the mountains misty-topt" obviously from *Romeo and Juliet*; the expression "or Shakespeare's woe-entangled Hamlet, Lear, Othello," indicating the keen perception and felicitous phrasing that mark Whitman's criticism of Shakespeare; the frequent use of the adverb "haply;" mention of Shakespeare in a list of "mighty ones"—"Job, Homer, Æschylus, Dante, Shakespeare, Tennyson," indicating the typical encomium of Shakespeare by Whitman; the poem entitled 'Shakespeare-Bacon Cipher," reflecting the author's concern, as was the case with others of his day, with the authorship of Shakespeare's plays; the passage, "feudal tales, essays, plays, Shakespeare, Schiller, Walter Scott, Tennyson," reflecting Whitman's life-long obsession with the idea that a democratic American literature, rather than a literature distilled from an older, aristocratic one, should be the chief concern of American poets; two other references to Shakespeare with the same import; the use of the nouns "ostent" and "amaze" in the very sense in which Shakespeare uses these words; the sentence "Where are your jibes of being now?" echoing Hamlet's words to the skull of Yorick thrown up by the grave-digger; "multitudinous ocean," echoing "multitudinous seas" of *Macbeth*. These suggestions I have noted, aside from other words, phrases, allusions, and implied criticisms, in *Leaves of Grass*, which are reminiscent of Shakespeare's language or of Whitman's pre-occupation with the idea of Shakespeare as "feudal" poet.

So much for Shakespeare's influence upon Whitman's prose and poetry, largely from the standpoint of style. The other sort of influence, as I see it, is far more subtle, subjective, and is connected with his theory of poetry and of life—æsthetic, ethical, social, political, or what not. Its most notable feature is the obvious evidence of the ever-present revolt of the democratic Whitman against what he conceived to be the aristocratic Shakespeare. Necessarily, much about this conception has been anticipated in what has gone before. Here I shall have to content myself with citing briefly two or three of the high points in a theory of his which, it seems to me, had become dynamic in its nature even before *Leaves of Grass* first appeared. I shall note only a few of the passages which indi-

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cate a dominant motive behind his own literary activity. "Shakespeare," he insisted, "is rather the poet of lords and ladies and their side of life." And again, he declared:

> The great poems, Shakespeare included, are poisonous to the idea of the pride and dignity of the common people, the life-blood of democracy. The models of our literature, as we get it from other lands, ultra-marine, have had their birth in courts, and basked and grown in castle sunshine; all smells of princes' favors.[27]

In juxtaposition with this, note that he says:

> The United States are destined either to surmount the gorgeous history of feudalism, or else prove the most tremendous failure of time.[28]

It was Whitman's hope—for he looked to the future—that the "poets to come" would from their own national backgrounds, build a literature suffused with American, democratic ideals. As he puts it:

> What the ancient siege of Ilium, and the puissance of Hector's and Agamemnon's warriors proved to Hellenic Art and literature, and all art and literature since, may prove the war of attempted secession of 1861–'65 to the future esthetics, drama, romance, poems of the United States.[29]

Indeed, conceiving of the Civil War as the last great struggle for a complete Democracy, he puts it stronger still:

> A great literature will yet arise out of the era of those four years, ...—era compressing centuries of native passion, first-class pictures,tempests of life and death—an inexhaustible mine for the histories, drama, romance, and even philosophy, of peoples to come—indeed the verteber of poetry and art (of personal character too) for all future America—far more grand, in my opinion, to the hands capable of it, than Homer's siege of Troy, or the French Wars to Shakespeare.[30]

But just as Whitman believed a great democratic literature would evolve out of American life, so did he believe that the truly democratic bard should be one of the people of and for whom his poems are made.

> Shakespeare [he says] composed altogether for the court and for the young nobility and gentry. . . . . Yet is no poet dear to a people unless he be of them and of the spirit of them, a growth of the soil, the water, the climate, the age, the Government, the religion, the leading character-

[27] *Works*, V, 90.
[28] *Ibid.*, V, 51.
[29] *Ibid.*, V, 220.
[30] *Works*, V, 245.

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istics, a height and individuality for his own nation and days and not for other nations.[31]

In juxtaposition with this he remarks:

Shakespeare, and with the greatest warrant, has been called monarchical or aristocratic (which he certainly is).[32]

I close my consideration of this aspect of Whitman's revolt against what he conceived to be the aristocracy of Shakespeare with one more passage:

Shakespeare put such things into his plays as would please the family pride of Kings and Queens, and of his patrons among the nobility . . . . . His renderings of man, phases of character, the rabble, Jack Cade, the French Joan, the greasy and stupid *canaille* that Coriolanus cannot stomach,—all these fed the aristocratic vanity of the young noblemen and gentlemen and feeds them in England yet.[33]

And I conclude with this observation. It is not to be forgotten that Whitman did not oppose Shakespeare as Shakespeare. On the contrary, he put him among he "mighty ones"—among the poets of all time. What he did stolidly maintain was that Shakespeare's writings did not exalt, as Whitman himself did, the lower and middle strata of social life, but that he catered to the nobility. Such an attitude has ever moved a democratic spirit to speculative, if not to dynamic, revolt. It moved Whitman to both types, and thus formed one of the mainsprings of *Leaves of Grass*.

II. *ECHOES OF SHAKESPEARE IN WHITMAN'S WORKS*[34]

As You Like It

II. i. 12–14: "*Duke Sr.* Sweet are the uses of adversity,
Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head."

[31] *Works*, IX, 115.
[32] *Ibid.*, VI, 137. [33] *Works*, IX, 75.
[34] The arrangement of this material is based on what appears to have been Professor Harrison's own plans, following the plays of Shakespeare in alphabetical order. Dates in parenthesis refer to the years of first publication of the "echoes."

The following abbreviations are used in these citations: "*P. and P.*," for *Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Whitman*, ed. Holloway, N. Y., 1921; "*Works*," for *The Complete Writings of Whitman*, Camden edition, N. Y., 1902; "*Gath. Forc.*," for *The Gathering of the Forces*, ed. Rodgers and Black, N. Y., 1920; "Traubel," for Traubel's *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, N. Y., 1908.—R. A. L.

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(1848) In a sketch, "Patrick McDray," *New Orleans Crescent*, April 18, 1848:

"Well, we may trace Patrick McDray up one side and down the other from his birth and birthplace in 'the swate Isle,' which is to the millions, 'swate' only in the 'uses of adversity.' "—*P. and P.*, I, 214.

(*c.* 1841) In an early story called "Dumb Kate:"

"For no one on earth less deserved or needed 'the uses of adversity' than Dumb Kate."—*Works*, VI, 86.

(1847) In *Brooklyn Eagle*, 1847:

"Upon the whole, the ugly and venomous toad of Whig success may not be without a germ of a precious jewel to *our* future crown of triumph."—*Gath. Forc.*, II, 45.

II. 7. 34: "*Jaques.* A worthy fool! Motley's the only wear."

(1846) "Motley's your only wear:" Used as title of essay for April Fool's Day, *Brooklyn Eagle*, April 1, 1846.—*P. and P.*, I, 110.

II. 7. 139–40: "*Jaques.* All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players."

(1885) In *The Critic*, Feb. 28, 1885:

"In the observation of the drama of human nature—if, indeed, 'all the world's a stage!—Walt Whitman has had rare advantages as auditor, from the beginning.—*P. and P.*, II, 58–59.

V. 4. 60–1: "*Touchstone.* A poor virgin, sir, an ill-favoured thing, sir, but mine own."

(1888) To Traubel, Aug. 7, 1888:

"Isn't it in Shakespeare, in one of the comedies, where some one speaks of 'poor things! poor things! but mine own, mine own'?!! Traubel, II, 105.

(1890) In Johnston and Wallace's *Visits to Walt Whitman—1890–91*, October, 1890, p. 136:

"And, as one of Shakespeare's characters says: 'A trifle, my lord, a trifle, *but mine own.*' "

Hamlet

General Allusion

(1888) In "November Boughs" as to the spirit of Bible literature:

"No hair-splitting doubts, no sickly sulking and sniffling, no Hamlet."—*Works*, VI, 106.

I. 1. 33–4: "*Hor.* Well, sit we down,
And let us hear Bernardo speak of this."

(1888) To Traubel, Oct. 2, 1888:

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"But sit you down, and let us hear what you have to say."—Traubel, II, p. 416.

I. 1. 148-9: "*Hor.* And then it started like a guilty thing
Upon a fearful summons."

(1842) In *Franklin Evans*, Chapter XI:
"Starting like a guilty creature, I hastily rushed down upon the walk again."—*P. and P.*, II, 168.
Cf. *Hamlet*, II. 2. 618: "Guilty creatures sitting at a play."

(1842) *Ibid.*, Chapter XXI:
"She started like the guilty thing she was, and returned to her abiding-place."—*P. and P.*, II, 208.

I. 2. 138: "*Ham.* But two months dead! nay, not so much, not two."

(1847) In *Brooklyn Eagle*, editorial: "Verdict of the Undaunted Democracy of the Empire State in Behalf of Jeffersonian Ordinance," Nov. 4, 1847:
"But six short months have passed away, 'nay not so much,' since the Democracy of this State . . . achieved. a complete triumph."—*Gath. Forc.*, I, 223.

I. 2. 188: "*Ham.* I shall not look upon his like again."

(1847) In *Brooklyn Eagle*, 1847:
"Alas, we fear we shall indeed never look upon his like again."—*Gath. Forc.*, II, 186.

I. 2. 199–200: "*Hor.* A figure like your father,
Armed at point exactly, cap-a-pe."

(1871) In "Democratic Vistas," Whitman writes of brave and true Americans yet to come in literature, art, etc., "arm'd and equipt at every point."—*Works*, VIII, 145.

(1882) In "Boston Common: More on Emerson," *Specimen Days*, he writes of "Emerson . . . . arm'd at every point."—*Works*, V, 26.

I. 3. 70: "*Pol.* Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy."

(1881) In "The Boston of To-day," the Diary reading May 1, 1881, of *Specimen Days*, Whitman declares that Boston is "Costly in costume as its purse can buy."—*Works*, V, 7.

I. 3. 71: "*Pol.* But not express'd in fancy; rich, not gaudy."

(1888) To Traubel, Nov. 13, 1888, about Millet's pictures: "Millet's color sense was opulent, thorough, uncompromising, yet not gaudy."—Traubel, III, 89.

I. 3. 99–100. "*Ophel.* He hath, my lord, of late made many tenders
Of his affection to me."

(1888) To Traubel, as to Howells, May 17, 1888:
"He made no tenders of literary hospitality: he was

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dead still and let me go."—Traubel, I, 169.

(1888) To Traubel, July 10, 1888:

"Childs has made a number of tenders to me which I have declined, and some others which I have accepted."—Traubel, I, 446.

(1888) To Traubel, as to Rolleston, Sept. 9, 1888:

"We have never met but he has made me from time to time notable tenders of affection."—Traubel, II, 289.

I. 4. 47–48: "*Ham.* Why thy canoniz'd bones, hearsed in death, Have burst their cerements."

(1840) "Sundown Papers," No. 6, in *Long Island Democrat*, Aug. 11, 1840:

"When we look on a boy, shrouded in the cerements of death."—*P. and P.*, I, 35.

(1842) In "The Tomb-Blossoms," a narrative sketch in the *Democratic Review*, Jan. 1842:

"To burst its cerements and wander forth in the darkness."—*P. and P.*, I, 63.

I. 4. 49: "*Ham.* Wherein we saw thee quietly inurn'd."

(1847) In *Brooklyn Eagle*, 1847:

"And the ashes of the prisoners there quietly inurned." —*Gath. Forc.*, II, 51.

I. 4. 53: "*Ham.* Thou . . . .
Revisit'st thus the glimpses of the moon."

(1862) In "Brooklyniana," No. 15:

"The relics . . . . after lying so long in darkness, once more, for a brief period, revisited the glimpses of the moon."—*P. and P.*, II, 286.

I. 5. 15–16: "*Ghost.* I could a tale unfold whose lightest word Would harrow up thy soul."

(1842) In *Franklin Evans*, Chapter XIV:

"She had heard, in the 'experience' of those who addressed them, tales of woe that might harrow up a soul." —*P. and P.*, II, 177.

I. 5. 16–20: "*Ghost.* "Freeze thy young blood,
Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres,
Thy knotted and combined locks to part,
And each particular hair to stand an end
Like quills upon the fretful porpentine."

(1848) Informally quoted in a sketch, "Daggerdraw Bowieknife, Esq.," in *New Orleans Crescent*, March 23, 1848:

"Freeze my young blood,
Make each particular hair to stand on end,
Like quills upon the fretful porcupine."—*P. and P., I.*, 205.

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I. 5. 78–79: "*Ghost.* No reckoning made, but sent to my account
With all my imperfections on my head."

(1891) In "Walt Whitman's Last," *Lippincott's Magazine*, August, 1891:

"The theory of my *Leaves of Grass* . . . . emerges . . . . with all its merits and demerits on its head."—*Works*, VII, 71–72.

I. 5. 98–99: "*Ham.* Yea, from the table of my memory
I'll wipe away all trivial fond records."

(1842) In *Franklin Evans*, Chap. IV:

"While this is marked as with a steel pencil upon the tablets of my memory."—*P. and P.*, II, 130.

I. 5. 125–6: "*Hor.* There needs no ghost, my lord, come from the grave
To tell us this."

(1848) In "Patrick McDray," a sketch in *New Orleans Crescent*, April 18, 1848:

"It needs no 'ghost from the grave' to tell us whence came Patrick McDray."—*P. and P.*, I, 214.

II. 1. 66: "*Pol.* By indirections find directions out."

(Cf. *King John*, III, 1, 276: "*Pand.* Yet indirection thereby grows direct.")

(1888) To Traubel:

"What is it in us aroused by these indirections and directions?"—Traubel, II, 438.

II. 2. 111–12: "*Pol.* That's an ill phrase, a vile phrase; 'beautified' is a vile phrase."

(1888) To Traubel, Sept. 5, 1888:

"That 'comprehensive brevity' would surely trouble Polonius as a vile phrase."—Traubel, II, 263.

II. 2. 174: "*Ham.* Excellent well: you are a fishmonger."

(1846) "Last Evening upon Fort Greene," July 8, 1846: " 'Went off' excellent well."—*Gath. Forc.*, II, 120.

(1863) In a letter to his mother:

"I am feeling excellent well." *Works*, VII, 189.

(1889) To Traubel, answering an inquiry as to his health, Jan. 20, 1889:

"I am excellent well."—Traubel, III, 580.

II. 2. 188–9: "*Pol.* Still harping on my daughter."

(1888) Traubel reminds Whitman that he has not given him all the editorials about himself, and then Whitman: "Still harping on my daughter."—Traubel, II, 129.

(1888) To Traubel, who reminds Whitman that he is waiting for the "surprise" about his private life:

"Still harping on my daughter."—Traubel, II, 225–6.

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(1888) To Traubel as to Symonds' concern about *Calamus*, Thursday, May 24, 1888:

"You will see that he harps on the Calamus poems again—always harping on 'my daughter?' "—Traubel, I, 202.

(1888) To Traubel about Traubel's frequent mention of Ann Montgomerie, Sept. 15, 1888:

"You're always harping on her."—Traubel, II, 328.

(1888) To Traubel, who asked him for a letter to . . . . in conversation, Sunday, Oct. 21, 1888:

"Still harping on my daughter."—Traubel, II, 514.

II. 2. 193–4: "*Pol.* What do you read, my lord?
"*Ham.* Words! words! words!"

(1834–42) In "The Boy Lover:"

"Words! words! I begin to see I am, indeed, an old man."—*Works*, VI, 51.

II. 2. 311–2: "*Ham.* This most excellent canopy, the air, look you."

(1846) In *Brooklyn Eagle*, 1846:

"Toward that most excellent canopy, the cloud-dropped and star-studded sky above thee."—*Gath. Forc.*, II, 98.

(1851) In "Art and Artists," *Brooklyn Advertiser*, April 3, 1851:

"When the stars hung at night afar off in this most excellent canopy, the air, pure, solemn, eternal."—*P. and P.*, I, 242.

II. 2. 315 f.: "*Ham.* What a piece of work is a man! . . . .
In apprehension how like a god!"
In *Songs of Parting:*

"Never was average man, his soul more energetic, more like a God.—

II. 2. 396–8: "*Ham.* I am but mad north-northwest: when the wind is southerly, I know a hawk from a hernshaw."

(1862) In "Brooklyniana," No. 37, 1861–62:

"The girls were unaffected and knew a hawk from a hernshaw."—*P. and P.*, II, 313.

(1888) To Traubel, discussing the doctors, of whose sincerity he was suspicious:

"I, too, know when the wind blows north."—Traubel, II, 438.

II. 2. 431: "*Pol.* I have a daughter that I love passing well."

(1845) From "Tear Down and Build Over Again," in *American Review*, November, 1845:

"There was that about ye which I hold it no shame to say I loved passing well."—*P. and P.*, I, 93.

(1846) Discussing Shakespeare's plays and their acting, in an

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editorial, "The Gladiator," *Brooklyn Eagle*, Dec. 26, 1846:

"Mr. Forrest delivered it passing well."

II. 2. 456: "*Ham.* The play, I remember, pleased not the million."

(1847) In editorial, "Condition of the Stage," *Brooklyn Eagle*, August 25, 1847:

"They go on the fallacious idea that it is necessary to please the million."—*Gath. Forc.*, II, 339.

(1848) In *Daily Crescent*, April 18, 1848, "to the millions."—*P. and P.*, I, 214.

II. 2. 633: "*Ham.* The play's the thing."

Speaking to Traubel, August 16, 1888 about *Leaves of Grass* as his main purpose in life:

"The book, the book: that was always the thing!"—Traubel, II, 149.

(1888) Speaking to Traubel, about a portrait to go into one of his books, Aug. 24, 1888:

"The figure's the thing."—Traubel, II, 189.

III. 1. 56: "*Ham.* To be or not to be: that is the question."

(Before 1855?) In a long list of "Notes on Shakespeare:"

"Hamlet's soliloqy, 'To be or not to be' is taken almost verbatim from Plato."—*Works*, IX, 75.

III. 1. 62–64: "*Ham.* The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to,—'tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wished."

(1842) In *Franklin Evans*, Chapter XXIV:

"More than a moderate quantity of the physical ills that man is heir to."—*P. and P.*, II, 214.

(1846) In "Free Exhibitions of Works of Art," *Brooklyn Eagle*, Oct. 21, 1846:

"Is there no hope of a consummation so much to be wished for?"—*Gath. Forc.*, II, 361.

III. 1. 65: "*Ham.* To sleep: perchance to dream: ay, there's the rub."

(1888) To Traubel, on question of difficulty of the people's getting their rights in contention with the rich:

"Oh, there's the rub." Traubel, III, 479.

III. 1. 66: "*Ham.* For in that sleep of death what dreams may come."

(1882) In *Specimen Days:*

"But it is the sleep of death."—*Works*, IV, 58.

III. 1. 72: "*Ham.* The pangs of despised love, the law's delay."

(1862) In "Brooklyniana," No. 12:

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"Submitting to the 'law's delay.' "—*P. and P.*, II, 271.

III. 1. 83: "*Ham.* Thus conscience does make cowards of us all."

(1848) In a sketch, "Peter Funk, Esq.," in *New Orleans Crescent*, Nov. 13, 1848:

"He was one of those men who reverse the saying of Hamlet that 'conscience makes cowards of us all!' . . . . .

(1888) To Traubel, May 15, 1888:

"You see conscience makes some people cowards."—Traubel, I, 157.

III. 1. 84–85: "*Ham.* And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought."

(1848) In "Peter Funk, Esq.," a sketch in *New Orleans Crescent*, Mar. 13, 1848:

"It's a bad thing to have
'The native hue of resolution
Thus sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought.' "
—*P. and P.*, I, 202.

(1882) In "Carlyle from the American Point of View," *Specimen Days:*

"First about a chance, a never fulfilled vacuity of this pale cast of thought—this British Hamlet."—*Works*, IV, 312.

(1888?) In "A Word about Tennyson," *November Boughs* (1888?):

"He reflects the . . . . pale cast of thought."—*Works*, VI, 145

III. 1. 122–3: "*Ham.* Get thee to a nunnery: why wouldst thou be a breeder of sinners?"

(1888) To Traubel, May 5, 1888:

"You sometimes hear me tell the truth about the editors who turn me face down, kick me out, advise me to go to a nunnery."—Traubel, I, 106.

III. 2. 9–13: "*Ham.* O, it offends me to the soul to hear a robustious, periwig-pated fellow tear a passion to tatters, to very rags, to split the ears of the groundlings."

(1846) In *Brooklyn Eagle*, Dec. 26, 1846:

"We allude to the loud mouthed, ranting style,—the tearing of every thing to shivers."—*Gath. Forc.*, II, 332.

(1862) In *Brooklyniana*, No. 38, 1862:

"We tore various past passions into tatters—made love to the girls in the divine words of Shakespeare."—*P. and P.*, II, 318.

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(1846) In editorial, "The Gladiator—Mr. Forrest—Acting," *Brooklyn Eagle*, Dec. 26, 1846:

"All persons of thought will confess to no great fondness for acting which particularly seeks to 'tickle the ears of the groundlings.' "—*Gath. Forc.*, II, 332.

III. 2. 32–9: "*Ham.* O there be players that I have seen play . . . . that have so strutted and bellowed, that I have thought some of Nature's journeymen had made men and not made them well, they imitated humanity so abominably."

III. 2. 78: "*Ham.* In my heart's core, aye, in my heart of heart."

(1846) In editorial, "The Gladiator—Mr. Forrest—Acting," *Brooklyn Eagle*, Dec. 26, 1846:

"To take such hints as the foregoing, to their hearts—aye, to their heart of hearts."—*Gath. Forc.*, II, 333.

III. 2. 406: "*Ham.* 'Tis now the very witching time of night."

(1848) In "Miss Dusky Grisette," a sketch in *New Orleans Crescent*, March 16, 1848:

"When the witching hours of gas light have passed away."—*P. and P.*, I, 204.

III. 4: General allusion to scene:

(1888) In "November Boughs," about Father Taylor's qualities of preaching:

"Such impassioned pleading, such human-harassing reproach (like Hamlet to his mother, in the closet)."—*Works*, VI, 113.

III. 4. 54: "*Ham.* The counterfeit presentment of two brothers."

(1846) In "Ourselves and the Eagle," *Brooklyn Eagle*, June 1, 1846:

"And always bearing the counterfeit presentment of the real."—*P. and P.*, I, 116.

(1846) In "Matters Which were Seen and Done in an Afternoon's Ramble," *Brooklyn Eagle*, June 1, 1846:

"We entered and took a seat amid a well-filled house to see a counterfeit presentment of the *'Troublesome Raigne of John, King of England.'* "—*P. and P.*, I, 143.

(1857) In "Reminiscences of Brooklyn," *Brooklyn Times*, June 3, 1857:

"Several gentlemen were very anxious to have the sculptured counterfeit presentment of Elias Hicks."—*P. and P.*, II, 3.

III. 4. 80–1: "*Ham.* Or but a sickly part of one true sense
Could not so mope."

(1882) Discussing the mood or tone of British literature, in "Collect . . . . British Literature:"

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"As in Hamlet, moping, sick, uncertain."—*Works*, V, 277.

III. 4. 145: "*Ham.* Lay not that flattering unction to your soul."

(1887) In "November Boughs," 1887:

"Dear, even in the abstract, is such flattering unction always no doubt to the soul!"—*Works*, VI, 199.

IV. 5. 123–4: "*King.* There's such divinity doth hedge a king
That treason can but peep to what it would."

(1847) In "Anti-Democratic Bearing of Scott's Novels," *Brooklyn Eagle*, April 26, 1847:

"In him, as in Shakespeare (though in a totally different method) there's such divinity does hedge a king."—*P. and P.*, I, 163.

IV. 5. 182–3: "*Oph.* O, you must wear your rue with a difference.'

(1891) In "Walt Whitman's Last," *Lippincott's Magazine*, August, 1891:

This new, last cluster . . . . follows suit, and yet with a difference.—*Works*, VII, 72.

V. 1. 13, 21, 55: "*First Clown.* Argal, she drowned herself wittingly . . . . Argal, he that is not guilty of his own death, shortens not his own life. . . . . Argal, the gallows may do well to thee."

(1848) In a sketch, "Peter Funk, Esq.," *New Orleans Crescent*, March 13, 1848:

"*Argal*, Peter'll be rich one of these days."—*P. and P.*, I, 202.

V. 1. 292–4: "*Ham.* . . . Forty thousand brothers
Could not, with all their quantity of love,
Make up my sum."

(1888) To Traubel, about Mrs. Gilchrist, Sept. 9, 1888:

"I feel like Hamlet when he said forty thousand brothers could not feel what he felt for Ophelia.—Traubel, II, 292.

V. 2. 10–11: "*Ham.* There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough hew them how we will."

(1888) Speaking of Traubel's help to him in his old days, Aug. 26, 1888:

"There certainly was a divinity that shaped this end."—Traubel, II, 201.

First Part of Henry IV

I. 2. 132–4: "*Prince.* For he was never yet a breaker of proverbs: he will give the devil his due."

(1888) Discussing with Traubel his relations with the magazines, especially an article by Stoddard, Friday, Sept. 7, 1888:

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"That's fair: give the devil—*The Independent*—his due."—Traubel, II, 275.

Second Part of Henry IV

I. 1. 157–61: "*North* . . . . Let one spirit of the first-born Cain Reign in all bosoms; till [that] each heart being set On bloody actions [courses] the rude scene may end And darkness be the burier of the dead."

(1846) In an article on "Women" in *Brooklyn Eagle*, July 24, 1846, worked into the context of the article.—*Gath. Forc.*, II, 89.

Henry V

III. 7. 127: "*Orleans.* And I will take up that with 'Give the Devil his due!"

See attribution above to *First Henry IV*, I. 2. 132–3.

First Part of Henry VI

I. 2. 131–2: "*Joan.* Expect Saint Martin's summer, halcyon days Since I have entered into these wars."

"Halcyon Days," a poem in *Leaves of Grass*, has for its last line:

"The brooding and blissful halcyon days."—*Works*, II, 298.

Second Part of Henry VI

III. 2. 233: "*King.* Thrice is he arm'd that hath his quarrel just."

(1851) In "Art and Artists," *Brooklyn Daily Advertizer*, April 3, 1851:

"As a soldier, he acts upon the principle that 'thrice is he armed who has his quarrel just,' and appeals to force only when negotiations fail, but then with terrific energy." *P. and P.*, I, 245.

III. 3. 29: "*King.* He dies and makes no sign. O God, forgive him."

(1846) In "Motley Your Only Wear," *Brooklyn Eagle*, April 1, 1846:

"But who, from appearances, will probably 'die and give no sign.' "—*P. and P.*, I, 112.

(1881?) In "Emerson's Books (The Shadows of Them):"

"I know the fires, emotions, love, egotisms, glow deep perennial, as in all New Englanders—but the façade hides them well—they give no sign."—*Works*, V, 267.

Julius Caesar

I. 2. 192–3: "*Caes.* Let me have men about me that are fat: Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o' nights."

(1879?) In *Specimen Days*, "Denver Impressions:"

"I, too can hardly tell why, but as I enter'd the city in the slight haze of a late September afternoon, and

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have breath'd its air, and slept well o' nights."—*Works*, IV, 266.

"I've heard stories about you—how that you never sleep o' nights." [?]

III. 2. 192–3: "*Ant.* Even at the base of Pompey's statua,
Which all the while ran blood, great Caesar fell."
In "Brooklyniana", No. 39:

(1862) "Whose necks, (like Pompey's statue), all the while ran blood."—*P. and P.*, II, 319.

IV. 3. 67–9: "*Brutus.* For I am arm'd so strong in honesty
That they pass by me as the idle wind
Which I respect not."

(1848) In "Daggerdraw Bowieknife, Esq.," in *New Orleans Crescent*, March 23, 1848:

"These sons of honor 'pass by as the idle wind, which they regarded not.' "

IV. 3. 218–9: "*Brutus.* There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

(1888) "And then the tide may be taken at the full."—Traubel, I, 386.

V. 5. 68: "*Ant.* This was the noblest Roman of them all."

(1847) About Thomas Jefferson, in *Brooklyn Eagle*, November 4, 1847, in the article, "Verdict of the Undaunted Democracy of the Empire State in Behalf of the Jeffersonian Ordinance:"

"[Jefferson is]" the noblest Democrat of them all."—*Gath. Forc.*, I, 224.

(1888) "Symonds is the noblest of us all."—Traubel, I, 74.

(1889) About Sidney Morse, painter of Whitman's portrait January 17, 1889, to Traubel:

"He is the noblest Roman of them all."—Traubel, III, 555.

King John

General Ref. In "Preparatory Reading and Thought" in Whitman's notes on Shakespeare, intended, probably, for a lecture

(Bef. 1855) on Shakespeare:

"The character of the bastard Faulconbridge—his gloating pleasure over the fact that he is the *bastard of a King.*"—*Works*, IX, 74.

III. 4. 93–105: "*Constance.* Grief fills the room up of my absent child,
Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me,
Puts on his pretty looks, repeats his words, ...
My widow comfort, and my sorrow's cure."

(1846) Formally quoted in "Matters Which were Seen and

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Done in an Afternoon Ramble," in *Brooklyn Eagle* November 19, 1846.—*P. and P.*, I, 144.

III. 4. 108–9: "*Lewis.* Life is as tedious as a twice-told tale
Vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man."

(1846) In "Miss Brewer's Novels," *Brooklyn Eagle*, August 18 1846:

"Witless are they, and if long reflection discovers some shadow of a moral, it has hardly enough point to 'vex the dull ear of a drowsy man.'"—*Gath. Forc.*, II, 267.

King Lear

I. 4. 310–1: "*Lear.* How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is
To have a thankless child."

(1842; 1846) First published in *Franklin Evans*, Chapter I, (1842) (*P. and P.*, II, 108); later in *Brooklyn Eagle*, November 16, 1846:

"Whatever may be the faults of those who gave us birth, there is little excuse for thankless ones, whose disobedience to the parental will is indeed sharper than the serpent's tooth."

II. 2. 59–60: "*Kent.* You cowardly rascal, Nature disclaims in thee: a tailor made thee."

(1848) In "John J. Jinglebrain," in *New Orleans Crescent* March 28, 1848:

"Some poet or other—Shakespeare, I think—makes allusion to one having small pretensions to manhood, that 'the tailor made him.' "—*P. and P.*, I, 208.

II. 4. 136–7: "*Lear.* Thy sister's naught: O Regan! she hath tied
Sharp-tooth'd unkindness, like a vulture, here."

(184–) "Sharp-tooth'd envy works within me." [?]

Macbeth

I. 1. 12: "*All Witches.* Hover through the fog and filthy air."

(1870) "However, they, or the spirits of them, hovering in the air."—*Works*, [?], p. 284.

I. 5. 64–5: "*Lady Macbeth.* To beguile the time
Look like the time."

(18—) In "Not Youth Pertains to Me,"

"I cannot beguile the time with talk."—*Works*, II, 85.

I. 7. 1–2: "*Macb.* If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well
It were done quickly."

(18—)

"But we are persuaded that if the work is well done, it must be quickly done."—[?].

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I. 7. 4–5: "*Macb.* That but this blow
Might be the be-all and the end-all here."

(1851) In *New York Evening Post*, Feb. 1, 1851:
"Put before our children as the be all and the end all."
—*P. and P.*, I, 237.

(1876?) "Instead of Death coming like a blight and end-all."—*Works*, IX, 14.

I. 7. 10–12: "*Macb.* This even-handed justice
Commends the ingredients of our poison'd chalice
To our own lips."

(1842) Formally quoted as motto in *Franklin Evans*, Chapter XXII, *P. and P.*, II, 208.

I. 7. 27–8: "*Macb.* Vaulting ambition, which o'erleaps itself
And falls on the other [side]."

(1847) In *Brooklyn Eagle*, Sept. 18, 1847:
"Like Macbeth's ambition, it o'erleaps itself and falls on the other side."—*P. and P.*, I, 178.

I. 7. 44–5: "*Lady Macb.* Letting 'I dare not' wait upon 'I would',
Like the poor cat i' the adage?"

I. 7. 59: "*Macb.* If we should fail?"

(1846) In "American Futurity," *Brooklyn Eagle*, Nov. 24, 1846:
"If it should fail!"—*Gath. Forc.*, I, 28.

I. 7. 60: "*Lady Macb.* But screw your courage to the sticking-place."

(1842) In *Franklin Evans*, Chapter XI:
"It was a long time before I could screw my courage to make application at the doors."—*P. and P.*, II, 168.

II. 1. 21: "*Banquo.* To you they have show'd some truth.
Macb. I think not of them."

(1847) In "The Latest Raw Head and Bloody Bones," *Brooklyn Eagle*, Jan. 22, 1847:
"And as to the newspaper stories on which these raw head and bloody bones are based, we think not of them."—*Gath. Forc.*, I, 163.

(186–) In reporting activities around Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg: "Specimen Days:"
"I think not of it."—*Works*, IV, 53.

II. 1. 56–60: "*Macb.* Thou sure and firm-set earth,
Hear not my steps, which way they walk, for fear
The very stones prate of my whereabout,
And take the present horror from the time
Which now suits with it."

(1842) Formally quoted as motto to *Franklin Evans*, Chapter XXI.—*P. and P.*, II, 204.

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II. 2. 52–3: "*Lady Macb.* Infirm of purpose,
Give me the daggers."

(1846) Describing *King John* as acted in the Park Theatre, New York, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Nov. 19, 1846:
"And there sat the monarch so 'infirm of purpose' on

III. 2. 22–3: "*Macb.* Duncan is in his grave. After life's fitful fever he sleeps well."

(1840) In "Sundown Papers," No. 6. *Long Island Democrat*, Aug. 11, 1840:
"When the pantings of 'life's fitfull fever have ceased'—*P. and P.*, I, 36.
his throne."—*P. and P.*, I, 143.

III. 4: General allusion:
"I have heard that . . . . the ghosts of murdered Banquos will rise mentally to your vision."

III. 4. 24–5: "*Macb.* But now I am cabin'd cribb'd, confin'd, bound in
To saucy doubts and fears."

(1888) To Traubel, Oct. 2, 1888:
"It's not 'this cursed book' with me, as with Carlyle, but, I guess, the being cribbed, confined, and for so long."—Traubel, II, 416.

IV. 1. 10–11: "*All Witches.* Double, double, toil and trouble,
Fire burn and cauldron bubble."

(1890) "What they call the 'political cauldron' is beginning to bubble and agitate all over the United States."—*J. and W.*, 266.

V. 3. 22–3: "*Macb.* My way of life
Is fall'n into the sear, the yellow leaf."

(1847) In "A Defence of Whitman's Grammar," *Brooklyn Eagle*, Nov. 5, 1847:
"It's fallen now into the sere (*sic*) and yellow leaf."
Gath. Forc., II, 8.

V. 5. 24–28: "*Macb.* Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
And then is heard no more; it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing."

(1847) In "American Democracy," *Brooklyn Eagle*, April 20, 1847:
"A tale told by many an idiot, and often signifying indeed 'nothing.' "—*Gath. Forc.*, I, 3.

(1888) "I heard this in a play: 'a walking shadow ending in nothing.' "—Traubel, III, 424.

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Measure for Measure

I. 3. 35–7: "*Duke.* Sith 'twas my fault to give the people scope,
'Twould be my tyranny to strike and gall them
For what I bid them do."

(1847) In "The Democratic Spirit," *Brooklyn Eagle*, April 20, 1847:

"Who argue that it is better so, than to rise and destroy the tyranny that galls them."—*P. and P.*, I, 159. (Note that passage quoted fits Whitman's topic, that is, topic and context inevitably agree.—R. C. H.)

III. 1. 124–5: "*Claudio.* To be imprison'd in the viewless winds,
And blown with restless violence round about."

(1839) In "Fame's Vanity," *Long Island Democrat*, Oct. 23, 1839:

"Thou whose drunk votaries die to gain
A puff of viewless air."—*P. and P.*, I, 5.

Merchant of Venice

IV. 1. 184–6: "*Por.* The quality of mercy is not strained;
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath; it is twice bless'd."

(1848) In "Samuel Sensitive," *New Orleans Crescent*, May 2, 1848:

"The quality of mercy itself, distilling like the gentle rain from heaven, and is indeed 'twice blessed' whenever and wherever it is exercised."—*P. and P.*, I, 217.

V. 1. 83–5: "*Lorenzo.* The man that hath not music in himself,
Nor is not mov'd with concord of sweet sounds,
Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils."

(1841) In "Sundown Papers," *Long Island Farmer*, July 20, 1841:

"We proceeded to give some very scientific specimens of the concord of sweet sounds."—*P. and P.*, I, 49.

(1846) In "Vocal Concerts by Children," *Brooklyn Eagle*, Sept. 19, 1846:

"Indeed we think there is a *real national taste* for the 'concord of sweet sounds' in America."—*Gath. Forc.*, II, 358.

A Midsummer Night's Dream

V. 1. 16–7: "*Theseus.* Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name."

(1862) In "Brooklyniana," No. 16, 1862:

"The picture above represented puts before the eyes of the reader the local habitation of one of the most

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useful and humane of all the institutions of our city."—*P. and P.*, II, 288.

Much Ado About Nothing

III. 3. 14–24: "*Dogberry.* To be a well-favoured man is the gift of fortune, but to write and read comes by nature. . . . . You are thought here to be the most senseless and fit man for the constable of the watch."

(1848) In "Timothy Goujon, V. O. N. O." (Vender of Oysters in New Orleans), *New Orleans Crescent*, April 4, 1848. "They are well-favoured men, which, as Dogberry says, 'is the gift of nature.' " Whitman adds, quoting: "senseless and fit."—*P. and P.*, I, 212.

III. 3. 25–6: "*Dogb.* You shall comprehend all vagrom men."

(1847) Heading to news note in *Brooklyn Eagle*, Dec. 27, 1847, giving notice of "Ann McDonough's" having gone to jail for vagrancy: "Vagrom Woman." (Note: Only one Shakespearean word here, but it is one so signalized by Shakespeare that the context marks it as suggested by Shakespeare to Whitman.—R. C. H.)

III. 3. 36–9: "*Dogb.* You shall also make no noise in the streets; for the watch to babble and talk is most tolerable and not to be endured."

(1846) In "Home Literature," *Brooklyn Eagle*, July 11, 1846: "The influence of European literature over us—its tolerable amount of good, and its, we hope, 'not to be endured much longer,' immense amount of evil."—*P. and P.*, I, 121.

Othello

I. 3. 80–81: "*Oth.* The very head and front of my offending
Hath this extent, no more."

(1846) In "Nativism," *Brooklyn Eagle*, Oct. 5, 1846: "This seems to have been not only the head and front, but the back, legs, and tail of all their mighty efforts!" —*Gath. Forc.*, I, 21.

I. 3. 322–3: "*Iago.* Virtue! a fig! 'tis in ourselves that we are thus or thus."

(Cf. *3 Henry VI.*, IV. 1. 46: "In them and in ourselves our safety lies."—R. C. H.)

(1846) In "Home Literature," *Brooklyn Eagle*, July 11, 1846: "*In ourselves* we must look for it." (Italics are Whitman's.)—*P. and P.*, I, 123.

I. 3. 347: "*Iago.* Put money in thy purse." Repeated in some form seven times; in this form, four times.

(1846) Speaking of conditions of the theatre in New York: "The management was putting money into its purse."

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III. 3. 159–61: "*Iago.* But he that filches from me my good name
Robs me of that which not enriches him,
And makes me poor indeed."

(1858) Referring to a good wife's characteristics, in "Private Lives of Great Men," *Brooklyn Times*, June 23, 1858:

"but take that comfort, consolation, and safeguard away and he becomes poor indeed."—*P. and P.*, II, 19.

III. 3. 167–9: "*Iago.* O! beware, my lord, of jealousy;
It is the green-eyed monster which doth mock
The meat it feeds on."

(1888) Whitman to Traubel, August 28, 1888, speaking of quarrels concerning Whitman's poems:

"Quarrels start with little things, and grow in volume by what they feed upon."—Traubel, II, 213.

III. 3. 263–4: "*Oth.* Haply, for I am black
And have not those soft parts of conversation."

(1842) Formally quoted as motto in *Franklin Evans*, Chap. XVII.—*P. and P.*, II, 188.

III. 3. 354: "*Oth.* Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war."

(1848) In "Hero Presidents," *New Orleans Crescent*, March 11, 1848:

"So long, then, as men are men, will they continue to love the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war."—*P. and P.*, I, 197.

Richard III

I. 1. 1. "*Glouc.* Now is the winter of our discontent."

(1888) In "November Boughs," 1888, Whitman, writing of how Booth played Richard III, quotes the passage.—*Works*, VI, 193.

I. 1. 20–1: "*Gloucester.* Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time
Into this breathing world, scarce half made up."

(1848) In "Timothy Gonjon, V. O. N. O.," *New Orleans Crescent*, April 4, 1848:

"Gonjon made his advent into 'this breathing world'. in the City of Bordeaux."—*P. and P.*, I, 212.

Romeo and Juliet

II. 2. 43–4: "*Juliet.* What's in a name? That which we call a rose
By any other name would smell as sweet."

(1847) In "East Long Island Correspondence," Letter No. 1, *Brooklyn Eagle*, April 16, 1847:

"Wasn't it Shakespeare's Juliet, who asked about that 'rose'? "—*P. and P.*, I, 177.

Taming of the Shrew

IV. 1. 211: "*Petruchio.* This is a way to kill a wife with kindness."

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(1881) About the hospitality received in Boston while reading proof for *Leaves of Grass:*

"I should have been killed with kindness."

The Tempest

IV. 1. 156–8: "*Prospero.* We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep."

(1840) In "The Love that Is Hereafter," *Long Island Democrat*, May 19, 1840:

"Yet he it is whose little life
Is past in useless, vexing strife . . . .
And sends him to his sleep."

V. 1. 226: "*Pros.* to Ariel. My tricksy spirit."

(1846) In "East Long Island," *Brooklyn Eagle*, June 27, 1846:

"It were a cruel task to give even 'tricksy Ariel.' "

Troilus and Cressida

IV. 5. 14–16: "*Ulysses.* 'Tis he, I ken the manner of his gait:
He rises on the toe: that spirit of his
In aspiration lifts him from the earth."

(1847) In "A Foot and Boot Article," *Brooklyn Eagle*, Dec. 8, 1847:

"Shakespeare thus describes Diomedes (in *Troilus and Cressida*) walking:" (The formal quotation follows.)—*Gath. Forc.*, II, 157–8.

IV. 5. 54–6: "*Ulys.* Fie, fie upon her!
There's language in her eye, her cheek, her lip,
Nay, her foot speaks."

(1847) In "A Foot and Boot Article," *Brooklyn Eagle*, Dec. 8, 1847:

"The great bard of nature, in another place, makes use of this expression: 'Nay, her *foot* speaks.' "—*Gath. Forc.*, II, 158.

Twelfth Night

II. 5. 157–8: "*Malvolio.* Some are born great, some achieve greatness and some have greatness thrust upon 'em.

(1848) In a sketch, "John J. Jinglebrain," *New Orleans Crescent*, November 23, 1848:

"Some men become noted, some are celebrated, and others, again, have the stamp of notoriety fixed to their names."—*P. and P.*, I, 207–208.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

14. ROUSSEAU'S DOCTRINE OF GOODNESS ACCORDING TO NATURE

In her interesting article, "The Paradox of Rousseau,"[1] Miss Jeannette Tresnon takes sharp issue with the interpretation of Rousseau's theory of the natural goodness of man which I set forth in a series of articles published a few years ago in this country and in France.[2] It is well that this matter should be thoroughly discussed from both sides, for no idea is more fundamental to Rousseau's thought, so that our attitude toward the meaning and the value of his work must very largely be determined in accordance with our understanding of this doctrine.

Miss Tresnon remarks that I have "collected a surprisingly large amount of material from Rousseau's writings to prove that both by experience and by observation Rousseau was convinced of the reality of evil and of the consequent reality of struggle."[3] That Rousseau gave more frequent expression to this idea than has ordinarily been recognized is in itself a fact of some significance. My articles in any case have assisted in building up one side of Miss Tresnon's "paradox"—the realistic side of Rousseau which she contrasts with the theoretical. This is a contrast, however, which was pointed out in the very first of my articles on this subject.[4] Obviously the idea of "natural goodness" does represent a theoretical concept on the part of Rousseau. That it is theoretical would seem hardly to require proof. The point of vital interest, however, is not whether this concept is theoretical—that may be taken for granted—, but rather whether in calling goodness "natural" Rousseau did or did not mean that it could be obtained without effort. It is with this central question that my articles were mainly concerned, and I must refer the reader to these articles for the detailed evidence there presented.

Evil, according to Rousseau, is an "artificial thing," because he believes that it can be eradicated, whereas if it were "natural" and inherent in man it could not be. "Il n'est point vrai," he says, "que le penchant au mal soit indomptable."[5] Goodness, on the other hand, is in harmony with our nature:

> Si la bonté morale est conforme à notre nature, l'homme ne sauroit être sain d'esprit ni bien constitué qu'autant qu'il est bon. Si elle ne l'est pas, et que l'homme soit

[1] *PMLA*, XLIII (December, 1928), 1010–25.

[2] "The Theory of Natural Goodness in Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse*," *MLN*, XXXVI (1921), 385–94; "The Theory of Natural Goodness in Rousseau's *Confessions*," *ibid.*, XXXVIII, 257–66; "La Théorie de la bonté naturelle de l'homme chez Jean-Jacques Rousseau," *RHL*, October, 1924, January, and April, 1925.

[3] *PMLA*, XLIII, 1012.

[4] *MLN*, XXXVI (Nov., 1921), 393. Cf. *MLN*, XXXVIII, 264–65, on this aspect of the *Confessions*.

[5] Rousseau, *Œuvres* (Hachette, 1885–1905), II, 298.

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méchant naturellement, il ne peut cesser de l'être sans se corrompre et la bonté n'est en lui qu'un vice contre nature.[6]

This seemingly paradoxical mode of expression can only be understood in the light of the opposite doctrine of "natural perversity," which was constantly in the background of Rousseau's mind and against which he reacted. This explains his concern to prove that goodness is "conforme à notre nature." In *Emile* he declares categorically: "Posons pour maxime incontestable que les premiers mouvemens de la nature sont toujours droits: il n'y a point de perversité originelle dans le cœur humain."[7] The great importance which Rousseau attaches to his denial of this doctrine of the Church appears in his Letter to the Archbishop of Paris, Christophe de Beaumont:

D' abord il s'en faut bien, selon moi, que cette doctrine du péché originel, sujette à des difficultés si terribles, ne soit contenue dans l'Ecriture ni si clairement ni si durement qu'il a plu au rhéteur Augustin et à nos théologiens de la bâtir. Et le moyen de concevoir que Dieu crée tant d'âmes innocentes et pures, tout exprès pour les joindre à des corps coupables, pour leur y faire contracter la corruption morale, et pour les condamner toutes à l'enfer, sans autre crime que cette union, qui est son ouvrage![8]—La cause du mal est, selon vous, la nature corrompue; et cette corruption même est un mal dont il falloit chercher la cause. L' homme fut créé bon; nous en convenons, je crois, tous les deux: mais vous dites qu'il est méchant parce qu'il a été méchant; et moi je montre comment il a été méchant,[9] that is, through the false direction given to the organization of society.

Miss Tresnon appears to cast doubt, though perhaps this was not her intention, upon the significance of the doctrine of "natural perversity" in this connection. She says at any rate: "Professor Havens insists that Rousseau 'wished to react against the fatalism of predestination and the damnation of the non-elect';"[10] and again: "Professor Havens insists that Rousseau's theory of *vertu* was an attack upon the fatalism of Calvinism. Now Rousseau *may*[11] have intended to deal religious determinism its death blow, but," etc.[12] If I insist upon this point, it is merely because Rousseau insisted upon it before me.[13] Let me repeat his words already cited, adding this time the important concluding clause: "Il n'est point vrai que le penchant au mal soit indomptable, et qu'on ne soit pas maître de le vaincre avant d'avoir pris l'habitude d'y succomber."[14] In other words, man, according to Rousseau, is able, if he acts before inveterate habits are formed, to overcome evil without need of a special act of divine grace. He has the power within himself. My insistence upon Rousseau's reaction against the doctrine of natural perversity is, after all, no new

[6] *Ibid.*, 258.
[7] *Ibid.*, 60.
[8] *Ibid.*, III, 65–66.
[9] *Ibid.*, 67–68.
[10] *PMLA.*, XLIII, 1011, n. 4.
[11] Italics mine.
[12] *PMLA.*, XLIII, 1020.
[13] Rousseau, *Œuvres*, II, 258; III, 64, 88–89.
[14] *Ibid.*, II, 298.

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thing. Let me quote an authority who will not be suspected of partiality toward my interpretation of Rousseau and who will certainly be accepted by Miss Tresnon. Professor Babbitt says in his *Rousseau and Romanticism:* "The assertion of man's natural goodness is to be understood rather as a rebound from the doctrine of total depravity that was held by the more austere type of Christian."[15] It appears, then, that Miss Tresnon and I, though at opposite poles in our understanding of Rousseau, may agree in regarding the theory of natural goodness as a reaction against the theory of natural depravity. This background from which Rousseau's thought springs is of fundamental importance and must constantly be kept in mind. However, the view that goodness is not out of harmony with man's nature, but "conforme à notre nature",[16] and that man is "maître de . . . . vaincre"[17] the tendency to evil, certainly does not mean that Rousseau was inculcating "an effortless morality," but quite the contrary, as I have repeatedly shown elsewhere.[18] It is "a liberty gained by self-mastery," and not "a liberty gained by throwing off all restraint"—to quote Miss Tresnon's phrase with an opposite application[19]—,which will free man from bondage to the "artificial" evil due to society.

Rousseau's argument proceeds from certain basic assumptions which should be kept clearly in view. (1) God created man. (2) Since God is good, he must have created man good, at least potentially, and not foredoomed him to evil with the doctrine of natural perversity.[20] (3) But man now is evil.[21] (4) Hence, this evil cannot be inherent, natural, God-made, ineradicable; it must be man-made, due to the false ideals he has woven into the constitution of society.[22] (5) The remedy, therefore, is to struggle to shake off these "artificial" accretions and recover one's primitive goodness.[23] (6) After this has been done, it will be possible

[15] *Rousseau and Romanticism* (N. Y., 1919), p. 44. Cf. also p. 123.

[16] Rousseau, *Œuvres*, II, 258.

[17] *Ibid.*, 298.

[18] See *MLN.*, XXXVI, 388–93; *ibid.*, XXXVIII, 262–65; *RHL.*, XXXI, 640; and especially *RHL.*, XXXII, 34–35.

[19] *PMLA.*, XLIII, 1015.

[20] "Tout est bien, sortant des mains de l'Auteur des choses, tout dégénère entre les mains de l'homme." *Œuvres*, II, 3. Cf. *ibid.*, 253, 258, 264. Cf. what has been said on natural perversity above.

[21] "Les hommes sont méchans, une triste et continuelle expérience dispense de la preuve." *Ibid.*, I, 133. Since this is admitted by Miss Tresnon as true of the realistic side of Rousseau's viewpoint, we also may dispense with further proof.

[22] Rousseau wishes to "séparer dans l'actuelle constitution des choses, ce qu'a fait la volonté divine d'avec ce que l'art humain a prétendu faire."*Ibid.*, I, 82. Cf. again what has been written above on the doctrine of natural perversity.

[23] "Sitôt qu'on s'est dévoyé de la droite route de la nature, rien n'est plus difficile que d'y rentrer." *Ibid.*, XII, 173. Cf. XI, 138. "O homme! qui que tu sois, rentre en toi-même, apprends à consulter ta conscience et tes facultés naturelles: tu seras juste, bon, vertueux." *Ibid.*, X, 187–88.

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for even the average man, everybody, to be good through his mere passive *bonté* without the necessity of the vigorous *vertu*[24], which is not possessed by every one, even not, as he himself says, by Rousseau himself.[25] This millennia lstate is perhaps what Miss Tresnon has in mind when she "infers" that, once man is freed from social constraint,[26] "goodness and pity and love will come gushing forth from the primordial depths of his being,"[27] but this description applies, not to the present, but only to the ideal state of nature once again restored to earth, or as Miss Tresnon would evidently prefer to call it, Rousseau's *pays des chimères*.[28] This, it seems to me, very clearly contemplates the creation of a "*milieu* favorable à la vertu,"[29] so that, when Rousseau urges the sage "de se tirer de la foule autant qu'il lui est possible,"[30] or as Miss Tresnon puts it "to flee from society,"[31] it is only because in a society which has not yet listened to Rousseau's message but which is still torn asunder by human passions and prejudices, this appears his wisest course. None the less does Rousseau urge the necessity of social reform, and in depicting for us the ideal family life in the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, the ideal education in *Emile*, the ideal government in the *Contrat social*, he endeavors to recreate as far as that is now possible, the ideal qualities of the man of nature in the midst of society.[32]

Another objection raised by Miss Tresnon is that, though Rousseau may have intended to attack Calvinistic fatalism and "deal religious determinism its death blow, ... really he has succeeded in setting up in its stead a naturalistic determinism even more paralyzing and more terrifying," inasmuch as "his doctrine of Sensitive Morality outlaws free will and regards man's moral nature as merely the reflection of his surroundings."[33] This also is apparently an "inference" on the part of Miss Tresnon, since she does not present her proof. However strongly Rousseau may have felt the importance of environment in its influence upon man's character, he certainly did not regard "man's moral nature as *merely*[34] the

[24] "Heureux les peuples chez lesquels on peut être bon sans effort et juste sans vertu." *Ibid.*, II, 165. This "effortless morality" cannot be attained short of the ideal state.

[25] Cf. *RHL.*, XXXII, 220.

[26] Not the "constraint," but rather the *artificial temptations* of society would seem better to represent Rousseau's thought.

[27] *PMLA.*, XLIII, 1013.

[28] *Ibid.*, 1019, 1020, 1023, 1024 (twice). This is also a favorite expression of Professor Babbitt. See *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 41, 70, 72, 73, 81, 84, 102, 104, 107, 181, 186, 209 (twice), 240, 314.

[29] *PMLA.*, XLIII, 1021. Cf. *RHL.*, XXXII, 225.

[30] Rousseau, *Œuvres*, IX, 108.

[31] *PMLA.*, XLIII, 1021.

[32] Cf. G. Lanson, *Hist. de la litt. fr.*, 781–86, 791–98.

[33] *PMLA.*, XLIII, 1020.

[34] Italics mine.

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reflection of his surroundings." While determinists, ancient and modern, have held to this view, Rousseau did not. No one believed more firmly in Free Will. He says:

> Le principe de toute action est dans la volonté d'un être libre; on ne sauroit remonter au delà. Ce n'est pas le mot de liberté qui ne signifie rien, c'est celui de la nécessité . . . . . Si l'homme est actif et libre, il agit de lui-même; tout ce qu'il fait librement n'entre point dans le système ordonné de la Providence, et ne peut lui être imputé.[35] Elle ne veut point le mal que fait l'homme, en abusant de la liberté qu'elle lui donne . . . . . Le mal moral est incontestablement notre ouvrage. . . . . Homme, ne cherche plus l'auteur du mal; cet auteur, c'est toi-même. . . . . Otez nos funestes progrès, ôtez nos erreurs et nos vices, ôtez l'ouvrage de l'homme et tout est bien.[36]

I cite this passage at length, because this is no isolated utterance, but one of the cornerstones of Rousseau's whole theory: namely, that evil came into the world through man's freedom of moral choice, and not through God. Consequently, man, as we have shown, by reëxercising this moral choice, may regain the primitive goodness which he lost through following the false gods of material progress.

Perhaps the most important difference between Miss Tresnon's interpretation and mine is that she believes Rousseau to have posited, in place of the theologically elect, a new group of the "elect of Nature,"[37] no less limited in its numbers and no less fatalistically constituted. "If you are not of the elect of Nature," she says, "you are lost because, having no *bonté*, your only hope for success is by the hard path of the pursuit of *vertu*—a forlorn hope since the hostile forces of society will always be too strong for you."[38] This conclusion is presented without proof as an inference from the deterministic position erroneously attributed to Rousseau at the beginning of the same paragraph. Rousseau, as we have just seen, was not consciously a determinist, but possibly Miss Tresnon means that his theories made him one unconsciously. Nevertheless, I see no evidence necessitating this conclusion and Miss Tresnon has presented none. That Rouseau believed himself in many respects unique is known to every one who has read the first page of the *Confessions*. That certain people, like in general the inhabitants of Geneva, like Diderot, like Jean-Jacques himself, "l'homme de la nature,"[39] remain in Rousseau's opinion nearer this state of primitive goodness than most of their contemporaries in the midst of a too artificial society, I have already pointed out.[40] To conclude from this, however, that, according to Rousseau, "the elect of Nature" consisted of a closed group to which one could be ad-

[35] Note again Rousseau's insistence that his theory relieves God of blame for man's degeneration.

[36] Rousseau, *Œuvres*, II, 251–53, one of the most important passages in *Le Vicaire savoyard* of *Emile*.

[37] *PMLA.*, XLIII, 1021.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] Rousseau, *Œuvres*, IX, 290.

[40] See *RHL.*, XXXII, 213–14.

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mitted only through an act of nature analogous to the operation of divine grace in the theology of the Church, is a long leap, which assumes without proof a most fundamental point. Rousseau himself had declared: "O homme! qui que tu sois, rentre en toi-même, apprends à consulter ta conscience et tes facultés naturelles: tu seras juste, bon, vertueux."[41] Throughout his application of the natural goodness theory Rousseau evidently had in mind primarily the *average* man ("whoever he might be,") and not the exceptional man. This is the basis of his desire to create a social *milieu* in which even this average man can attain goodness, and not merely the man who has the strength of *vertu* and therefore is less in need of better environment.[42] This is the reason also for his important distinction between *bonté*, which is passive admiration for goodness, and *vertu*, which is moral victory after the struggle against evil.[43] This is why he believes *bonté* to be possessed by *l'homme* in general, even though his actions may not now be good. Hence he praises the human conscience as an infallible guide.[44] Man *can* distinguish between the good and the bad, if he will only listen to his conscience, and he *can* follow it, if he will. However, so far as actual attainment is concerned, goodness will only be general when the ideal education has created the ideal society.

Miss Tresnon affirms that she has "searched vainly" in my articles for an indication of the "real significance" of "Rousseau's choice of an idealistic past rather than an idealistic future."[45] In several references to this matter, I trusted that I had made it clear. Let me quote, however, from one of my previous articles:

> Dans un siècle où la géologie, la zoologie, la psychologie, l'anthropologie et les sciences sociales s'etaient trop peu développées pour lui fournir la solide base scientifique dont it avait besoin, Rousseau s'est trompé en partant d'une position qui, au fond, n'était guère différente de celle de la Genèse. Il ne s'égara pas beaucoup dans ses critiques de la société de son temps. Son erreur consista à mettre l'état idéal de la race humaine dans le passé plutôt que dans l'avenir. Il ne dit ni ne laissa entendre que l'idée de 'la bonté naturelle' signifie que l'homme est à présent naturellement bon. Il dit seulement que, primitivement, l'homme était innocent et que la bonté, et non pas la méchanceté, est sa véritable nature.[46]

In other words, Rousseau, like the Bible and like the dreamers of the Golden Age before him, put the ideal of the human race in the past. The fact that the historicity of this ideal age is now discredited does not destroy the value of his emphasis upon moral issues and the necessity of struggle, under the guidance of conscience, to "progress," if we may so

[41] Rousseau, *Œuvres*, X, 187–88.

[42] Perhaps because better heredity and better environment have already been accorded him previously and developed in him the strength of *vertu*.

[43] For this important distinction, see *RHL*, XXXII, 32, 214–15.

[44] "Conscience! conscience! . . . . juge infaillible du bien et du mal." *Œuvres*, II, 262.

[45] *PMLA*, XLIII, 1024.

[46] *RHL*, XXXI, 635–39.

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term it, back to this theoretical ideal age, *pays des chimères*, as every ideal is until it is realized and has become an accepted commonplace of life. Rousseau spoke, and had to speak, the language of the eighteenth century. Then the "state of nature" offered an accepted basis for attack upon the abuses of the time. It was a phrase used frequently in the voyage literature, almost the only anthropological data, imperfect as it was, of the period. It seemed to be confirmed by Rousseau's conviction that he had met more kindness and sincerity from country people than from inhabitants of cities, from the relative simplicity of Geneva, than from the complex artificialities of the *boudoirs* and *salons* of Paris,[47] from the *simples d'esprit*, than from the highly intellectual and rationalizing *philosophes*. *Natural* religion in Rousseau's day was opposed to *revealed* religion. Why not natural goodness in opposition to natural depravity? Why not goodness in accordance with man's true nature, as created by God and unspoiled in primitive society, rather than goodness obtainable only by the elect of divine grace? We must understand Rousseau in the light of the ideas current in his time, and not expect him to speak in terms of the twentieth century. Only after we have tried to see what he did really mean to say to his own age, may we properly inquire what value his ideas have for the present.

I have for the most part quoted Rousseau's own words in dealing with Miss Tresnon's major objections[48] to my interpretation of his theory of natural goodness. It has been impossible here to consider other criticisms of Rousseau's theory,[49] or to discuss contradictions[50] or *nuances*. This has been done with considerable detail and documentation in my previous discussions. Without adding any new material to these, I have here endeavored merely to weigh, with such impartiality as I may command, the validity of Miss Tresnon's contentions, and to present concrete evidence why I think they are not well founded.[51]

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[47] "Cette étude des divers peuples dans leurs provinces reculées, et dans la simplicité de leur génie originel, donne une observation générale . . . . bien consolante pour le cœur humain; c'est que toutes les nations, ainsi observées, paroissent en valoir beaucoup mieux; plus elles se rapprochent de la nature, plus la bonté domine dans leur caractère." *Œuvres*, II, 441–42.

[48] Miss Tresnon accuses me of using in my articles a "statistical method" (*PMLA*. XLIII, 1022). As a matter of fact, I was very careful to consider in each case the trend as a whole of the works studied. Cf. *MLN*., XXXVI, 391; *ibid*., XXXVIII, 258, 264, and my articles in *RHL*., *passim*.

[49] See *RHL*., XXXII, 34–35.

[50] Rousseau says: "Je ne crois pas en cela me contredire dans mes idées, mais je ne puis disconvenir que je ne me contredise souvent dans mes expressions." *Œuvres*, II, 76, n.

[51] Miss Tresnon has cited M. Lanson in connection with the "general contradiction between the radical and the conservative Rousseau," an admitted con-

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15. A DEFENSE OF TROILUS

Every reader of Chaucer must be interested in Mr. Graydon's new interpretation of *Troilus and Criseyde*.[1] But his contention that Troilus so offended Criseyde by jealousy, tattling, and spying on her that she was justified in deserting him is so insecurely grounded that one needs merely to compare it with the poem to discover its inadequacy.

Mr. Graydon makes a good deal of Troilus's jealousy, in that "before he had any claim of right to the love of Criseyde, [he] exhibited the prerogative of a husband."[2] The basis of this accusation is of course Pandarus's mournful tale of Troilus's despair on learning of Criseyde's love for Horaste (3. 792–798).[3] When Pandarus tells her this story in his house (not, as Mr. Graydon says, in Deiphebus's house), she exclaims (3. 837–840):

> But O, thow wikked serpent, jalousie,
> Thow mysbyleved, envyous folie,
> Why hastow Troilus made to me untriste,
> That never yit agilte hym, that I wiste?

And she soon preaches Troilus a formidable sermon against this vice (3. 1009–1050). The defect in this argument is that we know of this jealousy only from the mouth of Pandarus, who lies for his friend without the slightest hesitation; as witness his assuring Criseyde that Troilus will not be at his house during her visit. Mr. Graydon spurns the thought that Pandarus is here making up a story out of whole cloth, but such is obviously the case. Troilus later laments "thi wile" (3. 1077–8)—that is, Pandarus's knavery—mainly, to be sure, because it "serveth of nought."

Mr. Graydon then finds that Troilus, in defending himself, "dodges the issue, saying (3. 1084–5):

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tradiction, which is by no means peculiar to Rousseau alone, but may be found under various forms in Montesquieu, Voltaire, and many others (*PMLA.*, XLIII, 1025, n. 28). It is important, however, to note that in considering Rousseau's thought as a whole, M. Lanson, after pointing out the objections which any candid reader must make to some of Rousseau's ideas, continues: "Je suis pourtant plus frappé de tout ce qu'il y a d'excellent, de profond, de vrai dans son œuvre, de ce qu'elle garde surtout de vivant, d'actuel, qui intéresse nos âmes jusqu'au fond . . . . Rousseau est de notre temps; et il est probable que bien des générations encore auront de lui le même sentiment . . . . . Il se tient dans la spéculation, es il construit un idéal absolu. Il n'y a pas à s'étonner que cet idéal n'ait jamait passé et ne puisse encore passer tel quel dans le monde des réalités. L'essentiel est que cet idéal jamais atteint contienne assez de vérité et de vertu pour améliorer notre pauvre présent." *Histoire de la littérature française*, 12e édition, 1912. pp. 792–93.

[1] Joseph S. Graydon, "Defense of Criseyde," *PMLA*, XLIV (1929), 141–177.

[2] *Ibid.*, 161.

[3] All my quotations are from *Troilus and Criseyde* [ed. R. K. Root], Princeton, 1926.

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good woot, that of this game,
Whan al is wist, than am I nat to blame.

At 3. 1092 he completes the baby-act by fainting."[4] But Troilus quite plainly does *not* dodge the issue: he says straightforwardly, in effect: "God knows that I am not to blame for this trick." It is therefore merely Pandarus's invention, and the jealousy is wholly fictitious. And as to fainting being a "baby-act," we may well feel surprise. Troilus is acting the part of the courtly lover. When we consider that he is for the first time in the presence of the adored lady, not in the open but in her bedroom, at night, and the recipient of a long tirade blaming him for an unsuspected vice, after which she sighs, covers her head with the sheet, and remains motionless, what ought to surprise us is not that he fainted, but that he ever revived again.

But Troilus is charged not only with jealousy, but also with noising his love-affair abroad. Mr. Graydon thinks that "Troilus' recital of the dream to Cassandra (5. 1450) was not only a betrayal of the secret amour, but an accusation of infidelity against Criseyde."[5] Now Chaucer's account is as follows (5. 1450–6):

For which he for Sibille his suster sente,
That called was Cassandre ek al aboute;
And al his drem he tolde hire or he stente,
And hire bisoughte assoilen hym the doute
Of the stronge boor with tuskes stoute;
And fynaly, withinne a litel stounde,
Cassandre hym gan right thus his drem expounde.

Notice that he does not reveal his *love-affair*, but merely his *dream*, which might be more or less non-committal; and not to a casual acquaintance, but to his sister, a prophetess, and merely for interpretation. By no stretching of the term could this act be construed as "an accusation of infidelity against Criseyde." But Mr. Graydon finds even more damning faults. On receipt of Criseyde's letter in answer to his own (5. 1424–8), Troilus immediately "sent for Cassandra, who interpreted it without delay."[6] Before long this incident has grown to the point where Criseyde realizes that Troilus "has published (to Cassandra) the story of their love and her infidelity."[7] The climax of this situation is that "the Cassandra incident . . . . was the cause of her giving up the plan to return" from the Greek camp to Troy.[8] But there is no indication in Chaucer that Troilus says a word to Cassandra about the *letter;* we *know* only that he tells her of his *dream.*

Poor Cassandra's reputation is torn into shreds by Mr. Graydon. She admittedly had her faults, but it seems unjust to add to them arbitrarily.

[4] *PMLA*, XLIV, 161.
[5] *Ibid.*, 165; see also 167.
[6] *Ibid.*, 170.
[7] *Ibid.*, 172.
[8] *Ibid.*, 170.

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For instance, when we read how (5. 1457), on hearing of Troilus' dream, "She gan first smyle," we feel somewhat startled to be told that "she listened avidly and when she had digested the choice morsel of news, redolent of scandal, *She gan first smile* . . . . . The smile of the neurotic, mud-slinging old maid inevitably recalls *The smyler with the knyf under the cloke.*"[9] But nothing in Chaucer's account justifies this interpretation, or even the charge that she was "a loose-mouthed talker."[10] She smiled from a natural sympathy with her brother and a desire to comfort or at least help him. Mr. Graydon also sneers at Cassandra for being a " 'greet devyneress' who can recite before the fall of Troy, the story of Thebes as told by Statius A.D. 100."[11] But of course this charge can not be brought against *Cassandra;* she could not quote from the writings of a man who was to live centuries later. The fault is *Chaucer's*, if fault there be. He may have committed an unimportant anachronism; but Cassandra was presumably only quoting from some older book of her own time.

But Mr. Graydon's worst criticism of Troilus is that "he descends to the extremity of ill-considered and indefensible action, that places him without the pale of lovers who are entitled to any claim of loyalty on the part of the loved one, or any sympathy from the world . . . . he permits himself to spy upon her."[12] The entire basis of this accusation is two very harmless lines (5. 1538–9):

> And day by day he gan enquere and seche
> A sooth of this, with al his fulle cure.

He has been told by the prophetess of Apollo that Criseyde is actually false; and she has not returned at the appointed time. So he naturally tries to find out the truth, not by "spies" and "Paul Pry methods," but by keeping his eyes and ears open.

Mr. Graydon bolsters his thesis by attempting to prove that Troilus was habitually sneaky, and bids us recall that "several years before, Pandarus assumed him capable of reading the private mail of his brother Paris in regard to an affair not of his business."[13] Here is the proof, in Pandarus's own words (1. 652–8):

> 'I woot wel that it fareth thus by me
> As to thi brother, Paris, an hierdesse,
> Which that icleped was Oenone,
> Wrot in a compleynte of hir hevynesse;
> Ye say [saw] the lettre that she wrot, I gesse?'
> 'Nay, nevere yit, ywys,' quod Troilus.
> 'Now,' quod Pandare, 'herkeneth, it was thus:'

[9] *Ibid.*, 167.
[10] *Ibid.*, 165.
[11] *Ibid.*, 168.
[12] *Ibid.*, 169.
[13] *Ibid.*, 169–170.

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and Pandarus proceeds to tell the story. It might seem to be some vindication that Troilus had *not* seen the letter. But no; it is "quite significant that he felt no indignation, nor even surprise, that his best friend should suppose he had read it."[14] In other words, being once accused, he must be guilty. But of course he felt no indignation, for he would have seen the letter only if his brother Paris had shown it to him. He has no idea that he is being accused of robbing the mails. Besides, the letter was sufficiently public for Ovid to see it centuries later and include it in his *Heroides!*

We may grant that Criseyde hints vaguely at "wikked speche" and the like in her letter to Troilus (5. 1610–5), but there are perfectly good psychological reasons for her attitude. For one thing, she is the least bit irritated at his persistence, as well as, possibly, his superior fidelity. Again, Diomede has very likely been poisoning her mind against his erstwhile rival. He has already suspected Troilus's love (5. 85–91):

> With that his [Troilus's] courser torned he aboute
> With face pale; and unto Diomede
> No word he spak, ne non of al his route;
> Of which the sone of Tideus took hede,
> As he that koude more than the Crede
> In swich a craft, and by the reyne hire hente;
> And Troilus to Troie homward he wente.

From Diomede, then, who was too crafty and shrewd not to use every opportunity to discredit his rival, she may well have "herd wel moore than I wende, Touchynge us two"(5. 1611–2).

Mr. Graydon tries to give more weight to his defence of Criseyde by demonstrating that part of Chaucer's epilogue upholds her; that he "ends with no diatribe against the woman, but with a warning to he against *Men!*"[15] Actually the passage will bear no such interpretation. Chaucer merely warns both sexes against the danger of being betrayed by fickle lovers, as Troilus was by Criseyde; and the point is clinched by Chaucer's admission in this same passage that "Criseyde was untrew" (5. 1774). The same sense of the pity of Troilus's unfortunate condition, which conflicts with Mr. Graydon's view, comes in again a bit later in the poem. Mr. Graydon discards everything after the "Go, litel book" passage (5. 1786–1869) as "half a dozen irrelevant tags."[16] Unfortunately for his theory, one of the "tags" is the exclamatory stanza 262:

> Swich fyn hath, lo, this Troilus for love!
> Swich fyn hath al his grete worthynesse!
> Swich fyn hath his estat real above!
> Swich fyn his lust! swich fyn hath his noblesse!
> Swych fyn hath false worldes brotelnese!

[14] *Ibid.*, 170.
[15] *Ibid.*, 176; Mr. Graydon supports his assertion by quoting 5. 1779–1785.
[16] *Ibid.*, 177.

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> And thus bigan his lovyng of Criseyde,
> As I have told, and in this wise he deyde.

And Criseyde herself admits his innocence (5. 1616–7):

> But now no fors, I kan nat in yow gesse
> But alle trouthe and alle gentilesse.

But we need no minute searching of texts to prove that it is Troilus and not Criseyde to whom Chaucer meant for us to give our sympathies. He does, to be sure, pity her, and tremendously rehabilitates her character from previous versions of the story. But Troilus is foremost. It is the "double sorwe of Troilus to tellen" (1.1), and not that of Troilus and Criseyde, that he announces as the theme of the poem. It is "Troilus unsely aventure" (1. 35) and not hers that is to lead us to pray "for hem that ben in the cas of Troilus" (1. 29–30). Not until line 55 does Criseyde's name occur, and then only to explain "that she forsook hym or she deyde" (1. 56). Moreover, Chaucer evidently thought that he had succeeded in his purpose. In the last hundred lines of the poem he names Criseyde only twice, once casually (5. 1833) and once as "untrewe" (5. 1774). To Troilus, on the other hand, he devotes five very sympathetic stanzas. If Troilus is not the character with whom the reader sympathizes most, the fault is obviously with Chaucer.

Criseyde, at least, realizes to the full her own defect and Troilus's unjust sufferings. There is no possible ambiguity about her own pitiful confession of her deed (5. 1051–1085). She admits that she is untrue to a virtuous lover, that she has no excuse, and that she will always stand as an example of the unfaithful lady. A few lines of her speech will make the point clear (5. 1051–7, 1072–7):

> But, trewely, the storie telleth us,
> Ther made nevere woman moore wo
> Than she, whan that she falsed Troilus.
> She seyde: "allas! for now is clene ago
> My name of trouthe in love for evermo!
> For I have falsed oon, the gentileste
> That evere was, and oon the worthieste.
> . . . . . .
> "But, Troilus, syn I no bettre may,
> And syn that thus departen ye and I,
> Yit preye I god, so yeve yow right good day,
> As for the gentileste, trewely,
> That evere I say, to serven feythfully,
> And beste kan ay his lady honour kepe."

If Criseyde jilts Troilus because of his own defects, and if he has tattled enough about their affair to acquaint other people with his vices, then this speech is mere pointless rant, meaningless sentimentality. If it means anything at all, on the other hand, it means that she is fickle, that she

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knows she is fickle, that she knows that other people will know it, and that she knows that her deed will remain notorious in ages to come. It settles completely and once for all the problem of the comparative guilt of the two lovers.

In conclusion, the danger in such criticism as Mr. Graydon's is that it passes insensibly from condemnation of a character in a book to condemnation, usually unintentional, of the author himself. If Troilus and not Criseyde be the criminal, then Chaucer didn't know what he was about. If Cassandra quotes Statius, the fault is the poet's, not hers—one cannot quote generations yet unborn. If Criseyde deserts Troilus because of some fault of his, Chaucer is to blame for not knowing it and telling us about it. But in view of the fact that today, after a lapse of more than five hundred years, Chaucer still stands near the peak of our literature, we can safely assume that he was a sure master of his art, and we can safely adopt his own opinion about the characters in his greatest poem.

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16. THE MS. SOURCE OF CAXTON'S SECOND EDITION OF THE *CANTERBURY TALES*

Miss Margaret Kilgour's article in the March *PMLA* is an interesting and valuable piece of work. At the same time I am unable to accept her conclusion. When, on page 192, she writes in respect to A^3 that "the evidence strongly suggests that Caxton used either this very manuscript or one remarkably like it," she is stating no more than the fact. But later she argues that it was indeed A^3 and not a closely similar manuscript that was the source. On page 193 she writes for instance: "It seems possible and indeed very probable that, with C_7 as his main source, and A^3 before him on the desk to refer to when he changed a reading, Caxton produced his second edition of the *Canterbury Tales*. The variants which have no authority in either C_7 or C_8 seem to be of a fairly obvious nature, or due to a slip in transcribing." (Here I suppose that C_8 is a 'slip' for A^3: else I can make no sense of the last sentence.) And on page 201 she goes so far as to suggest unkindly that it was Caxton's "hard usage" of this "moche louyd" manuscript that led to the loss of a number of its leaves. I think that Miss Kilgour has here taken up an indefensible position.

For one thing she seems to have misconceived the bearing of the evidence she has so carefully collected. She shows that in the *Pardoner's Tale* Caxton made 148 alterations in his second edition and that 120 of these agree with the readings of A^3. Moreover, of the 28 which cannot have been taken from A^3 some are insignificant, while some may be small tinkerings of Caxton's own or slips of the compositor. But there are others that it is difficult to account for in this manner, and which are in fact

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known readings of other extant manuscripts. Miss Kilgour repeatedly implies in her notes that if a reading of C_8 is only found in extant manuscripts that cannot themselves have been Caxton's source, it cannot have been in the source he used and may be disregarded.[1] But this is not so. The most significant variant of all is the last, in line 928. Here Caxton altered *lounys* to *myles* although A^3 has *lounes*. The significance of this Miss Kilgour seeks apparently to discount by observing that *myles* "is a very common reading, appearing in about half the manuscripts," though this surely makes it all the more likely to have been that of his source. That Caxton independently made an important alteration which was not authorized by the manuscript before him, but would have been by many another, is a coincidence that one should not be asked to assume. Indeed this reading alone seems to me to negative Miss Kilgour's theory.

It so happens, however, that we have conclusive evidence that A^3 was not the manuscript Caxton used. Miss Kilgour herself gave us the clue, though she failed to follow it up. Thus, she noted correctly, following the official catalogue, that A^3 omits the lines C 41–3, 81–2, but she appears not to have observed that C_8 introduces alterations in these lines. In line 42 *ay* was altered to *as*: this might possibly be a correction of Caxton's own. But in line 82 we find the following readings:

C_7: Kepe wel tho that ye haue vndertake
C_8: To teche hem vertu loke that ye not slake

(The latter is a comparatively rare reading found in two only of the seven manuscripts used by Skeat.) Now, if A^3 had been the manuscript used by Caxton in preparing C_8, he must either have struck out the lines omitted by that manuscript or have left them as they stood in C_7. That he did neither, but altered them in accordance with the known readings of other manuscripts, is sufficient proof A^3 was not itself the manuscript that lay before him.

As to the position of A^3, which was not placed by Liddell, there would seem little doubt that it belongs to the Eλ-Dd group, supposing this classification to have any validity. But it would appear not to follow that Caxton's source, not being A^3 but only a manuscript often in agreement with it, necessarily belonged to this group. For, as I showed in my article in December 1924, once we get rid of the idea that Caxton used any extant manuscript, we find that the three groups, Eλ-Dd, Petworth, and Corpus, are about equally successful in supplying the readings of

[1] For instance: "291. None of the probable MSS. has this reading word for word:" and cf. 356, 372, 407, 431, 505. Miss Kilgour's notes do not appear to be always correct. In 372 *so* ought apparently to be *as:* there is no *so* in the line. In 392 *be* instead of *is* cannot "have been introduced by Caxton to make the metre more regular," while the reading of C_7 was clearly not discarded on metrical grounds but in order to substitute what is substantially the reading of A^3.

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C_8 in the portion of the text I collated. Miss Kilgour has not examined the problem as presented in the *Pardoner's Tale* from this point of view. I regret this omission, since, as the case stands, I see no possibility of advance from my former sceptical position.

I am interested to learn that H^6, which for the portion extant was particularly successful with me, fails badly with Miss Kilgour. It suggests that its textual relations may not be constant.

W. W. GREG

London, England

I greatly appreciate Dr. Greg's prompt and thorough discussion of my paper dealing with the possible manuscript source of changes in Caxton's second edition of the *Canterbury Tales*. I wish to point out again, however, that I did not feel the case was by any means proved. Undoubtedly the question is open to serious investigation on several points, and to further examination along other lines. On the other hand, I do not feel that Dr. Greg's criticisms have substantially changed my conclusions, which were:

(1) That if A^3 were not the actual source, it was certainly a manuscript much more closely allied to it than to any other examined—so closely that there is some very special significance to be attached to it.

(2) That I found no conclusive evidence that A^3 was *not* the manuscript used, while many facts suggested that it was the very one.

(3) That my examination was not exhaustive.

In connection with the notes in which Dr. Greg points out inaccuracy, I can only say that 'so' in line 372 should certainly be 'as,' and on page 193 'C_8' is a slip for 'A^3.' The notes on page 191 however, were not intended to be arguments in favor of the theory that A^3 was the actual manuscript used, as Dr. Greg implies. They are, on the contrary, merely a statement of the facts of the case, together with a possible interpretation. I do not discount the significance of variants, but rather point them out frankly, as evidence that is worthy of special consideration. None of these variants however seemed to me to bar the manuscript conclusively, as they do for Dr. Greg, though undoubtedly they present the most serious obstacle to the theory that A^3 was the actual manuscript source of the changes. Were it not for them, the evidence would seem practically conclusive.

The omission of C 41–3 by the scribe of A^3 surely raises no serious difficulty with this theory. The 1484 edition remains the same as the 1478 edition, and since Caxton was only supposed to consult A^3 for corrections, he no doubt recognized in this case that the manuscript was defective, and followed his earlier print. For the slight correction 'ay' to 'as,' there is surely no need to evoke manuscript authority.

I regret exceedingly that I am not able at the present time to carry the investigation further along the lines which Dr. Greg has suggested, but I hope that the matter may be definitely settled before long.

MARGARET KILGOUR

Winnipeg, Canada

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ACTS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

For the record of business transacted at the business meeting of the Executive Council at Toronto, December 26, 1928, see the *Proceedings* as printed in the Supplement to *PMLA* XLIII, pages xxxiii–xxxviii.

I. Under date of January 8, 1929, the Secretary called attention to the vacancy on the Executive Council caused by the election of Professor J. F. Royster as Vice-President of the Association and asked the members of the Council to elect a member to fill the vacancy. The members of the Council, by their votes, elected Mr. Joseph S. Graydon of Cincinnati.

II. Under date of February 26, 1929, the Secretary asked the members of the Executive Council to consider the expediency of creating an Advisory Committee of three in accordance with the provision of By-Law II, and in case the appointment of such an Advisory Committee was approved, to choose three members of the Council to serve as such a Committee.

The members of the Council approved the proposal and elected as an Advisory Committee: Professors James F. Royster, J. P. W. Crawford, and Paul Russell Pope.

III. Under date of February 26, 1929, the Secretary transmitted to the members of the Council, with expressions of regret, the resignation of Professor Robert K. Root as Chairman of the Committee on Selection of Rotographs and Rare Printed Books. The members of the Council accepted Professor Root's resignation and elected as his successor Professor Walter L. Bullock, University of Chicago.

The Advisory Committee held two meetings at the executive headquarters of the Association, on March 30, and on June 3rd, to consider matters relating to the financial affairs of the Association. At the second meeting Professor Nitze, President of the Association, was also present.

IV. Under date of August 21, 1929, the Secretary transmitted to the members of the Council the following recommendation made by the Advisory Committee at its meeting on June 3:

> The Committee, after considering the financial situation, recommend to the Executive Council that application be made to the Carnegie Corporation for an annual subvention of $5000 for a five-year period. As a basis for this application, the Committee presents the 1929 budget in comparison with the proposed budget with the assistance of the proposed subvention.

1929 Budget		Proposed Budget	
Secretary's Salary	$3000	Secretary's Salary	$4000
Treasurer's "	1000	Treasurer's "	2000
Clerical assistance	3200	Office Secretary	2300
		Clerical Assistance	2400
	$7200	Research Group Expenses	1500
			$12200

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The Advisory Committee feels the urgent need of financial assistance, not only in carrying routine administration expenses, but also in making it possible for the Association to give assistance to the researches which are being carried on by the numerous research groups. Up to the present time, the resources of the Association have not permitted us to give proper encouragement to the work which these groups are doing.

The members of the Council, by a unanimous vote, approved the recommendation of the Advisory Committee and authorized an application to the Carnegie Corporation, of New York, for a subvention as outlined by the Committee in accordance with the budget drawn up by the Committee.

V. Under date of September 21, 1929, the Treasurer of the Association called the attention of members of the Executive Council to the insufficiency of the present prices charged for back numbers of the *PMLA* in view of the high cost of reproducing numbers and volumes now out of print and the prospect that in the near future it would be necessary, frequently, to reproduce other numbers of the *PMLA*. He recommended the adoption of the following schedule of prices for back numbers of *PMLA:*

Volumes	I–X		$8	per volume,		$2	per number
"	XI–XX		$7	"	"	$2	" "
"	XXI–XXX		$6	"	"	$1.50	"
"	XXXI and later,			$6	per volume,	$1.30	per number

He recommended further that henceforth, 40% of the proceeds from sales of back numbers of the *PMLA* be turned over to the Emergency Fund to be used in defraying the cost of reproducing volumes of which the edition was exhausted. The members of the Council, by unanimous vote, approved the recommendations of the treasurer.

VI. Under date of October 11, the Secretary transmitted to the Council the following report prepared by the Dictionary Committee appointed at the Toronto meeting:

October 7, 1929

To the Executive Council of the Modern Language Association of America.

For a number of years the need of adequate and scholarly dictionaries of special fields or periods has been widely recognized. Two such dictionaries have been undertaken by two of the great universities, one of American English by the University of Chicago and one of Early Modern English by the University of Michigan. Liberal support of these two dictionaries by the General Education Board as well as by the universities has made it possible to get both well under way, with every prospect of reasonably prompt completion.

A third special dictionary of importance fully equal to either of these, though probably of less popular appeal, is one of Middle English. The Middle English

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section of the Modern Language Association, ever since its organization, has been most vitally interested in this dictionary and two or three years ago took up the matter actively by the the selection of Professor Clark S. Northup of Cornell University as editor-in-chief. For two years, through a small grant from the Heckscher Research Fund, Professor Northup was enabled to devote half time to this editorial work, and during this time one and three-quarter million slips were assembled and other preliminary work done. Some months ago it was found necessary to withdraw support of the Heckscher Fund from the Middle English dictionary and to devote it exclusively to research in the physical sciences, and the dictionary was thus left without financial support.

The English Division of the Modern Language Association at its latest meeting appointed a committee to assemble the available information concerning the status and progress of the special dictionary projects and to lend all possible aid to the undertakings under way. The interest of the committee was to extend to all the special dictionaries, but the particular concern is with the Middle English dictionary. The American English Dictionary and the Early Modern English Dictionary are primarily university undertakings and their financial needs are provided for; the Middle English Dictionary is primarily an undertaking by a division of the Modern Language Association, and without financial support obtained through the agency of the Association it is languishing. At present the chief function of the Dictionary Committee obviously is to aid in gaining this necessary financial support. Special circumstances make it highly improbable that Cornell University can—at least for a number of years—furnish this support. It is also a fact that the Middle English Dictionary project is not the creation of Cornell University but of a division of the Modern Language Association; the scheme was conceived in the Association and the editor chosen by it; the location at Cornell is merely a result of the fact that Professor Northup, who was deemed the most competent man available for the editorship, is a member of the Cornell faculty. The Middle English Dictionary is peculiarly an undertaking of the Modern Language Association, and in the judgment of the Committee it should be carried on by the Association. It will be a very simple matter to provide for effective participation by the Association in the direction and management of this dictionary if funds can be secured from one of the foundations. The purpose of this communication is to urge the Executive Council to make such an appeal for the necessary financial support, in order that work on this great project of scholarship may be pushed forward.

Professor Northup has submitted the following budget estimate of necessary expenses, arranged as will be seen, either to push the work ahead as rapidly as possible or to carry it on more slowly, according as the necessary funds may be available.

Short Term

Salary, half-time substitute for the editor, Cornell University	$ 3,000
3 full-time sub-editors, beginning at $3,250, maximum $4,250, average $3,750	11,250
Expenses for supplies and clerical help	3,000
Annual total for, say, five and one-half years	$17,250

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Long Term

Half-time substitute, as above	$3,000
1 full-time sub-editor, as above	3,750
Supplies and clerical help	1,500
	$8,250

It is the sincere hope of the Dictionary Committee that the Executive Council will see fit to support this undertaking in the name of the Modern Language Association and will be able to make a successful appeal to one of the foundations for the necessary funds.

Respectfully submitted,

W. F. Bryan Chairman, Committee on Special Dictionaries

The members of the Council voted to approve the recommendation made by the Committee on Special Dictionaries.

Carleton Brown,
Secretary

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PVBLICATIONS · OF
THE · MODERN · LANGVAGE · ASSOCIATION · OF · AMERICA

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A Supplement is also issued in February including the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association and the List of Members.

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PROCEEDINGS *and* LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Supplement to *PMLA*, Vol. XLIV, 1929

The Presidential Address: "Horizons," by William Albert Nitze, of the *University of Chicago*.

Proceedings of the Forty-sixth Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, held on the invitation of *Western Reserve University*, at Cleveland, Ohio, December 30 and 31, 1929 and January 1, 1930.

Constitution and By-Laws of the Modern Language Association of America.

Minutes of the Thirty-first Annual Meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, held in the Faculty Women's Club at the University of California on November 29 and 30, 1929.

List of Members of the Modern Language Association of America.

Issued February 1930

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HORIZONS*

THE theme chosen for my discourse (despite its somewhat expansive title) should give this audience no qualms. I am bent on being definite, and I give you my best definition at once: the length of a good address is in inverse proportion to the number of papers listed on our annual program; it must not exceed thirty minutes. In this respect, if in no other, I promise to be good. Indeed, were I seeking only your gratitude, I might stop here and refer the scholars among you to the next issue of the *Publications* or to the *Papers read only by Title*—"read," as Professor Thorndike slyly remarked, "but seldom written."

But what encourages me to go on is that my topic, as applied here, merits your attention as well as my own. Scholarship is an adventure in seeking fresh horizons. It seems needless to add that the horizons I would scan belong to our common or corporate endeavor—in short, the present outlook of the Modern Language Association.

It is exactly nine years since Professor Manly spoke to you about ourselves. And the title he then gave his address, "New Bottles," had a prophetic flavor which now suggests that we may have come upon better days—if not in the nation at large, at least in this Association. The separate Research Groups have been started and, to some extent, tried out, and, at this morning's session, we have confirmed by a final vote an important, if not a radical, change in our Constitution. Article V, on the new method of choosing the Executive Council, embodies Professor Manly's plan of "a permanent administration that feels its responsibility for the development of the Association." If we add the fact that Article II henceforth commits us definitely to "the advancement of research in the Modern Languages," there can be no doubt as to where we propose to stand as an organization. The M.L.A. began —nearly fifty years ago—with the stated aim of furthering all Modern Language *study* in the United States. In 1925 the secondary school enrollment in French, Spanish, and German alone was close to three million, while in the colleges it surpassed one hundred and fifty thousand. Obviously the pioneering age of this Association is closed; and, if by *study* we mean the teaching of Modern

* The Presidental Address, delivered at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, Cleveland, Ohio, December 30, 1929.

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Languages, we must leave to the fostering care of Carnegie Committees and English and Foreign Language Teachers' Associations the hydra we have helped to produce. Henceforth our domain is research, or, if I may use a less-abused word, 'enquiry' into the unexplored fields of the Modern Languages themselves.

So far, so good. The new Council, when it meets, will be presented with a *fait accompli*. I sincerely believe it was a wise step for this Association to take. It is clear-cut and in line with what always has been our major activity. One cannot create scholarship in the manner of the fundamentalists by saying: "Let there be scholarship." Scholarship has to be prepared for, watched over, protected against the onslaughts of pot-boiling, lecturing, administrating, and other prenatal dangers. Energy and imagination have to go into its make-up. Or it is hard to create and never creative. As late as 1876, Emerson had this to say in his oft-quoted University of Virginia Oration:

> The name of the Scholar is taken in vain. In this country, fond of results and of short ways to them, learning is not *learned*, nor is genius *wise*.

Whereas the true American scholar, he predicts, will be:

> The beholder of the *real*, self-centred amidst the *superficial*; here to revere the dominion of a serene necessity and be its pupil and apprentice by tracing everything home to a *cause*.

This, you will have to grant, is the classical statement of our problem. Here, at least, is a vision of what a gathering of scholars might be, with every research-group "tracing" some problem "home to a cause," and all of us bent, as individuals and as a society, on becoming "beholders of the real."

But what of it? Has the picture Emerson forecast any likeness with ourselves? Or have we served mainly to cloud and befuddle his vision? For so concludes the *Saturday Review* of June 23, 1928, in an analysis of a single issue of our *Publications*[1]—purporting thus to show (I quote): "the way [of scholarship] itself and where it leads!"

You are familiar with the time-worn argument. It is that scholars "have gone into the laboratory" (wisely, it is claimed), but "have never come out," (unwisely, it is judged); and that they are but "maggots boring in a cheese," while "science walks off

[1] A very good issue, at that.

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with the literary bag." I spare you the details of the arraignment. But it is ably constructed according to accepted Aristotelian canons and it has a moral, which is that "Emerson announced his Program too soon. His mine exploded in an empty harbor" whereas, opines our racketeer, it should have been reserved for a meeting of the M.L.A.

Now this *coup de Jarnac* from a member of our guild has its uses. It makes us sit up. And, having reached that wakeful state, we find ourselves asking: How long, O shade of Emerson, will people continue to measure scholarship in this country by other than scholarly aims? Certainly, literary criticism (if that is what our censor has in mind) is a fine thing. When based on knowledge that does not obtrude itself, it is both enjoyable and useful. In countries like France, it has long had a standing second only to creative literature. If it could acquire not only the lust of expression, but the expression of taste, serenity, joy, it might—even in this country—achieve great things. As it is, our literary critics are a cheerless lot. Either, in this "devaluated world," they are still groping for a principle of order, or they have an axe to grind that is sociological or journalese rather than literary. Here, then, is something for our Universities to cultivate!

But do let us be clear about our *genres*. Literary criticism and humanistic scholarship are not the same thing. They should inform and illumine each other, but they are not identical. Yet in this country they are constantly confused, despite the fact that our libraries are bulging with unread volumes on the subject. Hence I repeat: the primary function of the critic is to 'evaluate' (in terms of personality); that of the scholar is to 'know' (in terms of fact); and beside this essential distinction all other considerations are secondary.

The *Modern Language Publications*, like the "proceedings" of every learned society the world over are the record of individual, hence often unconnected, gropings after the truth, and to regard them for what they obviously are not is childish. If, then, our *Publications* can be proven superficial or wrong in fact, unsound and purely mechanical in method, or muddled in presentation, they should be condemned, but on no other grounds. Clearly—the remedy for poor scholarship is better scholarship. To leap from this axiom to the naïve assumption of Dr. Canby that "this assembling of fact for the sake of accuracy . . . . is the total expectation in scholarship from tens of thousands of men and women

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actively engaged in teaching literature and language" is as unsound as it is specious. To use his own metaphor, our critic has grasped the wrong handle of the Modern Language platter. He was looking for bricks and he seized only the straw, forgetting that the output of this Association is likewise to be seen in Lowes' *The Road to Xanadu*, Krapp's *The English Language in America*, Manly's *Some New Light on Chaucer*, Root's edition of the *Troilus*, Lancaster's *French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, or other similar works that have sprung from our midst by the minute but steady process of scholarly incubation. The tree of knowledge takes time to ripen. It is difficult to hasten its growth however much we may be interested in knowing what will be its fruit. It is useless to measure its growth or its fruit by the standards of Grub Street.

But let us be just. I grant there are other handles to the Modern Language platter than that I have defended, and one of these, as Dr. Canby unerringly suspects, is the question of objective.

William James, in one of his "Talks to Teachers," declares that a moral act, when reduced to its simplest and most elementary form, consists in the effort of attention. The attention this Association has given to the necessity of methodical enquiry has been its greatest moral asset. But it is still important to remind ourselves that the substance of any scholarship worthy of the name must possess the vitality of real, not merely imitative, experience. Experience is the sum total of all we think and feel and do. The great advances in learning have been made by those to whom this totality is an immediate interest, in keeping with the changing states of thinking men. Every fact, in a sense, is important—potentially. But its significance or value will always depend on how it fits in with the view that different ages take of human experience as such. The Victorian Age of our scholarship applied itself to the study of individual sources. It was under the spell, so to speak, of the *Origin of the Species*. Hence the gathering of facts by a method that we have come to regard as accurate and sound. But today the emphasis has again shifted, away from separate and unconnected units, to the history of mankind in cross-sections and, especially, to the 'integration' of that history in all of its varied aspects. To this the Modern Languages are no exception: one need not be a follower of Joyce or Proust, of Dewey or Bergson, of Meillet or Vossler in order to recognize the change. Bédier's brilliant pages on the "unity" of the *Chanson de Roland*

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(1912) or Lowes' on the "subconscious alchemy" of Coleridge's imagination (1927) are examples from our own field—if we require them. We may (for the sake of *analysis*) divide off literature from language and language from speech or sound-reactions, but a scholar who would understand a text becomes conscious of a fusion, over and above these elements, which it would be hazardous to neglect. And this fusion will lead him beyond the confines of literature and language themselves into the whole life of the poet's background, as it is "mirrored in the words," or even as it is "suggested by their overtones."[2] In short, the spontaneous, interrelated character of mental life is now accepted on all hands. The question is: Whither is the idea leading us? Hence, without relinquishing 'method,' it is again important for scholarship to emphasize 'direction': the end in view, rather than the isolated facts.

Herein lies, I believe, the great opportunity of such an organization as ours. The danger of the specialist (and I am now speaking practically) is disproportion, that of the generalizer is ignorance, while truth is a prism of many facets and no single one of us can apprehend them all. But both of these dangers can be overcome by the coöperation this Association offers to those interested in the Modern Languages. In referring, therefore, to the 'direction' of research, I have in mind our product taken not only as a whole, but as parts that may become related. It is all very well to talk coöperation, to think coöperation, to give coöperation attention, but unless we practise it, it will avail us nothing.

This coördinating activity is, I assume, the prime function of the Research Groups of the M.L.A. There are at present some thirty-nine groups; to wit, five in General Topics and Comparative Literature each, fourteen in English, five in French and German each, two in Spanish, and one in Italian, Scandinavian, and Slavonic respectively. How are they functioning? A glance at the programs of the last five years reveals the fact that some six out of this total are quiescent, or shall I say 'deliquescent'—for instance, French II and IV have not met since 1925–6. Nor can we attribute 'florescence' to the other thirty-three: mere numbers are deceptive, and the fact that ten groups are now offering five papers, two groups seven, and one group, eleven (!) should put us on our guard. Against what? Against the unholy suspicion that

[2] See Edward Sapir, *Language* V (1929), 209 ff.

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some alumni association is bribing innocent professors to read papers at a M.L.A. meeting. . . . . On the other hand, it is gratifying to note, for example, that English XIV is concentrating on Drama and Society, Comparative Literature I on problems in Prose Fiction, English II on Dictionaries, English VI on Primitivism in Literature, Comparative Literature II on Folklore Collections; and that both of the Phonetic Groups are clear-cut in their aims. If we add hereto the list of papers to be read in our Sectional and General Meetings, making for 1929 the grand total of one hundred and sixty papers, we get some idea of the vast effort that goes annually into this gathering. It seems pertinent then to ask: Is the research, individual and coöperative, for the pursuit of which there is now not only the personnel but also the machinery, the best we can do in the circumstances?

I hope not. But, as we scan the philological horizon, to what particular stars are we hitching the Modern Language wagon? I do not know—any better than does our all-seeing Secretary. To take counsel with Candide, in the philosophic hope that *tout viendra à point à qui sait attendre*, may be wise. But it would not require all this machinery; nor will it carry us far on the path to comprehensive ideas and results. Organization for the sake of organization is futile, even in this land of Rotarians. I have no sacred duty to press upon the new Council of the Association. It will make its plans quite aside from what is said here. Nevertheless, its mandate appears to me clear: it is to assume "responsibility" in promoting research, and the question that confronts its is the one I am asking. Will you bear with me than, if—in concluding—I offer a few suggestions?

1. Together with other learned bodies, the M.L.A. is now a member of the American Council of Learned Societies. Like any one of these, it has the right to submit its 'projects' to the A.C.L.S. and ask for their support. Obviously, if made in the name of an organization of nearly fifty years' standing, the appeal should be more effective than if presented by an individual, provided always we submit mature 'projects,' which our Council has examined with care.

It seems useless to object that the difficulties involved in any such plan would be numerous. The new Council, perhaps through a separate committee, could study the various Research Groups. If, for instance, Group x has a clear-cut project, if it advances that project annually by reports on bibliography, texts, interpreta-

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tion, and ideas—in a word, if it is constructive, let the Council take the said group to its bosom and give it some concrete encouragement. There are a hundred different ways in which a genuine project can be fostered. The Council, as I said, can (through its Secretary) carry on the negotiations for funds. It can also procure further means of publication, still needed for larger investigations; our Monograph Series—languishing somewhat—could be mobilized for the purpose. It can provide photostats for a particular group, buy some phonetic instruments, aid in the making of dialect maps, and so on. The Council is now representative enough to exercise judgment and continuous enough to carry out its policies. What the Association would gain by efforts directed to this end must be clear to us all. Not only would members feel encouraged to engage on larger, coördinated pieces of research, but they would think their projects through, discuss them, criticize them, and the result would be useful and stimulating to a high degree.

2. As a second step, the Council might discourage groups that are either inactive or merely *omnia gathera* without a particular research aim. This is a touchy point and one on which our benevolent Group Chairman has apparently thought it wise to go slow. I assume that there is no disposition to stir up activity where none exists and that some of the groups are being allowed to expire painlessly. The more perhaps the better—so that we can give more attention to the survivors. But a sound policy, it seems to me, would bar the miscellaneous type of paper from the Research Groups. For example, I cannot see that a *Note on* **che si chiamare**, however admirable in itself, makes a suitable group-companion for a paper on *Croce's System as a Theory of Error*, if, as I imagine, the reason for this misalliance is merely that there happens to be a Research Group in Italian or that Italian desires to have a Research Group. Some "tumefying" there will always be, in the best of worlds (though one is shocked to see Italian guilty of it). But, with the exception of Slavonic and perhaps Scandinavian, we have ample Sectional Meetings to take care of such miscellaneous efforts, and the logic of the situation would require that we reserve the Research Groups for specific, coöperative work.

Do not misunderstand me. In this plea for relatedness, I am far from thinking that all papers brought before this body should or could be part of a connected project. Above all, I sympathize with the idea of giving the beginner, the younger scholar, a chance.

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His product, no matter how detached or incomplete, is entitled to a hearing—at the proper time and place. Heaven knows he rarely gets it at his own college or university, whereas the M.L.A. is his court of appeal. But if, under our present system, he is lucky enough to get a listening, does he get anything else?

Où fleurit le droit?
Où luit la raison?

I fancy him muttering:

C'est dans un endroit
Nommé l'horizon.

Why is this so? Because we have too many papers, too many groups, too many separate interests represented in each group —certainly, too many meetings scheduled at one and the same hour; and the time that may have been intended for discussion never comes round. Undoubtedly, the rapid growth of the Association accounts for this evil, if evil it is. But should our distinguished Secretary, to whom, among other benefits, we owe this luxuriance, wish to do us an even greater service, he will make us take time not only to meet but also to deliberate.

3. Now for my third and last suggestion, in which I am happy to note that our Secretary has anticipated me. I refer to our General Meetings and the plan of devoting one of them to be the clearing-house of our ideas. Free discussion is not always fruitful. At best it is like sunshine playing on a broken landscape. Occasionally it will flash into dark corners and flood them with light. But, in this age of specialization and the need of controlling it by intelligent questioning, the most useful discussion is planned or, at least, thought about in advance.

Hence the interest, which I am sure all of us share, in the general program set for tonight. For here again—after an interval of many years—the "objectives of our scholarship" are to be discussed, under three heads (Literature, Language, and Literary History), by various scholars competent in those fields.

My suggestion is that this experiment, so auspiciously re-begun, be made a definite feature of our annual meetings. No one doubts that this Association, with its well-nigh four thousand members, has topics galore to discuss. Let us bring them out into the open, from the corners in which they are hidden, and occasionally set them into relation with each other for the significance that they

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may contain. Finally, in that case, the Association might be able to estimate whither our researches are tending. And in the years to come, as has already happened in science, it could synthesize them, in the current phrase "point them up," into some larger and more definite project than anyone yet foresees.

All arts are long, and all lives are short. There is also an art of scholarship—indeed, of Modern Language scholarship. Primarily it consists in being sensitive to fact. As Tyndall once declared: "there is in the human intellect a power of expansion—one might almost call it a power of creation—which is brought into play by the simple brooding upon fact." This attitude allies scholarship to science. But unlike science, scholarship deals with 'human' facts, not with external phenomena. Inevitably, then, the scholar must be ready to bring part of himself into his problem: he must match word with word, thought with thought, feeling with feeling, action with action, over the entire period of man's cultural life.

So it is, my friends, with this Association. It is composed of the lives of countless workers, of the best they have to offer. The Association is here to make our endeavors successful by joining all these parts into a whole, and, in this way, constantly to reach out for broader and richer and newer aspects of knowledge. The process is that, described by Fontenelle, of comparing all humanity to a single individual whose mind becomes more mature as time passes, more capable, more intelligent, more discerning. Thus conceived, the Modern Language Association is destined to further the cause and advance the interest of each of us separately and of all of us together. This is what I meant by asserting that scholarship is an adventure in seeking fresh horizons . . . . but its success will depend more and more on the control and the economy of human effort. "In der Beschränkung," said Goethe, "zeigt sich erst der Meister."

WILLIAM ALBERT NITZE

University of Chicago

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

THE forty-sixth meeting of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held, on the invitation of *Western Reserve University*, at Cleveland, Ohio, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, December 30, 31, 1929 and January 1, 1930. The afternoon session of Monday was held in the Cleveland Museum of Art; all other meetings were held in the Hotel Statler. Registration cards at Association headquarters were signed by eight hundred members, and the Local Committee estimates the total number of members in attendance as 850.

MONDAY MORNING

RESEARCH GROUP MEETINGS

The opening session on Monday morning was devoted to Group Meetings which met from 9:30 until 11:00 o'clock.

(*Comparative Literature V*) The Renaissance. *Chairman*, OLIN H. MOORE, *Ohio State University*.

The following papers were presented:

1. "Notes sur l'Idée de Renaissance," Louis Cons, *Swarthmore College*.
2. "Some traces of Aretino's Contribution to English Comedy," Oscar J. Campbell, *University of Michigan*.
3. "Republican Ideas in France in the 16th Century; Étienne de la Boétie and François Hotman," J. C. Lyons, *University of North Carolina*.
4. "A short study of Cooper's *Eliotae*." D. T. Starnes, *University of Texas*.
5. "Political Import of the Norton Portion of *Gorboduc*." Asa Small, *Limestone College*.
6. "Recent Trends in the Study of Comparative Literature of the Sixteenth Century." Hardin Craig, *Stanford University*.

About one hundred persons were in attendance. The following Group-officers were elected for the coming year: Chairman, Charles R. Baskervill of the *University of Chicago;* Secretary, Louis Cons of *Swarthmore College*.

A. H. SCHUTZ, *Secretary*

(*English I*) Old English. *Chairman*, GEORGE WILLIAM SMALL of the *University of Maine*.

The following papers were presented:

1. "Cynewulf and the Old English *Andreas*." Mary E. Barnicle, *New York University*. Discussed by Rudolph Willard, *Yale University*.
2. "Some Aspects of Old English Versification." Paull F. Baum, *Duke University*.
3. "The meaning of Old English *ær-god*." W. F. Bryan, *Northwestern University*.

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4. "The Right Side of the *Franks Casket.*" Eleanor G. Clark, *Bryn Mawr College.* Discussed by Henning Larsen, *University of Iowa.*

The present officers of the group were re-elected for the ensuing year. Fifty-nine persons were present.

EDWARD C. EHRENSPERGER, *Secretary*

(*English VI*) The Seventeenth Century. *Chairman,* MARJORIE NICOLSON, *Smith College.*

The following papers were presented:

1. "Cowley as a Man of Letters." Ruth Wallerstein, *University of Wisconsin.*

2. "Platonism and Epicureanism in the Works of Cowley." Arthur H. Nethercot, *Northwestern University.*

3. "The Legend of Milton's Decline of Power." Allan H. Gilbert, *Duke University.*

4. "Pepys and the Skinner Family." James Holly Hanford, *Western Reserve University.*

5. "Proposals for a Facsimile Text Society." Frank A. Patterson, *Columbia University.*

About eighty-five persons were present. For the coming year, Miss Marjorie Nicolson was re-elected Chairman and Harris Fletcher of the University of Illinois was elected Secretary.

MARJORIE NICOLSON, *Chairman*

(*English VII*) Philosophy and Literature of the Classical Period. *Chairman,* RICHARD F. JONES, *Washington University.*

The following papers were read:

1. "Defoe's First Novel-*The Memoirs of Major Alexander Ramkins.*" A. W. Secord, *University of Illinois.* Discussed by Professor J. R. Foster, *Syracuse University.*

2. "Shenstone and the Countess of Hertford." Helen Sard Hughes, *Wellesley College.*

3. "The Influence of Juvenal and Persius on the Poetry of John Oldham." John B. Emperor, *University of Tennessee.*

4. "English Educational Opinion in the Seventeenth Century." Ricardo Quintana, *University of Wisconsin.*

5. "A Forerunner of Pope's *Dunciad.*" John C. Hodges, *University of Tennessee.*

It was voted that for the next meeting of the Group a single topic be chosen for study, and that an effort be made to arrange a program of papers and discussion bearing directly upon this topic. All those interested are invited to send suggestions to the chairman or secretary.

It was voted to continue the same officers of the Group for the coming year. About thirty members were present.

RICARDO QUINTANA, *Secretary*

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(*English X*) Victorian Literature. *Chairman*, WALTER GRAHAM, *University of Illinois*. In the absence of the Secretary, Mr. William D. Templeman of *Harvard University* was elected Secretary *pro tem.*

The following papers were presented:

1. "The Stage in Reade's Novels." Emerson G. Sutcliffe, *Purdue University.*

2. "Examples of Quantity in the Versification of Swinburne." Marion Clyde Wier, *Brown University.*

3. "Thackeray's View of His Times." Robert S. Forsythe, *University of North Dakota.*

4. "Schopenhauer and Pessimism in 19th-Century Literature." Ralph H. Goodale, *Hiram College.*

Some sixty persons were in attendance. The following Group-officers were elected for the coming year: *Chairman*, Emerson G. Sutcliffe of *Purdue University; Secretary*, Ralph H. Goodale of *Hiram College.*

WALTER GRAHAM, *Chairman*

(*Spanish I*) Spanish Language. *Chairman*, C. P. WAGNER, *University of Michigan.*

The following papers were presented and discussed:

1. "The use of *la* as a feminine dative." Cony Sturgis, *Oberlin College.*

2. "The superlative adjective." E. F. Parker, *Washington University.*

3. "Causes of the disappearance of Old Spanish *y*(*i, hi*) and *en* (*ent, ende*)." E. B. Place, *University of Colorado.*

4. "The Problem of Historical Syntax." Hayward Keniston, *University of Chicago.*

Following the discussion of papers, officers were elected for the coming year as follows: *Chairman*, Hayward Keniston, *University of Chicago; Secretary*, J. P. W. Crawford, *University of Pennsylvania.* Eighty-five persons were present.

GEORGE I. DALE, *Secretary.*

(*German I*) Historical Grammar. *Chairman*, Taylor Starck, *Harvard University.* The following papers were read and discussed:

1. "The Types heffen-habên (OHG) in Germanic with Reference to Similar Types in Latin Balto-Slavic." Fritz Mezger, *Bryn Mawr College.*

2. "Change of Meaning by Association, with Special Reference to the Older High German." Samuel Kroesch, *University of Minnesota.*

3. "Complete and Partial Solutions of Some OHG Linguistic Problems," E. H. Sehrt, *George Washington University.*

4. "Beitrag zur Übersetzungstechnik Notkers." Alfred K. Dolch, *University of California* at Los Angeles.

At the suggestion of the Chairman, it was voted that a permanent record of the activities of the Group be kept.

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The Secretary summarized the report of the Committee on the Study of German Dialects (L. Bloomfield of the University of Chicago, Chairman), which was given in 1927 and endorsed by the Group, whereupon F. W. Bradley of the University of South Carolina made the following motion, which was carried:

That the Chairman appoint a Committee to make a survey of the opportunities for the study of German dialects afforded by the Libraries and courses of study at the universities of the United States; and of the scholarships and fellowships available for research in German dialects in this country or in Germany; and that the Committee be instructed to formulate plans for the recording of dialects in Germany and in German-speaking communities in the United States with a view to presenting these plans to the several universities and learned societies for their co-operation and support.

The Chairman thereupon appointed the following committee: E. C. Roedder, College of the City of New York, Chairman; Leonard Bloomfield, University of Chicago; F. W. Bradley, University of South Carolina; Hans Kurath, Ohio State University, D. B. Shumway, University of Pennsylvania.

Approximately 50 persons were present.

H. KURATH, *Secretary*

GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

The first general session of the Association was held in the Convention Hall. The Association was called to order by the President, Professor WILLIAM A. NITZE of the *University of Chicago*, at 11:30 A.M.

The President announced the appointment of the following Committees:

To Audit the Treasurer's Report—Professors C. C. Marden, Frederick W. J. Heuser, and Adolf Busse.

On Nomination of Officers—Professors Tucker Brooke, Bert J. Vos, David S. Blondheim, Colbert Searles, and Ronald S. Crane.

On Resolutions—Professor James Taft Hatfield, Edwin Mims, and Horatio E. Smith.

The Secretary of the Association, Carleton Brown of *New York University*, presented the following report:

During the year just ended the Modern Language Association was represented by Professor Tucker Brooke of Yale University at the inauguration of Dr. Clarence Augustus Barbour as President of *Brown University* on Friday, October 18 at Providence, R. I., and by the Secretary of the Association at the celebration of the 175th anniversary of the founding of *King's College*, now *Columbia University*, on Thursday, October 31, in New York City.

Since the last annual meeting the deaths of twenty members of the M.L.A. have been reported to the Secretary. Among them were Professor Albert Harris Tolman of the *University of Chicago*, who died on Christmas Day 1928, and Professor Brander Matthews of *Columbia University*, a former President of the Association, who died March 31, 1929.

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During the three-year period just ended the annual membership dues have been increased from four dollars to five dollars; and it might fairly have been expected that this increase would have resulted in some shrinkage in the list of members. This, however, has not been the case. Indeed, at the present time the number of names on the membership roll is 3662, as compared with the 3625 reported at the Harvard meeting in 1926. Of the present members 352 are Life or Emeritus members—an increase of 125 over the number of such members in 1926. This increase is largely accounted for by the considerable number of persons who have faithfully paid their annual dues for a period of forty years and who accordingly are entitled, under the liberal provisions of our Constitution, to continue their membership without being troubled henceforth by notices from the Treasurer. It is to be expected that within the next few years this number will increase still further.

The following table exhibits the present geographical distribution of the membership of the Association as compared with that of three years ago:

	1926	*1929*
New England States	606	569
Middle Atlantic States	1025	1086
Southern States	474	522
Middle Western States	1008	951
Far Western States	404	427
Island Possessions	2	3
Dominion of Canada	73	61
Central and South America	6	2
Europe	17	34
Asia	10	6
	3625	3662

Included in the list of members as reported above are the names of 245 persons who are still in arrears for their membership dues for 1928 and 1929. In accordance with the rule of the Executive Council these names will be dropped from the membership list to be printed in February unless in the meantime they have sent their remittances to the Treasurer.

On the other hand, it is a pleasure to report that ninety new members have already been enrolled, whose membership in the Association will begin on Jan. 1, 1930.

It is disappointing to report that $4,200 still remains to be raised before the Monograph Endowment Fund will be brought up to the $20,000 goal. Plans had been made for undertaking a drive during October and November to complete this Fund, but unfortunately the zero hour fixed for this drive coincided with the break on the New York stock market—though the two things were really in no way connected—and it seemed advisable to wait until the financial sky cleared before making further efforts in this direction. However, there is every reason to expect that means will be found to complete the Fund within the coming calendar year.

Meantime, it is a pleasure to announce the signal recognition accorded to one of the Monographs in the Series through the award by the British Academy of the Rose Mary Crawshay prize to Miss Hope Emily Allen for her *Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle Hermit of Hampole.* This prize is awarded annually to a woman of any

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nationality for a work, critical or historical, on any subject connected with English literature; and this is the first time that it has been awarded to an American.

The Secretary might perhaps be expected, on arriving at the expiration of his term of office, to indulge in some reminiscences. Indeed, it is impossible altogether to banish from memory the Poughkeepsie meeting in 1920 when as Secretary-Treasurer he presented his first report, which showed 1507 names on the membership roll and a deficit in the Treasury. It is pleasant to reflect that those strenuous times have passed. At the same time the Secretary is disposed on this occasion, not to look backward but rather forward toward the new developments which may fairly be expected. With the adoption of the amended Constitution which provides for the election of the Executive Council by a ballot vote of the full membership, the Modern Language Association will be firmly established on a democratic basis. To the Executive Council hereafter are committed much larger responsibilities than they have exercised hitherto, since it is essential with the increasing complexity of the Association's activities that there be an experienced governing board to pass upon questions of policy. Moreover, a larger degree of continuity in the administration is secured under the new plan by the provision that three members of the Council retire each year, instead of retiring the entire Council every three years as heretofore. There is reason, therefore, to expect greater efficiency under the operation of the new system, while the provision for election by ballot, with an extension of the voting privilege to those who are unable to be present at the Annual Meetings, keeps the ultimate control of the Association in the hands of the members generally. This should do much to make each member realize, not only that he belongs to the Association, but also that the Association belongs to him.

In the absence of Mr. LeRoy E. Kimball, Managing Trustee, Professor C. C. Marden of *Princeton University* presented the following report of the Trustees of Invested Funds:

PERMANENT FUND

Securities on Deposit with the United States Trust Co. of New York

Par Value		Book Value
$ 9,500	Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 5½% First Mtge on 2845–50 West 30th Street, Brooklyn, due July 23, 1930, int. payable April 1 and Oct. 1	$ 9,500.00
8,000	Western Pacific R. R. 5% Bonds, due March 1, 1946, int. payable March 1 and Sept. 1	7,976.00
3,000	Shell Union Oil Sinking Fund 5% Bonds, due May 1, 1947, int. payable May 1 and Nov. 1	2,904.75
3,000	Municipal Service Real Estate Co., Inc. 5½% Bonds, due April 1, 1938, int. payable April 1 and Oct. 1	3,000.00
2,000	Purity Bakeries 5% Bonds, due 1948, int. payable Jan. 1 and July 1	1,874.00
2,000	Prudence Company 5½% Bonds, due 1961, int. payable May 1 and Nov. 1	1,665.00
1,000	Prudence First Mortgage Certificate 5½% due Oct. 1, 1932, being participation in bond and mtge. made by Langham Hotel Corp. being premises located on West Side of Central Park W. from 73rd St. to 74th St. New York, int. payable April 1 and Oct. 1	1,000.00

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1,000	Prudence First Mortgage Certificate 5½%, due July 1, 1931, being participation in bond and mtge. made by Seventh Ave. Hotel Corporation-Manger, being premises located on the East Side of Seventh Ave. from 50th Street to 51st Street, New York, int. payable Jan. 1 and July 1.....	1,000.00
1,000	Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 5½% Mortgage Certicate, participating in $15,000. bond and mtge. of Dora Fries, secured by property on the S. W. corner of Court St. and Huntington St., Brooklyn, due March 20, 1933, int. payable Jan. 1 and July 1	1,000.00
1,000	Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Corp. Sinking Fund 6% Gold Bonds, Series "A", due July 1, 1968, int. payable Jan. 1 and July 1.....	983.50
1,000	Realty Associates Securities Corp. guaranteed 6% Sinking Fund Gold Bonds, due Dec. 1, 1939, int. payable June 1 and Dec. 1.....	967.50
$32,500		$31,870.75

Receipts and Disbursements for the Year Ended December 24, 1929

RECEIPTS:

Balance carried forward from 1928 report.....	$ 94.64
From the Treasurer:	
Life Membership payments.....	1,135.50
Transfer from current funds (for investment).....	1,660.00
Int. on Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 5½% mtge on No. 2845–50 West 30th Street, Brooklyn.....	522.50
Int. on Western Pacific R. R. Corporation 5% Bonds.....	400.00
Int. on Municipal Service Real Estate Co. 5½% Bonds.....	165.00
Int. on Shell Union Oil Sinking Fund 5% Bonds	150.00
Int. on Purity Bakeries 5% Bonds.....	100.00
Int. on Realty Associates Securities Corporation 6% Bond.....	60.00
Int. on Prudence Langham Hotel 5½% Mortgage.....	55.00
Int. on Prudence Manger Hotel 5½% Mortgage.....	55.00
Int. on Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 5½% First mtge. of Dora Fries, Fourth and Huntington Sts., Brooklyn.....	55.00
Int. on Brooklyn Manhattan Transit Corp. 6% Gold Bonds.....	54.00
From United States Trust Co. of New York, int. on balances.....	23.09
	$4,529.73

DISBURSEMENTS:

To the Treasurer:	
Income on Investments.....	$1,490.68
Int. received on balances from United States Trust Co. of New York	23.09
To United States Trust Co. of New York:	
For the purchase of $1,000, Realty Associates Securities Corp. guaranteed 6% Sinking Fund Gold Bonds.....	967.50
Accrued interest on above.....	23.67

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For the purchase of $2,000, Prudence Bonds 5½% due 1961	1,665.00
Accrued interest on above	3.97
For the purchase of $100, Brooklyn Manhattan Transit Corp. Sinking Fund 6% Bonds	92.50
Accrued interest on above	2.35
For services rendered in safekeeping of securities, collection of income, etc., for both the Permanent Fund and the Monograph Endowment Fund (their charge being 2½% of the income collected)	57.32
Balance on deposit with United States Trust Co. of N. Y.	203.65
	$4,529.73

MONOGRAPH ENDOWMENT FUND

SECURITIES ON DEPOSIT WITH THE UNITED STATES TRUST CO. OF NEW YORK

Par Value		Book Value
$10,900	Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 5½% First Mortgage on 2845–50 West 30th Street, Brooklyn, due July 23, 1930, int. payable April 1 and Oct. 1	$10,900.00
1,400	Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 5½% First mtge. on property of Wolcott Holding Corp. on the South side of 31st Ave. near 36th St., Brooklyn, due 1932, int. payable June 1 and Dec. 1	1,400.00
1,000	Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 5½% Mtge. Certificate participation in $100,000 Bond and Mtge of Krim-Far Realty Corp., secured by property on S. W. corner of Avenue Y and East 19th St., Brooklyn, due May 1, 1931, int. payable April 1 and Oct. 1	1,000.00
1,000	Prudence Company 5½% Bonds, due 1961, int. payable May 1 and Nov. 1	845.00
500	Brooklyn Manhattan Transit Corp. Sinking Fund 6% Gold Bonds, Series "A", due July 1, 1968, int. payable Jan. 1 and July 1	495.00
$14,800		$14,640.00

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 24, 1929

RECEIPTS:

Balance carried forward from 1928 report		$ 317.63
Gifts to increase fund:		
Joseph Graydon, Esq.	$500.00	
Prof. K. G. T. Webster	25.00	
Miss Cornelia O. Skinner Blodget	10.00	535.00
Int. on Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 5½% mtge. on No. 2845–50 West 30th Street, Brooklyn		599.50
Int. on Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 5½% mtge. of Wolcott Bond Holding Corp., 31st Avenue near 36th St. Brooklyn		77.00

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Int. on Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Co. 5½% Mtge. of Krim-Far Realty Corp., Avenue Y and 19th St., Brooklyn	55.00
Int. on Brooklyn Manhattan Transit Corporation Sinking Fund 6% Gold Bonds	30.00
	$1,614.13

DISBURSEMENTS:

To the Treasurer, income on investments	$ 745.99
To the United States Trust Co. of New York:	
For the purchase of $1,000 Prudence Company 5½% Bonds due 1961	845.00
Accrued int. on above	1.68
Cash balance on deposit with United States Trust Co. of N. Y.	21.46
	$1,614.13

Respectfully submitted,
LEROY E. KIMBALL
EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG
GEORGE H. NETTLETON, *Trustees*

Professor Marden in presenting Mr. Kimball's report took opportunity to comment upon the highly satisfactory way in which the investments of the Association had been managed and called attention particularly to the fact that the total cost to the Association for handling invested funds amounting to over forty-seven thousand dollars had been for the year 1929 only $57.32.

It was *voted:* to accept the report of the Trustees of the Invested Funds, and to express to the Managing Trustee cordial appreciation of the faithful and efficient service which he had rended to the Association.

The Treasurer of the Association, Professor JOHN WHYTE of the *College of the City of New York,* then presented the following report:

A. CURRENT FUNDS

RECEIPTS:

Balance on hand, Dec. 21, 1928		$ 1,457.20
From Members for 1927 and before	$ 166.00	
" " " 1928	933.40	
" " " 1929	13,291.84	
" " " 1930	571.08	
" " " Life Memberships	1,135.50	$16,097.82
From Libraries for Vol. XLIII and before	168.30	
" " " " XLIV	574.43	
" " " " XLV	359.35	
" Foreign Subscribers	318.58	1,420.66
From Sales of *PMLA*	1,537.46	
" " " List of Members	16.70	1,554.16

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From Advertisers			1,193.66
From Income from Permanent Fund	1,513.77		
" Interest on Current Funds	98.06	1,611.83	
From Miscellaneous Sources:			
Membership Fees in E.E.T.S.	330.00		
Review of English Studies, subs	95.50		
Contributions to Monog. End. F'd.	535.00		
Extra Reprints	30.60		
Malone Society, subs.	35.00		
London Times Litirary Suppl., subs.	35.27		
Refunds	134.00		
Monographs, sales	33.00		
Monograph Endowment, income	745.99		
Revolving Fund, sales	7.60		
Rotograph Fund	75.00		
Joint Membership in Am. Folk Lore Soc.	3.00		
Modern Language Review, subs.	3.75		
Diesch Bibliography	5.00	2,068.71	23,946.84
			25,404.94

EXPENDITURES:

For the quarterly *PMLA*			
To George Banta Publ. Co.:			
XLIII-4	$ 1,792.50		
XLIII-Supplement	1,132.23		
XLIV-1	1,752.68		
XLIV-2	1,498.70		
XLIV-3	1,439.85		
Paper stock	1,320.62		
Cover stock (two years' supply)	564.31		
To Knapp Engraving Co. for plates	10.45	$ 9,511.34	
For Administrative Expenses:			
Salary, Secretary	3,000.00		
Salary, Treasurer	1,000.00		
Clerical Assistance	3,027.00		
Express and Hauling	24.39		
Postage	507.19		
Telegraph and Telephone	25.13		
Printing and Mimeographing	205.84		
Supplies	199.65	7,989.20	
To LeRoy E. Kimball, Managing Trustee			
Life Membership fees	1,135.50		
Added to Permanent Fund	1.660.00		
Contributions to Monog. Endow. Fund	535.00	3,330.50	

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To Emergency Fund		614.98	
To American Folk Lore Society, Fees	3.00		
Early English Text Society, memb. fees	310.00		
Review of English Studies, subs.	100.50		
Modern Language Review, subs.	3.75		
Malone Society, memb. fees	35.00		
London Times Lit. Suppl., subs.	35.27		
Diesch Bibliography, subs.	45.00		
American Council on Education, Dues	10.00		
American Council of Learned Societies:			
Dues 177.65			
Publicity 50.00	227.65		
To Monograph Expense Account	778.99		
Revolving Book Fund	7.60		
Rotograph Fund	75.00	1,631.76	
Miscellaneous Expenditures:			
Committee Expenses	218.53		
Traveling Expenses of Officers to Convention	147.09		
Annual Meeting Programs	204.07		
Annual Meeting Convention Circulars	264.82		
Checks returned	20.00		
Exchange	.70		
Refunds	40.69		
Treasurer's Bond	20.00		
Insurance	15.20	931.10	
			$24,008.88
Balance on hand, Dec. 21, 1929			1,395.16
			$25,404.04

B. MONOGRAPH EXPENSE ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS:			
Balance on hand Dec. 21, 1928	$	355.76	
Int. from Central National Bank		13.50	
Income from Monograph Endowment		745.99	
Sales of Albright, Allen, Paton Monographs		853.63	$ 1,968.88
EXPENDITURES:			
J. B. Watkins Co., Broadsides and Envelopes		180.00	
Oxford University Press, postage for circularizing libraries		42.75	222.75
Balance on hand, Dec. 21, 1929			1,746.13
			$ 1,968.88

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C. EMERGENCY FUND

RECEIPTS:

Balance on hand Dec. 21, 1928	$643.16	
Int. from Central Nat. Bank to Oct. 1	26.10	
From Current Funds one fourth of sales	614.98	$ 1,284.24

EXPENDITURES:

Schenkers for Ullman reprints of *Publications*	$408.78	
Balance on hand, Dec. 21, 1929	875.46	$ 1,284.24

D. BALANCE SHEET FOR 1929

	Decrease	Increase
Current Funds	$ 61.93	
Permanent Fund (book value)		$2,834.01
Monograph Endowment Fund (book value)		548.83
Monograph Expense Account		1,410.37
Emergency Fund Account		232.30
Net Increase in Resources	4,963.58	
	$5,025.51	$5,025.51

E. RESOURCES, 1926 AND 1929

	1926	1929	Decrease	Increase
Current Funds	$ −569.33[a]	$ −200.56[b]		$ 368.77
Permanent Fund, book value	17,236.28	32,074.40		14,838.12
Monograph Expense Account	1,835.34	1,746.13	$89.21	
Monograph Endowment Fund, book value	10,011.49	14,661.46		4,649.97
Emergency Fund		875.46		875.46
	$28,513.78	$49,156.89	$89.21	$20,732.32
Net Increase in Resources				$20,643.11

[a] Deficit after allowing for December *PMLA* and List of Members.
[b] " " " " December *PMLA*.

REVOLVING BOOK FUND

RECEIPTS:

Balance on hand Dec. 21, 1928	$1,378.38	
Sales of Krapp, Tannenbaum, Weller volumes*	128.70	
Int. from Central Nat. Bank	52.61	$1,559.69

* Additional sales from the three books amounted to $183.10. Against this amount, however, the Century Company has a charge of $203.40 for binding additional copies of Krapp's book, so that no payment was received for the second half year.

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EXPENDITURES:

None

Balance on hand, Dec. 21, 1929 ..... $1,559.69

ROTOGRAPH FUND

RECEIPTS:

Balance on hand, Dec. 21, 1928	$4,951.02	
Contributions in 1929	2,125.00	
From E. B. Williams	5.70	
Int. from Central Nat. Bank to Sept. 30, 1929	228.72	$7,310.44

EXPENDITURES:

Purchase of Reproductions	1,186.99	
Balance on hand, Dec. 21, 1929	6,123.45	$7,310.44

I want to comment briefly on some individual items in our Balance Sheet.

Our receipts from Libraries this year were $1420.66 as against $896.66 last year, an increase of over $400 from this source. The figures for Foreign Subscribers (largely libraries) are particularly encouraging. They were $318.58 as against $150.11 last year, an increase of over 100%. Since there has been no solicitation of subscriptions from libraries, either foreign or domestic, this gratifying increase may be fairly interpreted as a recognition of the importance of the *PMLA* in its field, and a tribute to the contributors of articles, the editorial board, and the editor.

Another striking item is the sale of back numbers and volumes of the *PMLA*. These reached a total this year of $1537.46 as against $168.84 last year. A large part of this increase is due to the fact that for the first time in some years, we have been able to supply complete runs. We have filled orders this year for complete runs not only for libraries in the United States, but also for libraries in England, Germany, Norway, Sweden and Japan.

In spite of increased expenses we were able to transfer this year to the Managing Trustee, Mr. Kimball, $3330.50. Of this sum $1135.50 was from Life Membership fees; $1660.00 was added to the Permanent Fund from our Current Account. The Monograph Endowment Fund was increased by $535. In addition to this we transferred $614.98 to our Emergency Fund, in accordance with a vote of the Council authorizing the setting aside of one-fourth of our revenue from sales for a publication fund for the reprinting of exhausted numbers and volumes. We hope through this transfer and subsequent yearly transfers to maintain complete runs of the *PMLA*.

Our Monograph Expense Account is in a far healthier condition than last year with a present balance of $1746.13 as against $355.16 last year. Sales from the Albright, Allen and Paton Monographs were $853.63, a material increase over last year. For this increase our advertising campaign was largely responsible. The advertising material—two thousand broadsides—was prepared by Mr. Speare, now of the Alfred Knopf Publishing Co., but at the time of our campaign with the Oxford University Press. I want at this point to express the gratitude of the Association to Mr. Speare for his expert services and to the Oxford University Press which so kindly loaned Mr. Speare to us, and which in addition ran off the broadsides from its own mailing list without cost to the Association.

The persuasive efforts of Mr. Searles increased our contributions to the Rotograph Fund beyond the excellent figures of last year. In spite of expenditures of $1186.99 for reproductions requisitioned by Professors Root and Bullock, our balance on hand this year is $6123.45 as against $4951.02 last year.

Our net increase in Resources for the year just closed was $5025.51. The net increase in Resources for the three-year period was $20,643.11. Both increases are a convincing evidence of the soundness of the financial affairs of the Association.

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Professor C. C. MARDEN, Chairman of the Committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts, reported that the Committee had examined the Treasurer's accounts and had found them to be correct. Thereupon it was *Voted:* to approve the report of the Treasurer.

Professor COLBERT SEARLES, Chairman of the Committee on Rotographs of MSS and Rare Printed Books, presented the following report:

It has been necessary in the light of the past year's experience to make certain changes in the regulations governing the Library-administration of our collection. They are hereby submitted with the hope that they will meet with your approval.

Rotographs are sent to those who desire them by mail, in accordance with the familiar system of inter-library loans. Applications should be addressed by the Librarian of the institution requesting the loan, to the Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, and should state distinctly that the volume is desired for the use of a professor or other well known scholar whose name is given, or for a student working under the auspices of a teacher thus named.

Institutions borrowing will be expected to inform the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress whether the reproduction is desired (1) for brief consultation; of (2) for careful study; or (3) for the making of a critical edition. In the first case, the reproduction must be sent back within two weeks from the date of receipt at the borrowing library. In the second, it must be returned within three months. In the third, in which case the editor's name must be given, it must be returned within six months unless written request for renewal is made, supported by statement of progress. Renewal will be for another period of six months, after which the reproduction is to be returned to the Library of Congress. It may then be reissued, if desired and if adequate reasons are given, for another period of six months with further privilege of renewal.

Duplicate copies of rotographs made under this plan can be supplied by a commercial photographer in Washington. Inquiries as to cost, in any given case, may be addressed to the Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, which will secure and forward the photographer's estimates.

The results of the campaign for funds have been about normal; not sufficiently good to fill us with enthusiasm, not sufficiently bad to make us contemplate suicide. The 71st subscriber of last year who came in very late experienced an afterthought and petitioned to have his, or rather its, subscription credited to the year which is now over. Inasmuch as mansuetude seems to be a necessary quality in any one who seeks to collect funds from the administrators of our institutions of the higher learning, the petition was granted as cheerfully as possible. That left us seventy. We have to express our regrets for only three vacant chairs in the circle around our hoard, and we have enough new subscribers to more than fill these empty places.

Here is the list of our subscribers for the year 1929 to whom we wish to express our appreciation for their support of the Association's enterprise. The asterisks designate new subscribers or a return to the list after a year's absence, as in the case of Catholic University, Cornell University and Randolph-Macon College who have been for many years generous supporters and whose absence from last year's list was probably due to some inadvertence on the part of your chairman.

Allyn and Bacon Company
Amherst College
Library of the City of Boston
*Bowdoin College
Brown University
Bryn Mawr College
*Bucknell University
University of Buffalo
Butler University
University of California at Berkeley
California State Library
Carleton College
*Catholic University of America
University of Chicago
University of Cincinnati
*Cleveland Public Library
*Colgate University
University of Colorado
Columbia University
*Cornell University

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Dartmouth College
Duke University
Emory University
*Enoch Pratt Free Library
*Gettysburg College
*Ginn and Company
Goucher College
Hamilton College
Harvard University
Haverford College
*Henry E. Huntington Library
Henry Holt and Company
Hobart College
Howard University
Indiana University
University of Iowa
Johns Hopkins University
University of Kansas
*Lafayette College
Lehigh University
University of Michigan
Mills College
University of Minnesota
University of Missouri
Mount Holyoke College
University of Nebraska
Public Library of Newark, N. J.
Newberry Library, Chicago
New York City Public Library
New York University
*North Carolina College for Women
University of North Carolina
Northwestern University
*University of Notre Dame
Oberlin College
Ohio State University
Ohio Wesleyan University
University of Pennsylvania
Princeton University
Radcliffe College
*Randolph-Macon College (Ashland)
University of Rochester
Smith College
Sophie Newcomb Memorial College
*Southern Methodist University
Stanford University
Swarthmore College
Syracuse University
University of Texas
Vanderbilt University
Vassar College
*University of Vermont
University of Virginia
University of Washington
Washington University
Washington and Lee University
Wellesley College
Wells College
Wesleyan University
Western Reserve University
Wheaton College
*Williams College
University of Wisconsin
Yale University

A total of 84 as compared with 70 of last year and 60 of the year preceding. Three institutions: the University of Cincinnati, Mills College and Vanderbilt University have already sent in their subscriptions for 1930, furnishing us thereby with a nest egg for the coming campaign.

In closing I would like to combat once more a point of view which is constantly recurring in the letters written in reply to the Committee's circulars by members of this Association, professors of English and Romance Languages, practically never, I am bound to say, by professors of German, who till now have derived the least direct benefit from this enterprise. The writers of the letters are quite unanimous in saying that "it is a good thing", that it is "deserving of support", that "the institutions with which they are connected are hard pressed for funds", that "their institutions are doing little or no graduate work and so would not benefit", that "the members of their staffs can in any case go to one of the larger institutions to do their research work during the summer vacations," in other words and to sum up, "it is a good thing, but let George do it". The good old fable of the limbs and the belly is not yet out of date. Everybody knows that this malady, *faute d'argent*, is just about as prevalent in the large universities as it can be anywhere. But aside from that, it is a most positive fact that no college or university, however unpretentious its curriculum, is willing to add a teacher to its staff who has not taken his advanced degree or degrees, who has not done work with research ma-

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terials. Surely this lays these institutions under some sort of an obligation to the institutions where present and future recruits are being trained for their faculties. To contribute a little something toward procuring the necessary material which serves as a basis for training is more than a *beau geste*, it is a bit of elementary justice. We tried to recall to your minds last year that the college administrator occupies a position quite analogous to the situation in which Louis XIV is said to have found himself by a student in a recent examination paper. "Louis XIV", said this student, "could do or had the power to do what he wanted to do and he often wanted to do what he could". We propose this year to send a letter touching upon this obligation to the presidents of many colleges which have not yet subscribed to our enterprise and we ask your co-operation in making the message as palatable as possible, in the hope that a proper mingling of persuasion and the justice of our cause may bring about the desired—Catharsis.

COLBERT SEARLES, *Chairman*

The Chairman of the Committee on Selection of Rotographs, Professor WALTER L. BULLOCK of the *University of Chicago*, presented the following report:

Early in the year 1929, Professor Robert K. Root resigned the Chairmanship of the Modern Language Association's Committee on Selection of Rotographs. He had been chairman of that Committee for a number of years with striking success; establishing a working routine, placing the relations of the Committee with the Library of Congress on a solid and cordial basis, and building up the Association's Rotograph collection to impressive dimensions. I should like on behalf of your Committee to express here, first of all, its very keen sense of loss in Professor Root's resignation from the Chairmanship. I ought, perhaps, to note at the same time your Committee's doubts as to whether his successor, elected last March and now making this Report, will prove capable of keeping up the tradition he established.—He will doubtless do his best.

The impetus which the Committee's activities had received from Mr. Root continued well through the year; so that in the course of 1929 twenty-six new numbers have been added to the Rotograph Collection, bringing the total now listed from 91 to 117. The total of sheets represented by these twenty-six additions (omitting, from the collection of early French plays numbered 115 in the series the eighteen items included in last year's report) is 5738. Since the additions made to the Collection in 1928 amounted to nineteen numbers comprising some 5727 sheets, the additions for 1929 are very slightly larger in bulk than those made in the previous year; though numerically they represent an increase of over thirty-five per cent. Orders, however, are still outstanding with various photographers for over a dozen items, totaling nearly 4500 sheets, which have not yet been received; considering this, the year 1929 continues to show a steady increase in the number of additions to our Series.

It is a pleasure to record here the unfailing courtesy with which the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, through its chief Dr. J. F. Jameson, continues to cooperate with your Committee. Our reproductions have by now practically all been bound, and all new acquisitions are regularly catalogued and bound with remarkable speed and efficiency. In one case this year, it is true, the scholar at whose request, made late last spring, the Committee had certain manuscripts reproduced, felt that there was perhaps undue delay before the rotographs were finally placed at his disposal. This was, however, an isolated case; the rotographs have been in his hands now for some months past; and in general it is hard to see how the relations of your Committee with the Library of Congress on the one hand, and with the various European centres on the other, could be made more satisfactory than they now are.

No request made of the Committee this year has been refused, with the exception of one, of very minor importance, which did not seem to fall sufficiently within the scope of our activities. The Committee, as always, will welcome further suggestions or requests from any members of the Association; it is especially eager to receive

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them from scholars in the Germanic[1] and in the Italian fields, which are as yet far from adequately represented in the Collection.

The unflagging energy and efficiency of Professor Searles as Chairman of the committee whose activities (embodied in him) secure year by year the necessary means for our increasing series of acquisitions, have once more placed at our disposal ample funds for all immediate needs. Every year, however, sees a much larger number of rotographs requested of us than the year before; and the funds which now suffice are certain in the future to prove quite inadequate. When that time comes (as before long inevitably it will) we can only hope, devoutly, that Mr. Searles will continue to give us the benefit of his remarkable ability and inspiring enthusiasm to help us meet, in some way, the emergency.

Respectfully submitted,
WALTER L. BULLOCK, *Chairman*

The Secretary called attention to the circular issued by the American Council of Learned Societies offering Grants in Aid of Research and Research Fellowships in the Humanities, and announced that copies of the circular could be secured from Mr. Donald Goodchild, Secretary of the Committee on Fellowships and Grants, who had been appointed to represent the A. C. L. S. at the meeting of the M. L. A. and to explain the details in regard to applications for these Grants.

The President of the Association then put before the Association for final consideration the amended form of the Constitution and the By-Laws of the Association as they had been adopted at the Toronto meeting. (See the Proceedings, *PMLA* XLIII, pp. lxv—lxix)

Professor H. C. LANCASTER moved that the Constitution be adopted for the second time, and the motion was carried unanimously.

Professor WALTER L. BULLOCK then moved that the By-Laws also be adopted, and the motion was carried unanimously.

[The text of the Constitution and By-Laws is printed immediately following these Proceedings, pp. l—liii]

The Secretary pointed out that considerable time would be required to canvass the ballots for Members of the Executive Council and moved that the ballot-box be closed on Tuesday afternoon at one o'clock and that the President be asked to appoint three tellers to assist in counting the ballots.

The motion was carried and the President appointed as tellers, Professors F. E. GUYER of *Dartmouth College*, FINLEY M. K. FOSTER of *Western Reserve University*, and HYDER ROLLINS of *Harvard University*.

MONDAY AFTERNOON

GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

For its second general session the Association convened in the Cleveland Museum of Art at 2:30 P.M. with President Nitze in the chair.

[1] Since this Report was penned, a request has come in to the Committee for the reproduction of a quantity of important Germanic material. The lack of representation of the Germanic field in our Collection is thus now being remedied.

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Dr. ROBERT E. VINSON, President of *Western Reserve University*, delivered the address of welcome to the Association.

Professor WILLIAM ALBERT NITZE, President of the Association, then delivered the Presidential Address: "Horizons"*

Following President Nitze's address the President of the *Western Reserve University* received the members of the Modern Language Association and of the Linguistic Society of America in the hall of the Cleveland Museum of Art.

The American Association of Teachers of French and the American Association of Teachers of German held their annual business meetings at 4:30 P.M. in the Hotel Statler—the A.A.T.F. in Parlor 1 and the A.A.T.G. in the North Foyer.

MONDAY EVENING

GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

The third general session of the Association was held on Monday evening at 8 o'clock in the Convention Hall of the Hotel Statler and was devoted to the reading and discussion of papers. The papers which were presented considered from several points of view the Association's objectives in scholarship.

1. "Literature as an Art." By Professor ROBERTO BRENEZ-MESÉN of *Northwestern University*

2. "Linguistics as a Science." By Professor LEONARD BLOOMFIELD of the *University of Chicago.*

3. "The Province of Literary History." By Professor EDWIN GREENLAW of *The Johns Hopkins University.*

The papers were discussed by Professors Frederick Tupper of the *University of Vermont* and William S. Knickerbocker of the *University of the South.*

The following papers were read by title:

4. "The Sources of Hawthorne's *Feathertop.*" By Professor ALFRED A. KERN of *Randolph-Macon Woman's College.*

5. "The Green Knight's Pack." By Dr. HENRY L. SAVAGE, *Princeton University.*

6. "The Communication of Ideas Between Folk and Court in the Middle Ages." By Dr. W. POWELL JONES, *Harvard University.*

7. "Klabunds Kreidekreis und seine chinesische Vorlage." By Professor ANNA SCHAFHEITLIN, of *Allegheny College.*

8. "Old French *dene.*" By Dr. RAPHAEL LEVY, of the *Univerity of Wisconsin.*

9. "Victor Hugo and the *Great Eastern.*" By Professor G. H. GIFFORD, of *Tufts College.*

* The text of the Presidential Address is printed above, on pp. iii–xi.

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10. "The Influence of Catullus on English Poetry." By Dr. A. S McPeek, of *Washington and Jefferson College.*

11. "Lessing in der Nachkriegszeit." By Dr. Hugo Broeker of the *Rice Institute.*

12. "British Criticism of Defoe as a Novelist 1719–1869." By Professor Charles Eaton Burch, of *Howard University.*

13. "André Gide and his Attitude towards Life." By Mme. T. Isnard Vacquier, of *Dakota Wesleyan University.*

14. "*The Judgment of Paris.* A Recently Discovered MS. Poem by Oliver Wolcott Jr." By Dr. Theodore A. Zunder, of *Hunter College of the City of New York.*

15. "Proust as translator of Ruskin." By Professor A. J. Roche of *St. Francis Xavier University.*

16. "A Caveat on Irregular Verse-Lining as Evidence." By Professor Hazelton Spencer, of *The Johns Hopkins University.*

17. "The Authorship of *Blurt, Master Constable.*" By Dr. Wilbur D. Dunkel, of the *University of Rochester.*

18. "New Light on the Composition of Some Poems of Edgar Allan Poe." By Professor Louis Wann, of the *University of Southern California.*

19. "The Political Poetry of Germany." By Professor Erwin Gustav Gudde, of the *University of California.*

20. "Coffin Ships." By Professor Jacob W. Hartmann, of *Long Island University.*

TUESDAY MORNING

RESEARCH GROUP MEETINGS

The morning session of Tuesday was devoted to Research Group Meetings, which were held in two Divisions, those of the First Division from 9 to 10:30 o'clock, and those of the Second from 11 to 12:30 o'clock.

First Division: 9 A.M.

(*General Topics IV*) Practical Phonetics. *Chairman,* J. S. Kenyon, *Hiram College.*

The following papers were read:

1. "Syllabification and the Function of the Consonant." R. H. Stetson, *Oberlin College.*

Experimental evidence was presented in support of the following theory: The basis of the syllable is not an arrangement of sounds, but a movement which the sounds make audible. This essential movement is a chest pulse which sends a puff of air through the vocal canal. It was shown that in the so-called "pressure syllables" of Sievers and Navarro Tomas, while the abdominal muscles make but one stroke for the syllables "ala" or "ara," the chest muscles make two strokes. The function of the consonant is to start or stop this chest pulse.

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The Group extended a unanimous vote of thanks to Professor Stetson for his valuable paper.

2. "The Main Differences in the Pronunciation of *R* and *L* in French and English." Marcel H. Vigneron, *New York University.*

Seventy persons were in attendance. The following officers were elected for the coming year: *Chairman,* A. R. Morris, *University of Michigan; Secretary,* Marcel H. Vigneron, *New York University.*

MILES H. HANLEY, *Secretary*

(*English II*) Middle English Language and Literature. *Chairman,* W. F. BRYAN, *Northwestern University.*

The session was devoted mainly to consideration of the special dictionaries now in preparation in the United States. Reports on the scope, plan, and present state of the undertakings were made by Professor Clark S. Northup for the Middle English Dictionary, Mr. T. Hereward Price for the Dictionary of Early Modern English, and Sir William A. Craigie for the Dictionary of American English. After discussion the following resolution, moved by Dr. Percy W. Long, and seconded by Professor Baugh, was unanimously adapted:

Resolved: That the Middle English Section recommend to the Executive Council of the MLA the appointment of a committee of five, to include the present editors of the Historical Dictionary of American English (Sir William Craigie), the Early Modern English Dictionary (Charles C. Fries), and the Middle English Dictionary (Clark S. Northup), (1) to serve as a medium of intercommunication of ideas and policies for all three dictionaries; (2) to act as the agent of the M.L.A. in sponsoring the Middle English Dictionary; (3) to augment the editorial staff of the Middle English Dictionary by appointing several co-editors; (4) to assist in the preparation and execution of tangible plans for the completion of the Middle English Dictionary; (5) to secure funds for carrying on the editorial work and for publication.

It is hoped that several universities may be found each of which will officially sponsor some part of the Middle English Dictionary and will support the project by contributing part of the time of such a member (or members) of its staff as may be appointed co-editor (or co-editors). The appointment of this committee is to act as a discharge of other committees, previously appointed, concerned with this Dictionary.

A paper, "The Musical Knowledge of the *Pearl*-poet," was presented by Coolidge O. Chapman, *Williams College.*

The roster of attendance was signed by 46 persons and several others were present during part of the session. The present Group-officers were re-elected for the coming year.

CLARK S. NORTHUP, *Secretary*

(*English V*) Shakspere. *Chairman,* ROBERT A. LAW, *University of Texas.*

The following papers were read:

1. "Shakspere and Censorship." E. P. KUHL, *University of Iowa.*

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2. "The Idea of Revenge in the Sixteenth Century." Lily B. Campbell, *University of California at Los Angeles.* (Read by the Chairman)

3. "Desiderata in the Study of Shakspere." Tucker Brooke, *Yale University.*

Professor Brooke, in his discussion (1) advocated a study of the local and contemporary significance of the names in Shakspere's plays, and (2) proposed the appointment of a committee which should attempt each year to draw up a list of the articles of the preceding year most important to the teacher of Shakspere.

The papers were followed by a discussion, in which Professors Craig, Oliphant, Kuhl, and Hulme participated.

The following officers were chosen for the coming year: *Chairman,* E. P. Kuhl, *University of Iowa; Secretary,* Louis B. Wright, *University of North Carolina.* The number in attendance was about one hundred and sixty.

ALEXANDER C. JUDSON, *Secretary*

(*English XI*) Contemporary Literature. *Chairman,* HOWARD M. JONES, *University of North Carolina.*

The following papers were presented:

1. "Psychological technique in the works of Marcel Proust." William L. Werner, *Pennsylvania State College.*

2. "Dostoyevski and the Demiurge." Melvin Rader, *Western Reserve University.*

About thirty persons were in attendance. The following officers were elected for the coming year: *Chairman,* S. K. Winther, *University of Washington; Secretary,* Austin Warren, *Boston University.* It was voted to appoint an advisory Committee to assist the officers in the organization of the Group.

S. K. WINTHER, *Secretary*

(*Spanish II*) Spanish Literature since the Renaissance. *Chairman,* R. E. HOUSE, *University of Iowa.*

The following papers were read:

1. "Pedro de Padilla and the Current of the Quattrocentist Imitation in Spain." Joseph G. Fucilla, *Northwestern University.*

2. "Timoneda's Relation to his Valencian Contemporaries." Sherman Eoff, *Washington University.*

3. "The Mexican Background of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón." Dorothy Schons, *University of Texas.*

4. "New Data on Becquer's *Rimas.*" W. S. Hendrix, *Ohio State University.*

5. "Two Fields of Research." E. Allison Peers, *University of Liverpool.*

6. "The Rennert Library." J. P. W. Crawford, *University of Pennsylvania.*

A report was presented from the Committee on Periodicals.

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There were 85 persons in attendance. The following officers were chosen for the coming year: *Chairman*, Henry Grattan Doyle, *George Washington University; Secretary*, F. Courtney Tarr, *Princeton University.*

C. E. ANIBAL, *Secretary*

(*German IV*) Methodology of Literary Criticism. *Chairman*, ALBERT W. ARON, *University of Illinois.* In the absence of the Secretary, Professor Detlev W. Schumann of the *Lincoln School of Teachers College*, New York, was elected acting Secretary.

A Committee of five was appointed by the Chair to nominate officers for the coming year.

The following papers were read:

1. "Weltanschauung und Stil im dichterischen Kunstwerk." Ernst Jockers, *University of Pennsylvania.*

2. "Polarity in German Literature: A Critical Appreciation of Fritz Strich's Theory." W. Leopold, *Williams College.*

3. "A Critical Bibliography of Recent German Literary Criticism." Theodore Geissendoerfer, *University of Illinois.* (Professor Geissendoerfer will mail copies of this Bibliography to any who request them.)

Professor Fife expressed some doubt as to the adequacy of the designation given to the Group, and on motion offered by him the question of a more suitable designation was referred to the incoming officers for further consideration and a report of the next meeting.

The nominating Committee proposed the following persons as officers for the coming year: *Chairman*, Ernest Jockers, *University of Pennsylvania; Secretary*, W. Leopold, *Williams College.* No further nominations were offered and the persons named were duly elected. About 80 persons were in attendance.

DETLEV W. SCHUMANN, *Acting Secretary*

(*Scandinavian I*) Scandinavian Literature. *Chairman*, F. STANTON CAWLEY, *Harvard University.*

The following papers were read:

1. "A Danish Variant of the Shrew Story." Jess H. Jackson, *The College of William and Mary.*

2. "The Matter of Russia in the *lygisǫgur*." Samuel H. Cross, *Harvard University.*

A discussion led by Chester N. Gould, *University of Chicago*, of the authorship of *Egils saga Skallagrimssonar*, based on the monograph of Per Wieselgren, *Författarskapet till Eigla*, Lund 1927, elicited much interest.

Sixteen persons were present. The Group-officers were re-elected for the coming year.

JOHN W. SPARGO, *Secretary*

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SECOND DIVISON, 11 A.M.

(*General Topics V*) Experimental Phonetics. *Chairman*, GORDON C. PATTERSON, *University of Toronto*. In the absence of Professor A. R. Morris, the Chair appointed Harry J. Russel of *Ohio State University* as Acting Secretary.

The following papers were read and discussed:

1. "A Slow-Film, English and German." James L. Barker, *University of Utah*.

2. "American Voiced *T*." John S. Kenyon, *Hiram College*.

3. "Some Variations of the Fundamental in Connected Discourse." Clarence E. Parmenter, *University of Chicago*.

4. Marcel Henri Vigneron, *New York University*, spoke on Experimental Phonetics as a help for the re-education of the deaf and dumb.

The committee to nominate officers for the coming year presented the following names: *Chairman*, Gordon C. Patterson; *Secretary*, Harry J. Russell. These persons were thereupon unanimously elected. A count showed 112 persons in attendance.

HARRY J. RUSSELL, *Acting Secretary*

(*Comparative Literature I*) Prose Fiction. *Chairman*, ERNEST BERNBAUM, *University of Illinois*.

The topic of the informal discussion was: Recent theories of the novel. Fifteen members of the Group took part in a consideration of the place of plot in prose fiction.

Plans for the new bibliography of prose fiction in England from the beginnings to 1740 were then presented for criticism and suggestion. The Chairman urged that members cooperate by forwarding to the editor any additions and corrections to the standard bibliography, Arundell Esdaile's *English Tales and Prose Romances*, 1912 (London Bibliographical Society). It was further suggested that during 1930 such material be limited to works of prose fiction published before 1660. Notice of the existence of copies of such works in American libraries will prove especially helpful. Communications regarding the bibliography should be addressed to Alpheus W. Smith, Department of English, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

The Chairman reported on recent research, completed and in progress.

The officers of the group were continued for the coming year. About seventy-five persons were present.

Members of the group are requested to suggest to the officers topics suitable for next year's discussion.

ALPHEUS W. SMITH, *Secretary*

(*Comparative Literature II*) Popular Literature. *Chairman*, ARCHER TAYLOR, *University of Chicago*.

The following program was carried through, with some discussion intervening:

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1. Collections of Books on Folk-lore and the John G. White Collection of the Cleveland Public Library, Gordon W. Thayer, Librarian of the John G. White Collection.

2. Collections of Other than Printed Materials on Folk-lore:
   (a) Archive of American Folksong, Robert W. Gordon, Director.
   (b) *Deutsches Volksliedarchiv* (Freiburg i. Br.-Chicago), Archer Taylor.
   (c) The University of Illinois Collections on the Older German Folk-song, Charles A. Williams.

Other collections of manuscript materials were mentioned and described by Professors Stith Thompson and A. K. Davis, Jr.

3. American Ballad-study.
   (a) The Origin and History of *Fuller and Warren*, H. M. Belden, *University of Missouri.*
   (b) The Status of Studies in Popular Materials. Discussion led by Stith Thompson, *Indiana University*, and L. W. Payne, *University of Texas.*
   (c) A Point in the Collecting of Ballads, Arthur Kyle Davis, Jr., *University of Virginia.*

The following officers were elected for the coming year: *Chairman*, Stith Thompson, *Indiana University; Secretary*, A. K. Davis, Jr., *Univer- of Virginia.* About twenty-five persons were present.

ROBERT W. GORDON, *Secretary*

(*English III*) Chaucer. *Chairman*, J. S. P. TATLOCK, *University of California.*

In the absence of both the Chairman and Secretary, Robert K. Root, of *Princeton University*, acted as Chairman and Howard R. Patch, of *Smith College*, as Secretary. The following papers were read:

1. "A Library for Chaucer." Richard L. Greene, *University of Rochester.* Discussed by the Secretary, and by Professor Chapman of *Williams College* and Professor Benham of the *University of Washington.*

2. "Chaucer and an Italian Translation of the *Heroides.*" Mr. Sanford B. Meech, *Hunter College of the City of New York.* Discussed by the Chairman and the Secretary, and by Professor Benham of the *University of Washington*, Professor Shannon of *Washington and Lee University*, Professor Brown of *New York University* and others.

3. "A Chaucer Bibliography, 1929." Martin B. Ruud, *University of Minnesota*, (Read in his absence by W. F. Bryan, of *Northwestern University.*) Discussed by the Chairman.

About seventy-five members were present. For the ensuing year Professor J. S. P. Tatlock of the *University of California*, was re-elected Chairman, and Professor A. C. Baugh, of the *University of Pennsylvania*, was elected Secretary

HOWARD R. PATCH, *Acting Secretary*

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(*English VIII*) Literary Tendencies during the Second Half of the XVIIIth Century. *Chairman*, Howard Mumford Jones, *University of North Carolina.*

The following papers were read:

1. "Boswell as Press-Agent and Lawyer." Margery Bailey, *Stanford University.*

2. "The Reliability of Eighteenth Century Newspapers." Frederick A. Pottle, *Yale University.*

For the ensuing year George Sherburn, *University of Chicago*, was elected Chairman, and Frederick A. Pottle, *Yale University, Secretary.* About seventy persons were present.

A. W. Secord, *Secretary*

(*French V*) French Literature of the XVIIIth and XIXth Centuries. *Chairman*, Russell P. Jameson, *Oberlin College.*

The following papers were read:

1. "Henry IV on the French Stage of the Eighteenth Century." Clarence D. Brenner, *University of California.*

2. "Fact and Fiction in Balzac's *Maitre Cornelius.*" George D. Morris, *Indiana University.*

3. "Une Interpretation nouvelle de *Le Rouge et le Noir* de Stendhal." Marcel Moraud, *The Rice Institute.*

4. "Les Personnages de *l'Aziyade* de Pierre Loti." Pierre S. Briquet, *McMaster University, Toronto.*

5. "Anatole France and Virgil." Loring B. Walton, *Duke University.*

6. "Marcel Schwob and the Art of Biography." S. A. Rhodes, *College of the City of New York.*

7. "Taine's Psychology of Style." Lander MacClintock, *Indiana University.*

It was voted to divide the Group next year into two sections; the first to be devoted to 18th century and the second to 19th and 20th century literature.

The attendance at this meeting crowded to capacity the inadequate three rooms assigned to it. For the coming year the following officers were elected: *Chairman*, Maxwell A. Smith, *University of Chattanooga; Secretary*, Edith Phillips, *Goucher College.*

Olin H. Moore, *Secretary*

(*German V*) Modern German Literature. *Chairman*, T. Moody Campbell, *Wesleyan University.*

The following papers were read:

1. "Die Anthroposophie und ihre Lyrik." Erich Hofacker, *Washington University.*

2. "Historiche Romane der nachexpressionistischen Zeit." F. W. Kaufmann, *Smith College.*

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3. "Das musikalische Element in der deutschen Lyrik seit Goethe." Hans Jaeger, *Princeton University.*

4. 'Das Schicksalsproblem bei Spengler und Keyserling." A. K. Dolch, *University of California.*

It was voted that at next year's meeting some time should be set apart for discussing whether the Group should limit its program to the consideration of a single topic.

About eighty persons were in attendance. The following officers were elected for the coming year: *Chairman*, Detlev W. Schumann of New York City; *Secretary*, Erich Hofacker, *Washington University.*

G. H. DANTON, *Secretary*

The members of the Modern Language Association were the guests of Western Reserve University at a luncheon served in the Hotel Statler at one o'clock.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON

RESEARCH GROUP MEETINGS

The afternoon session of Tuesday was devoted to Research Group meetings, which were held in two Divisions, those of the First Division from 2 o'clock until 3:30, and the Second from 4 o'clock until 5:30.

FIRST DIVISION 2 P.M.

(*Comparative Literature III*) Arthurian Romances. *Chairman*, JOHN J. PARRY, *University of Illinois.* In the absence of the Secretary, Margaret Schlauch, *New York University*, the group elected as Acting Secretary Margaret Pitkin, *Swarthmore College.*

Mimeographed copies of the bibliography of recent Arthurian Literature compiled by John J. Parry, *University of Illinois*, Margaret Schlauch, *New York University*, and Lewis E. Winfrey, *University of Oklahoma*, were distributed by the Chairman. Additional copies of the bibliography may be secured by applying to the Chairman.

The problem of completing the bibliography and keeping it up to date, and the order in which titles are to be listed in its final form were discussed by Professors Parry, Baugh, Nitze, Brown, Taylor, and Spargo.

Professor A. C. L. Brown proposed the re-election of the present Chairman for the ensuing year, and nominated as Secretary Clark H. Slover, *University of Texas.* There being no other nominations, these persons were declared elected.

Clark S. Northup, *Cornell University*, proposed the organization of the group as the Arthurian Society, with a tax to be levied on the members to defray the expenses of the bibliography. The motion was seconded and carried.

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Professor Nitze announced the Arthurian Congress to be held in Cornwall in the summer of 1930 under the direction of the Arthurian Research Group at Oxford.

P. G. Gleis, *Catholic University*, gave an account of the research in which he is engaged to determine the source of the last four books of Wolfram's *Parzival*. His tentative conclusions were discussed by Professor Nitze.

Professors Brown and Nitze discussed the probable existence of a written source for Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, with reference to Griscom's recent edition of that work.

About thirty persons were present.

MARGARET PITKIN, *Acting Secretary*

(*English IX*) Wordsworth and His Contemporaries. *Chairman*, ALICE D. SNYDER, *Vassar College*.

The following papers were read:

1. "Wordsworth and Germany." Susanne Howe, *Columbia University*.

2. "The Inconsistencies of Alastor." Raymond D. Havens, *The Johns Hopkins University*.

3. "Shelley and the Active Radicals of the Early 19th Century." Newman I. White, *Duke University*.

4. "A Brief Review of Some Recent Studies." Arthur Beatty, *University of Wisconsin*.

Five-minute reports of research in progress were made by Earl L. Griggs, *University of Michigan*, and Nelson S. Bushnell, *Northwestern University*.

The Chairman appointed Professor Havens, Miss Howe, and Professor White as a committee to nominate officers for the next year. The following officers were chosen: *Chairman*, Thomas M. Raysor, *State College of Washington; Secretary*, Earl L. Griggs, *University of Michigan*.

THOMAS M. RAYSOR, *Secretary*

(*English XII*) American Literature. *Chairman*, KENNETH B. MURDOCK, *Harvard University*. (This meeting by special arrangement continued through the time of the Second Division groups.)

The following papers were presented:

1. "Hawthorne and Brook Farm." Oscar Cargill, *New York University*.

2. "The Authorship of *The Power of Sympathy*, the first American Novel." H. Milton Ellis, *University of Maine*.

3. "The Romantic Scenery of the Far West." Edward E. Hale, *Union College*.

4. "Methods in Contemporary American Biography." Howard M. Jones, *University of North Carolina*.

5. "Before *Godey's;* Early Periodicals for Women." Bertha M. Stearns, *Wellesley College*.

6. "The Needs in Editions of American Authors; Subject and Method." T. O. Mabbott, *Hunter College*.

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Because of limitation of time, the following were read by title only:

7. "Materials for a new biography of Brockden Brown." David Lee Clark, *University of Texas.*

8. "Poe's Debt to Coleridge." Floyd Stovall, *University of Texas.*

9. "John Trumbull as Revolutionist." Alexander Cowie, *Wesleyan University.*

10. "Ship Notices Bearing on Poe." Henry Campbell Davis, *University of South Carolina.*

11. "Longfellow: the Interpreter of the Historical and the Romantic Indian." J. Almus Russell, *Colgate University.*

At four o'clock there was an intermission in the reading of papers to permit the transaction of business as follows:

A modified plan of organization, framed by a committee of which Professor Norman Foerster was chairman and amended by the Advisory Council, was presented and unanimously adopted.

The Nominating Committee then presented the names of the following persons to serve as officers for the coming year: *Chairman,* R. E. Spiller, *Swarthmore College; Secretary-Treasurer,* E. S. Bradley, *University of Pennsylvania; Bibliographer,* E. E. Leisy, *Southern Methodist University. Advisory Council:* for three years, Arthur H. Quinn, Gregory L. Paine; for two years, Kenneth B. Murdock, W. B. Cairns; for one year, Stanley T. Williams, H. Milton Ellis. The Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for the persons named and they were declared elected. Professor Jay B. Hubbell made a report on the quarterly journal sponsored by the Group:

American Literature will complete its first volume with the appearance of the January number now in press. This journal now has more than five hundred subscribers, and the number is steadily increasing. It is fortunate in making a special appeal to all those working in the field of American literature.

American Literature is edited by a board of five members of the Group: Jay B. Hubbell (Duke), *Chairman,* W. B. Cairns (Wisconsin), Kenneth B. Murdock (Harvard), F. L. Pattee (Rollins), and R. L. Rusk (Columbia). The fifteen members of the Advisory Board are Killis Campbell (Texas), Norman Foerster (North Carolina), Thomas Ollive Mabbott (Hunter), W. P. Trent (Columbia), Louise Pound (Nebraska), Arthur Hobson Quinn (Pennsylvania), Robert E. Spiller (Swarthmore), Stanley T. Williams (Yale), Napier Wilt (Chicago), Dixon Ryan Fox (Columbia), Ernest E. Leisy (Southern Methodist), John Brooks Moore (Washington), George Lyman Kittredge (Harvard), Howard Judson Hall (Stanford), and Lawrence C. Wroth (Brown). The first eight of these have another year to serve before their terms expire; the last seven have two years.

This Journal includes material of four kinds: book reviews, regular articles, notes and queries, and a list of "Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals" (a feature added in the November, 1929, number). The journal is not overstocked as are many of the other scholarly journals. The Editorial Board will welcome suggestions and criticisms of any kind.

E. S. BRADLEY, *Secretary*

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(*English XIV*) English Drama. *Chairman*, GEORGE C. TAYLOR, *University of North Carolina.* In the absence of Professor Leslie Hotson of *New York University*, Bernard M. Wagner of *Harvard University* acted as Secretary.

The following program was presented:

1. Medieval.

"A Plea for the Study of the Corpus Christi Plays as Drama." George R. Coffman, *Boston University.* (See *Studies in Philology*, Oct., 1929.) Discussion led by Robert Withington, *Smith College*, and followed by Professors G. F. Reynolds, W. H. Hulme, and others.

2. Renaissance.

"Allusions to James I and his Court in Marston's *Fawn* and Beaumont's *Woman Hater.*" Albert W. Upton, *University of Southern California.* (See *PMLA*, December, 1929.) Discussion led by C. F. Tucker Brooke, *Yale University*, and followed by Professor Baldwin Maxwell and Robert A. Law.

3. Restoration.

"High Comedy in Terms of Restoration Practice." Bartholow V. Crawford, *University of Iowa.* (See *Philological Quarterly*, October, 1929.) Discussion led by Napier Wilt, *University of Chicago;* Professor Croissant and others followed.

On the motion of Professor Coffman, a committee was appointed consisting of Professors Tucker Brooke, *Yale University*, Baldwin Maxwell, *University of Iowa*, and George R. Coffman, *Boston University*, to consider certain unpublished works relating to the English Drama and the means for their publication.

The following officers were elected for the coming year: *Chairman*, E. H. C. Oliphant, *Sarah Lawrence College; Secretary*, Marie C. Lyle, *Keuka College.* About seventy persons were present.

BERNARD M. WAGNER, *Acting Secretary*

(*French III*) French Literature of the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries. *Chairman*, BERT E. YOUNG, *Indiana University.*

The following papers were read:

1. "The Influence of two Minor Authors on Molière." H. Carrington Lancaster, *The Johns Hopkins University.*

2. "Samuel Chappuzeau, Bibliographical and Biographical notes; his Dramatic Works, *le Cercle des femmes. l'Académie des femmes*, and the *Colloques* of Erasmus." Casimir D. Zdanovicz, *University of Wisconsin.*

3. "Georges de Scudéry, Dramaturge." Miss Marine Leland, *Smith College.*

4. "Cyrano de Bergerac, précurseur de la tragédie voltairienne." Ernest Chenel, *New York University.*

5. "The Homeric Simile in the Lesser Poets of the XVIIth Century." Harry V. Wann, *University of Michigan.*

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Due to the length of the papers, and the time lost in changing from Parlor 3 which proved too small, to the Lattice room, there was no time for discussion of any of the above papers.

As officers for the coming year, Professor Albert Feuillerat of the *University of Rennes* was elected Chairman, and Robert V. Merrill of the *University of Chicago, Secretary*. About one hundred and fifteen persons were present.

J. L. BORGERHOFF, *Secretary*

(*German III*) Goethe. *Chairman*, J. A. WALZ, *Harvard University*.

The following papers were read:

1. "Goethe and Mexico." Walter Wadepuhl, *West Virginia University*.
2. "Faust and Faustus." Otto Heller, *Washington University*.
3. "Goethe in the Chautauqua." Adolph B. Benson, *Yale University*.
4. "Goethes Sturm und Drang; Revolution als Reaktion." Ernst Feise, *The Johns Hopkins University*.

Among those participation in the discussion following the first three papers were Professors Carl F. Schreiber of *Yale University*, who also reported on some interesting material found in the process of cataloguing the Speck collection of Goethiana, William Kurrelmeyer of *The Johns Hopkins University* and A. B. Faust of *Cornell University*. No time was left for discussion of the last paper, the reading of which had to be postponed to 5:30 P.M. after the meeting of the *German II* group. About seventy-five persons, as many as the room would hold, were in attendance.

The following officers were elected for the current year: A. R. Hohlfeld, *University of Wisconsin*, Chairman; Carl F. Schreiber, *Yale University*, Secretary.

ANNA SCHAFHEITLIN, *Secretary*

(*Slavonic I*) Slavonic Language and Literature. *Chairman*, CLARENCE A. MANNING, *Columbia University*.

The following papers were read and discussed:

1. "Stanislaw Wyspianski as a Dramatist." T. Mitana, *University of Michigan*.
2. "Loan-words in Czech." Orin Stepanek, *University of Nebraska*.
3. "The case of the Chsl. etc. rys, 'lynx'; The terms for *raft*, *boat*, and *ship* in Balto-Slavic." Francis T. Preveden, *De Pauw University*.
4. "Shakespeare and Bohemia." Arthur P. Colemen, *Columbia University*.
5. "Byron and Pushkin." Clarence A. Manning, *Columbia University*.

The officers of the Group were contined for the coming year.

(Rev.) GEORGE LUBA, O. S. B. *Secretary*

SECOND DIVISION 4 P.M.

(*General Topics I*) Poetic Form and General Æsthetics. *Chairman*, THEODORE STENBERG, *University of Texas*.

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The following papers were read:

1. "Poe's Theories and Practice of Poetic Technique." W. L. Werner *Pennsylvania State College.*

2. "*Gestalt* Psychology and the Æsthetic Attitude." L. L. Click, *University of Texas.*

3. "Verse Form in the Popular and the Vulgar Ballad." Edward H Weatherly, *University of Missouri.*

4. "John Barclay, Hutcheson, and Unity in Variety." Theodore Stenberg, *University of Texas.*

About forty members were present for some part of the meeting. The following were elected officers for the coming year: *Chairman*, Clarence D. Thorpe, *University of Michigan; Secretary*, Ada L. F. Snell, *Mount Holyoke College.*

FREDERICK W. PETERSON, *Secretary*

(*General Topics II*) Critical Study of Romanticism. *Chairman*, PAUL KAUFMAN, *The American University.* In the absence of the Chairman, the Secretary presided.

The following papers were read:

1. "The Attitude of the French Royalist Newspapers toward Romanticism during the Restoration." D. H. Carnahan, *University of Illinois.*

2. "Romantic Landscape in America." E. E. Hale, *Union College.*

3. "Harmony of the Senses in German, English, and French Romanticism." Erika von Erhardt-Siebold, *Mt. Holyoke College.*

4. "Romantic Solitude." Odell Shepard, *Trinity College.*

An outline of a project for a comprehensive bibliography of Romanticism, proposed by Mr. Kaufman, the chairman of the group, was read, but lack of time prevented discussion of it.

It was voted, on motion of Professor R. D. Havens, to refer the selection of officers for the coming year to a committee to be appointed by the Chair. The committee, consisting of Professors Havens and Carnahan, named the following officers: *Chairman*, Odell Shephard, *Trinity College; Secretary*, H. W. Church, *Allegheny College.* About ninety attended the meeting, and about twelve took part in the discussion of the papers.

H. W. CHURCH, *Secretary*

(*Comparative Literature IV*) Anglo-French Literary Relations. *Chairmen*, NORMAN L. TORREY, *Yale University*, and VIRGIL B. HELTZEL, *Northwestern University.*

The following papers were read:

1. "Defoe's *Roxana* and the Grammont Memoires." A. W. Secord, *University of Illinois.*

2. "Destouches in England." Ira O. Wade, *Princeton University.*

The papers were discussed by Ronald S. Crane, *University of Chicago*, and Vincent Guilloton, *Smith College.*

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An informal discussion was held on "French Influence on English Resoration Drama."

It was decided that at the next meeting the papers and discussion should be centered on English influences, literary, social, or philosophical, on Voltaire's religious thought.

The incumbent chairmen were continued in office for the coming year.

VIRGIL B. HELTZEL and NORMAN L. TORREY, *Chairmen*

(*English IV*) The Period of Spenser. *Acting Chairman*, E. B. FOWLER, *University of Louisville.*

The Acting Chairman opened the meeting with a brief explanation of the organization of the new group on the period of Spenser, which has separated itself from Group VI, on the periods of Spenser and Milton. The change has proved to be desirable because it has been impossible, in one group meeting, to deal adequately with Spenser, with Milton, and with the many other writers of their periods.

The following papers were read:

1. "The Relations of Spenser and Sidney." T. P. Harrison, Jr. *University of Texas.*
2. "Recent Spenser Studies." Edwin Greenlaw, *The Johns Hopkins University.*
3. "Further Discussion of Recent Spenser Studies." (on the date of the *Mutability* cantos) F. M. Padelford, *University of Washington.*
4. "Spenser and the Pageantry at the Coronation of Elizabeth." Ray Heffner, *The Johns Hopkins University.*
5. "The Order of Time in the *Faerie Queene*." George B. Parks, *Washington University.*

Professor Greenlaw reported briefly on the progress of the Variorum edition of Spenser.

The acting officers of the group were elected as officers for the coming year.

HELEN E. SANDISON, *Acting Secretary*

(*English XIII*) Present-Day English. *Chairman* Sir WILLIAM A. CRAIGIE, *University of Chicago.*

The following papers were read:

1. "Army English." A. L. Hench, *University of Virginia.*
2. "The Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada." Hans Kurath, *Ohio State University.*
3. "The Progress of the Historical Dictionary of American English." Sir William A. Craigie, *University of Chicago.*

Sixty-five persons were present.

The following officers were elected for the coming year: *Chairman*, Dr. W. Cabell Greet, *Columbia University; Secretary*, A. L. Hench, *University of Virginia.*

MILES L. HANLEY, *Secretary*

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(*French I*) Mediæval Literature and Linguistics. *Chairman*, EDWARD L. ADAMS, *University of Michigan*. In the absence of Professor Louis Allen, Edward B. Ham, *Princeton University*, was appointed *Acting Secretary*.

The following papers were read:

1. "The Two Saintrés." Charles A. Knudson, *University of Michigan*.

2. "Textual Criticism—Science, Art, or Pastime?" William P. Shepard, *Hamilton College*. Discussed by Professor C. C. Marden, *Princeton*, W. A. Nitze, *Chicago*, D. S. Blondheim, *Johns Hopkins*.

3. "Un instrument de travail indispensable pour les Romanistes: le Thesaurus de l'ancien francais," Charles Bruneau, *University of Nancy* and Visiting Professor at *Bowdoin College*.*

Professor Bruneau discussed in detail the methods which an organized group of scholars should employ in order to produce within a reasonable time a comprehensive dictionary based on *everything* written in Old French. He pointed out that a group of American scholars would find themselves in an exceptionally advantageous position for undertaking such a task.

It was voted, on a motion by Professor Blondheim, that the Chairman appoint a committee of six to inquire into the practicability of Professor Bruneau's plan. The committee as appointed consists of Professors E. C. Armstrong, D. S. Blondheim (Secretary), J. D. M. Ford, G. L. Hamilton, T. A. Jenkins, W. A. Nitze (Chairman).

Owing to the unusual limitation of time due to the early hour of the subscription dinner, Miss Maude E. Temple's paper, "Some Pythagorean Survivals in Late Mediæval Law Codes and Jurisprudence," was omitted, to the deep regret of members of the Group. The officers elected for the coming year are: Chairman, Stephen H. Bush, *University of Iowa;* Secretary, Charles A. Knudsen, *University of Michigan*. Over forty persons were in attendance.

EDWARD B. HAM, *Acting Secretary*

(*Italian I*) Italian Literature, *Chairman*, RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI, *University of California*. The following papers were read:

1. "Vulnerable Spots in the *terzina's* chain-armor." Herbert D. Austin, *University of Southern California*.

2. "Valli's Latest Book on Dante." Angelo Lipari, *Yale University*.

3. "La quérelle des anciens et des modernes in Italian Literature," Gabriella Bosano, *Vassar College*.

In the discussion of these papers the following participated: the Chairman and Professors Russo of *Wisconsin*, Lipari of *Yale*, Bullock and Keniston of *Chicago*, Scatori of *Oklahoma*, and Davis of *Rutgers*.

* This paper replaced the one announced by David S. Blondheim, *The Johns Hopkins University*, "Some Old French Word Studies: Lexicographical and Etymological Notes, resting chiefly upon material in the Glosses of Rashi," Professor Blondheim courteously withdrawing in favor of Professor Bruneau.

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At the conclusion of the discussion, the group elected the following officers for 1930: *Chairman*, Alfonso de Salvio, *Brown University; Secretary*, Luigi A. Passarelli, *University of Arkansas.*

LUIGI A. PASSARELLI, *Secretary*

(*German II*) Language and Literature of the XVIth century. *Chairman*, E. K. J. H. Voss, *University of Wisconsin.*

The following papers were read:

1. "The earlier performance of the Passion Play in Lucerne." M. B. Evans, *Ohio State University.*

2. "The Strong Verb in the 1671 Wittenbery Revision of the Lutheran Bible," D. B. Shumway, *University of Pennsylvania.*

3. "A Study of the Volkslied *Häsleins Klage.*" J. B. Fuller, *Amherst College.*

4. "A note on the etymology of the word '*Karnoeffel.*'" Ernst Voss, *University of Wisconsin.*

(Read by Title)

5. "Luthers Fabeldichtung." Professor Aldred Gotze, *University of Giessen* (Hessen).

6. Eine unbekannte Druckausgabe der *Praecepta Morum*, des Erasmus Alberus," Professor Otto Clemen, *University of Leipzig.*

The officers elected for the coming year were: Chairman, Daniel B. Shumway, *University of Pennsylvania;* Secretary, Edward H. Sehrt, *George Washington University.*

EDWARD H. SEHRT, *Secretary*

The American Dialect Society held its annual meeting in Parlor 3 of the Hotel Statler, immediately following the meeting of the Present-day English Group.

A meeting was held at 5 o'clock in Parlor 1 to organize the Société des Amis de la Bibliothèque Nationale.

TUESDAY EVENING

At seven o'clock a subscription dinner was served to some six hundred members of the Association. Following the dinner a smoker was given with a program arranged by the Local Committee. Professor Charles Harris of *Western Reserve University* presided and the Smoke Talk was given by Professor Benjamin P. Bourland. Mr. William Wheeler of Cleveland entertained the audience by a program of folk songs from Scotland, Ireland, England, and the Hebrides, concluding with the Boll-weevil song, the audience joining in the chorus.

WEDNESDAY MORNING

DEPARTMENTAL SECTION MEETINGS

For the Wednesday morning session the Association met at 9:30 A.M., in three sections, devoted, respectively, to English, Romance, and Germanic Philology.

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ENGLISH SECTION

Chairman, Professor TUCKER BROOKE of *Yale University*.

The following papers were read:

21. "The Isham Collection of Boswell Manuscripts." By Professor F. A. Pottle of *Yale University*. Discussed by Professors R. D. Havens, W. H. Hulme, J. W. Tupper, Helen Sard Hughes, and Ronald S. Crane.

22. "Blake and Reynolds." By Professor F. H. Heidbrink of *Northwestern University*.

23. "Costume in Elizabethan Drama." By Dr. M. Channing Linthicum, of the *University of Iowa*. This paper was illustrated by lantern slides.

24. "Some Aspects of Keats's Development as Shown in the Sonnets and Odes." By Professor Vivian H. Bresnehen, of *Antioch College*.

25. "The First English Broadside Elegy." By Professor John W. Draper, of *West Virginia University*.

RONALD S. CRANE, *Secretary*

ROMANCE SECTION

Chairman, Professor DAVID S. BLONDHEIM of *The Johns Hopkins University*. In the absence of Professor George R. Havens, Professor H. C. Heaton of *New York University* acted as Secretary.

A Committee consisting of Professors H. C. Lancaster, Henry Grattan Doyle, and Dr. Edward B. Ham was appointed to nominate Section Officers for the coming year.

The following papers were read:

26. "The Idealistic Philology of Karl Vossler." By Professor Urban T. Holmes of the *University of North Carolina*. (Read by Professor H. H. Thornton of *Oberlin College*.)

The Nominating Committee presented the following report: For *Chairman*, Professor C. C. Marden of *Princeton University;* for *Secretary*, Professor Robert E. Rockwood of *Ohio State University*. The report of the Committee was adopted and the persons named were declared elected as Officers for the coming year.

27. "The Work of the Alexander research group at Princeton." By Dr. Edward Ham of *Princeton University*. Discussed by the Chairman.

28. "The Term 'Romanticism in Spain." By Professor E. Allison Peers of the *University of Liverpool*.

29. "Le nouveau Victor Hugo." By Professor Albert Schinz of the *University of Pennsylvania*. Discussed by Professor Zdanowicz and the Chairman.

30. "An Unknown Type of Chivalric Romance." By Professor Walter L. Bullock of the *University of Chicago*. Discussed by Professor Angelo Lipari.

31. "Saint-Simon and Proust." By Professor D. C. Cabeen of *Vanderbilt University*.

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32. "The *Indiano* in the Spanish Theatre of the Seventeenth Century." By Professor Esther J. Crooks of *Goucher College.*

33. Miss Maud E. Temple of Hartford, Connecticut presented a summary of her paper, "Some Pythagorean Survivals in Late Mediæval Law Codes and Jurisprudence," which had been scheduled for the program of the *French I* group.

H. C. HEATON, *Acting Secretary*

GERMANIC SECTION

Chairman, Professor FRIEDRICH BRUNS of the *University of Wisconsin.*

The following papers were read:

34. "Hebbel und die Romantik." By Professor Wolfgang Liepe of the *University of Kiel.*

35. "A Little Wave of Influence." By Professor James Taft Hatfield of *Northwestern University.*

36. "W. D. Howells and the Germans." By Dr. Oscar F. W. Fernsemer of the *Hunter College of the City of New York.*

37. "Franz Werfel's Collected Poems." By Professor Detlev W. Schumann, *Lincoln School of Teachers' College*, New York.

The Secretary-Treasurer of the Bibliographic Committee, Professor Harvey W. Hewitt-Thayer of *Princeton University*, presented the following report:

Total amount in the Treasurery on December 18, 1928, the date of the report submitted at the last meeting of the Association	$267.20
Received from subscribers during the year	105.00
Interest	8.63
	380.83
Withdrawn:	
February 6, to order of Wilhelm Frels	$ 300.75
October 11, to order of K. W. Hiersemann	10.26
	311.01
December 18, 1929, Balance in Treasury	69.82
Due still from subscribers	10.00

Respectfully submitted,
HARVEY W. HEWITT-THAYER, *Secy-Treas.*

The Chairman of the Bibliographic Committee, Professor F. W. J. Heuser of *Columbia University*, offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

Resolved: (1) That the Secretary-Treasurer of the Bibliographic Committee be authorized to solicit subscriptions for the *Bibliographie der deutschen Dichterhandschriften* by Dr. Wilhelm Frels; $5 to be paid at the present, $5 upon delivery of the finished volume.

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(2) That the Bibliographic Committee be authorized to accept the offer of the Goethe Nationalmuseum in Weimar to issue the "Catalog of Goethe's Library," provided arrangements can be made for its publication as Volume VII of the Bibliographical Series.

Officers of the Germanic Section for the coming year were elected as follows: *Chairman*, Professor Samuel Kroesch of the *University of Minnesota; Secretary*, Dr. W. Leopold of *Northwestern University*.

G. H. DANTON, *Secretary*

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON

GENERAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

The fourth general session of the Association was held in the Convention Hall of the Hotel Statler. The Association was called to order by President Nitze at 2:10 P.M.

The Secretary of the Association announced the result of the ballot for members of the Executive Council: Total number of ballots cast, 479. Of this number ten ballots were not counted—six being unsigned and four being signed by persons whose names had been removed from the list of members. Of the thirty-six nominees on the ballot, the twelve receiving the highest number of votes were as follows:

Eduard Prokosch	279
E. C. Armstrong	256
Karl Young	253
Tucker Brooke	251
Hardin Craig	232
J. D. M. Ford	211
Marjorie Nicolson	206
A. R. Hohlfeld	195
James Finch Royster	194
H. C. Lancaster	188
Milton A. Buchanan	184
Robert H. Fife	176

These persons accordingly were declared elected as members of the Executive Council. The terms of the members of the Council were determined by lot as follows: Four-year terms, Brooke, Buchanan and Prokosch; three-year terms, Armstrong, Craig, and Nicolson; two-year terms, Ford, Lancaster, and Royster; one-year terms, Fife, Hohlfeld, and Young.

The following report of the Committee on Nomination of Officers was presented by the *Chairman*, Professor TUCKER BROOKE:

For President of the Association, FREDERICK TUPPER of the *University of Vermont*.

For Vice Presidents of the Association, GEORGE R. HAVENS of *Ohio State University*, and SAMUEL KROESCH of the *University of Minnesota*.

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For Delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies, EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG of *Princeton University*.

Thereupon it was *voted:* to instruct the Secretary to cast the ballot of the Association for the persons named, and they were declared elected.

The following report of the Committee on Resolutions was presented by Professor HORATIO E. SMITH, in the absence of the Chairman:

The Modern Language Association, gathered in Cleveland for its forty-sixth meeting, makes formal acknowledgment of the abundant courtesies shown it in a city which enjoys a wide and just reputation for hospitality. To Western Reserve University, its President and Faculty, and, especially, to the Committee of Arrangements, the Association expresses its deep gratitude for the care and foresight with which they have made the extensive arrangements for its welfare. They have omitted no word or act which could contribute to the assurance of a sincere and cordial welcome to the Association and its individual members.

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD
EDWIN MIMS
HORATIO E. SMITH, *Committee on Resolutions*

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

The following resolution was presented by Professor Casimir Zdanowicz of the *University of Wisconsin*, who spoke briefly of the hardships and inconveniences to which teachers are often subjected under the operation of the present immigration regulations:

Resolved: That the Modern Language Association recommend the modification of the present immigration laws and regulations of the United States so as to facilitate the admission on the non-quota basis of teachers under contract with American educational institutions, and of student teachers.

Resolved: That the Executive Council of this Association be authorized to appoint a member to serve with representatives of other Educational Associations on a joint committee to take up this matter with the proper governmental authorities.

There being no further business, the forty-sixth meeting of the Association adjourned at three o'clock.

A meeting of the newly elected Executive Council, at which ten members were present, was held in the Hotel Statler on Wednesday afternoon, January 1, 1930.

It was voted to extend the terms of the present Secretary and Treasurer of the Association for six months, and to refer the question of their further continuance to the Advisory Committee.

The Council then proceeded to ballot for the election of an Advisory Committee, in accordance with By-Law II. The following members were chosen as the Advisory Committee: Tucker Brooke, H. C. Lancaster, and Eduard Prokosch.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

[Adopted December 29, 1903. Amended December 29, 1915, March 31, 1920, December 29, 1923, December 29, 1925, December 29, 1927, and December 30, 1929.]

I. Name

The name of this Association shall be: The Modern Language Association of America.

II. Purpose

The object of the Association shall be the advancement of research in the modern languages and their literatures.

III. Membership

1. Any person approved by an officer of the Association may become a member on the payment of five dollars and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year. Persons who for twenty-five years or more have been members in good standing may, on retiring from active service as teachers, be continued as members without further payment of dues.

2. Any person eligible to membership may become a life member and exempt from dues by a single payment of seventy-five dollars or by the payment of twenty-six dollars for three successive years. With each completed decade of membership in good and regular standing, the fee for life membership shall be diminished by one-fourth. Persons who have paid forty annual membership dues automatically become life members without further payment.

3. Foreign scholars may be elected to honorary membership by the Association on the nomination of the Executive Council, but the number of honorary members shall not at any time exceed forty.

IV. Officers

1. The officers of the Association shall be: a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer.

2. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected by ballot for one year at the regular Annual Meeting. The Secretary and Treasurer shall be chosen by the Executive Council, and shall hold office for such term and under such conditions as the Council may specify.

V. Administration

The administration of the Association shall be in the hands of the Executive Council, consisting of the President and Vice-Presidents of the Association, *ex officio*, the Secretary and the Treasurer of the Association (without votes), and twelve members, of whom three shall be elected by ballot at each Annual Meeting for terms of four years in a manner de-

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scribed in the By-Laws. The Council shall administer the affairs of the Association and take such action as is necessary to carry out its purpose and promote its interests. It shall appoint such Boards and Committees as are specified in the By-Laws and such others as may be necessary from time to time. It shall make a report of its activities at each Annual Meeting, and its policies and actions shall be subject to the direction and approval of the Association.

VI. Meetings

The Association shall hold an Annual Meeting, at such place and time as the Executive Council shall from year to year determine. The Annual Meetings shall be held alternately East and West of the Eastern boundaries of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama. For the transaction of business at an Annual Meeting, twenty-five members shall constitute a quorum of the Association.

VII. Amendments

Amendments of this Constitution must first be approved by two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council, and afterwards be ratified by a majority vote at two successive Annual Meetings of the Association.

BY-LAWS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

[Adopted December 30, 1929.]

I. Duties of Officers

All officers shall hold office until their successors are chosen.

The President shall preside at all business meetings of the Association and of the Executive Council. In his absence, his duties shall fall successively upon the Vice-Presidents in the order of their election.

The Secretary of the Association shall also act as Secretary of the Executive Council. He shall be Chairman of the Editorial and Program Committees and Editor of the quarterly *Publications* and of all books, pamphlets, or prints which may be issued by the Association, and shall serve as an advisory member of all other standing Committees.

The Treasurer shall be the custodian of all current funds, collecting membership fees, and other monies due the Association, and paying bills properly incurred, taking vouchers for such expenditures. He shall also have charge of the business arrangements for the quarterly *Publications* and any books published by the Association, and sign contracts with printing and other firms, subject to the approval of the Executive Council. He shall be bonded in a sum not less than ten thousand dollars.

Such clerical assistance shall be provided for the Secretary and Treasurer in the performance of their duties as may be approved by the Council and authorized in the annual budget.

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II. The Executive Council

Each year three members of the Council shall be elected according to the following procedure: (1) The Council shall nominate six condidates, whose names shall be announced in the September issue of the *Publications*. (2) Any member of the Association may then propose three additional names and forward them to the Secretary before November 1. (3) The Secretary shall enter on an official ballot attached to the program of the Annual Meeting the six candidates proposed by the Council, together with the three names receiving the most votes among those proposed by members of the Association. (4) At the Annual Meeting, members may vote for any three of the persons named on the official ballot, absent members being permitted to forward their ballots, duly signed, by mail. (5) Of the nine names on the ballot, the three receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected to the Council for the ensuing four years, unless thereby the twelve members of the Council should consist of more than six or less than two representatives of English, Germanic, and Romance languages, respectively. In such case, the choice shall pass automatically to the person receiving the highest number of votes whose election would not result in over-representation or under-representation in any department.

The Council shall elect from its own number three persons, representing the three departments, to serve as an Advisory Committee, who shall meet at the call of the Secretary and make recommendations to the Council for its consideration.

The Executive Council shall fill any vacancy occurring among the officers of the Association. It may fill a vacancy in its own body until a successor can be elected according to the provisions above specified.

III. Trustees of Invested Funds

The Permanent Fund of the Association and the Monograph Endowment Fund shall be administered by a Board of three Trustees, appointed without term by the Executive Council, of whom one shall be designated the Managing Trustee.

The Treasurer of the Association shall pay over to the Trustees any sums which may be due to the Permanent Fund, either as payments for life membership or as gifts to the Association, and also any sums which may be contributed to the Monograph Endowment Fund.

The Trustees shall invest and reinvest all funds so received by them, and shall hold the same until such time as the Association shall be dissolved or shall otherwise cease to exist and shall then turn over all property remaining in their hands to the Trustees of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

The income accruing on all property in their hands shall be paid over to the Treasurer of the Association, who shall add the income received from the Permanent Fund to the Current Funds of the Association and shall add the income received from the Monograph Endowment Fund to the Monograph Expense Account.

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Said Trustees, or any of them, may be removed by the Executive Council by a unanimous vote at a meeting called for the purpose, and any vacancy arising from the death, resignation, or removal of any Trustee shall be filled by the Executive Council.

IV. Standing Committees

The standing committees shall be as follows: An Editorial Committee, a Program Committee, a Commitee on the Monograph Series, a Committee on the Revolving Book Fund, a Committee on Rotographs, and such others as may, on recommendation of the Executive Council, be authorized at any Annual Meeting. Each shall consist of five members who shall hold office for five years, one being elected each year. The following three departments shall always be represented on each committee: English, Germanic languages, and Romance languages.

The Editorial Committee shall have charge of the quarterly *Publications* of the Association in coöperation with the Secretary, who shall be managing editor.

The Program Committee shall prepare the programs for the Annual Meeting. It shall have authority to make regulations regarding papers and discussions and to coördinate or modify the program of the various sections and research groups.

The Committee on the Monograph Series shall select the monographs to be published in the Series.

The Committee on the Revolving Book Fund shall have general charge of the selection of manuscripts and of publications under the Fund.

The Rotograph Committee shall have charge of the solicitation of subscriptions and of the selection, manufacture and distribution of the rotographs.

V. Budget

The Treasurer shall each year prepare for presentation to the Council a budget of expenditures for the ensuing year. After approval by the Council the budget shall be laid before the Association for its information at the Annual Meeting. For budgetary and other administrative purposes the official year shall be the calendar year.

VI. Audit

Previous to the Annual Meeting, the President shall designate a committee to audit the financial accounts of the Association, including the security bond of the Treasurer. The Auditing Committee shall then submit the report to examination by a commercial auditing firm. The report as thus audited shall be transmitted to the Council and published in the annual *Proceedings* of the Association.

VII. Amendment

These By-Laws may be amended, after approval by the Executive Council, by a majority vote at any Annual Meeting of the Association, notice of such amendment having been distributed to the members with the program of the same meeting.

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PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

The thirty-first annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast was held in the Faculty Women's Club at the University of California on November 29 and 30, 1929.

After a meeting of the executive committee at 10 A.M. the first session was called to order by President Aurelio M. Espinosa at 10:30. The minutes of the previous annual meeting were approved as printed in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* and in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association.*

The secretary reported that during the past year fifteen members had been added, and eighteen lost, making a net decrease of three members. Of the lost members, seven had resigned, eight had been dropped for two years' delinquence in dues, and three had died, these being Malbone Watson Graham, Instructor in Romance Languages at the University of Michigan, Anette C. Ives, Assistant Professor of French at the University of Southern California, and Caroline H. Ober, Professor of Spanish at the University of Washington.

Election of the following persons to membership by the Executive Committee was reported:

Hugh C. Baker, Stanford University.
Professor C. Valentine Boyer, University of Oregon.
Professor Cesar Barja, University of California at Los Angeles.
Professor Myron F. Brightfield, University of California.
Professor Anna Cox Brinton, Mills College.
Professor James M. Cline, University of California.
Hermenegildo Corbato, University of California.
Paul Louis Faye, University of California.
Professor John D. Fitzgerald, University of Arizona.
Professor J. H. Groth, University of Washington.
Maurice Hicklin, Humboldt State Teachers College.
E. Dewart Lewis, Marin Junior College.
Miss Stella Lovering, Marysville Junior College.
Professor Edith R. Mirrielees, Stanford University.
P. R. Petsch, University of California at Los Angeles.
Professor L. A. Quivey, University of Utah.
John Reid, Stanford University.
Federico Sanchez, University of California.
Professor S. Stephenson Smith, University of Oregon.

The selection of Stanford University as the next meeting place of the Association was confirmed.

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The secretary reported that a ballot had been conducted by correspondence among the members of the executive committee on the recommendation which was referred to it for action at last year's meeting, namely that the program should be consolidated into a single day; and that the committee voted unanimously against the proposal.

The meeting unanimously adopted the amendment to the constitution, of which notice was given last year, namely that the words in section I, article II, be altered from "a secretary and a treasurer" to read "and a secretary-treasurer," and in section 2, article II, "of nine" be omitted.

The granting of fifty dollars for the secretarial expenses of the past year was approved, and a motion was adopted that the executive committee be authorized to pay to the secretary-treasurer each year such a sum as may seem fitting to cover secretarial expenses.

The financial report was submitted, and accepted subject to the approval of the auditing committee:

RECEIPTS:		
Balance, December 1, 1928	$341.59	
Receipts from members	885.10	
Interest on deposits	9.95	
Refund from last treasurer	4.20	
Total Receipts		$1,240.84
EXPENDITURE:		
To Modern Language Assn	$507.00	
To American Philological Assn	213.12	
Annual meeting	10.00	
Postage	10.00	
Printing and stationery	128.60	
Secretarial expenses	50.00	
Total expenditure	918.72	
Balance in bank	322.12	
Total		$1,240.84

The President announced the appointment of the following members to serve on committees:

Nominating: Briggs (1 year), Linforth (2 years), Cooper (3 years).

Auditing: Miss Bailey, Schneider.

Social: Hills (chairman), Kennedy, C. Price.

In the absence of Professors Briggs and Linforth, Professors Noyes and Altrocchi were appointed as substitutes on the nominating committee.

The reading and discussion of papers followed, the order of the printed program being adhered to. There were about 75 persons in attendance.

The second session was called to order at 2 P.M. and the printed program was followed. The attendance numbered about 52. At the close of the reading and discussion, the auditing committee reported having found the

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financial statement correct, and the nominating committee presented the following names:

President: Rudolph Schevill.
First Vice-president: William Diamond.
Second Vice-president: Herbert D. Austin.
Secretary-treasurer: A. Lionel Stevenson.
Executive Committee: The above-named officers and Arthur G. Kennedy, Benjamin O. Foster, Percival B. Fay, and Dorothea C. Woodworth. As there were no further nominations these officers were declared elected for the ensuing year.

The annual banquet was held at seven o'clock in the Women's Faculty Club, attended by sixty members and guests. President Espinosa presented his presidential address on *Notes on the Origin of the Tar Baby Story*, and after-dinner speeches were given by Professors Hart, FitzGerald, and Harriman. The toastmaster was Professor E. C. Hills.

The third session was held on Saturday morning in two sections meeting simultaneously. In the English section, under the chairmanship of Professor John S. P. Tatlock, the printed program was followed; in the Foreign Language section, with Professors Clarence Paschall and Rudolph Schevill alternately occupying the chair, certain changes were made: the papers of Professors Vaughan and Austin were read by title only, and the paper by Professor Kaun was read in his absence by Professor G. R Noyes. Both sections adjourned at 11:50 A.M.

A. LIONEL STEVENSON
Secretary-treasurer

FIRST SESSION

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 29, AT 10:30 A.M.

1. *Studies on the Alsatian Parzival*, by PROFESSOR EDMUND K. HELLER of the University of California.
2. *The New Folk Song of the Romantics*, by PROFESSOR MARGERY BAILEY of Stanford University.
3. *Ricardo León, Artist and Patriot*, by PROFESSOR S. L. MILLARD ROSENBERG of the University of California at Los Angeles.
4. *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, by PROFESSOR JOHN S. P. TATLOCK of the University of California.
5. *Caleb Bingham's Translation of "Atala,"* by PROFESSOR WILLIAM LEONARD SCHWARTZ of Stanford University.
6. *Juno and Diana*, by PROFESSOR DOROTHEA CLINTON WOODWORTH of the University of California at Los Angeles.

SECOND SESSION

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 29, AT 2:00 P.M.

7. *New Light on the Composition of Some Poems of Edgar Allan Poe*, by PROFESSOR LOUIS WANN of the University of Southern California.

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8. *A Jar Handle Stamp from Tell En-Nasbeh*, by PROFESSOR WILLIAM F. BADE of The Pacific School of Religion.
9. *University Education through the Eyes of J. F. Ringelberg*, by PROFESSOR HARDIN CRAIG of Stanford University.
10. *The Spiritual Significance of Unamuno's Work*, by PROFESSOR CESAR BARJA of the University of California at Los Angeles.
11. *The Imaginative Element in Bernard Shaw's Writings*, by PROFESSOR FRANCES THERESA RUSSELL of Stanford University.
12. *Hermann Hesse's Philosophy of Life*, by PROFESSOR WILLIAM DIAMOND of the University of California at Los Angeles.

DINNER AND SMOKER

FRIDAY, November 29, AT 7:00 P.M.
WOMEN'S FACULTY CLUB

13. President's Address: *Notes on the Origin of the Tar Baby Story*, by PROFESSOR AURELIO M. ESPINOSA of Stanford University.

THIRD SESSION

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 30, AT 9:30 A.M.
(Two Sections)

ENGLISH SECTION

PROFESSOR JOHN S. P. TATLOCK, *Chairman*

14. *On the Present State of Anglo-Saxon Lexicography*, by PROFESSOR ARTHUR G. KENNEDY of Stanford University.
15. *Local Color in Malory's Morte d'Arthur*, by PROFESSOR GEORGE R. STEWART, JR., of the University of California.
16. *The Personnel of the Elizabethan Privy Council as an Influence upon the Theatre*, by PROFESSOR E. O. JAMES of Mills College.
17. *Some Comparisons between the Dictionaries of Bailey and Johnson*, by PROFESSOR MILDRED C. STRUBLE of the University of Southern California.
18. *Rachel Taylor's Keats*, by PROFESSOR S. STEPHENSON SMITH of the University of Oregon.

FOREIGN LANGUAGE SECTION

PROFESSOR RUDOLPH SCHEVILL, *Chairman*

19. *Some Sicilian Geographical Names and the Possible Significance of their Present-day Forms*, by PROFESSOR H. H. VAUGHAN of the University of California.
20. *Jean-Jacques Bernard, Artist and Idealist*, by PROFESSOR CLARENCE D. BRENNER of the University of California.
21. *Heavenly Gold, Part of a Study of the Use of Color by Dante*, by PROFESSOR HERBERT D. AUSTIN of the University of Southern California.

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22. *Maxim Gorky and the Exalted Spider*, by PROFESSOR ALEXANDER KAUN of the University of California.
23. *Teaching the Pronunciation of Spanish Simple -R-*, by PROFESSOR LEAVITT O. WRIGHT of the University of Oregon.
24. *Some Outstanding and Recurring Themes in Valencian Literature*, by MR. HERMENEGILDO CORBATO of the University of California.

PAPERS READ BY TITLE

25. *A Clue to the Original Attitude Toward "Measure for Measure,"* by PROFESSOR HOPE TRAVER of Mills College.
26. *Æsop, A Decayed Celebrity*, by PROFESSOR M. ELLWOOD SMITH of Oregon State College.

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LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

(Corrected to February 17, 1930)

Life and Emeritus Members are indicated by ❖

Abbot, Allan, Professor of English, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

Abbot, Francis Harris, Professor of French, University of Virginia, University, Va.

Abbott, Charles David, Assistant Professor of English, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N. Y. [368½ Linwood Ave.]

Abbuhl, Frederick, Assistant Professor of English, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N. Y. [605 Third Ave.]

❖ **Abramson,** Mrs. Muriel Morris, 4800 Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Ackerman, Ethel M., Assistant Professor of English, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn. [2211 Doswell Ave.]

Ackermann, Rev. Carl, Head of the English Department, Capital University, Columbus, Ohio [2315 E. Main St.]

Acton, Hul-Cee Marcus, Professor of Romance Languages, Howard College, Birmingham, Ala. [8004 4th Ave.]

Adams, Arlon T., Professor of English, Tarkio College, Tarkio, Mo.

❖ **Adams,** Arthur, Professor of English and Librarian, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

❖ **Adams,** Edward Larrabee, Associate Professor of Romance Languages, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. [1850 Washtenaw Ave.]

Adams, Eleanor N., President and Professor of English, Oxford College for Women, Oxford, Ohio

Adams, Helen Rose, Graduate Student in English Literature, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [636 N. Main St., Meadville, Pa.]

Adams, Henry Welch, Associate Professor of English, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Ala.

Adams, John Chester, Assistant Professor of English, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Adams, John R., 3740 Tenth St., San Diego, Calif.

Adams, Joseph Quincy, Professor of English, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [167 Goldwin Smith Hall]

Adams, Marguerite Grace, Graduate Student in English, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. [60 York Sq.]

Adams, M. Ray, Professor of English, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. [804 Race Ave.]

Adams, Nicholson Barney, Associate Professor of Spanish, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. [Route 4]

Adams, Raymond William, Assistant Professor of English, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Adams, Warren Austin, Professor of German, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

Adkins, Nelson Frederick, Instructor in English, Washington Square College, New York University, New York, N. Y. [19 Christopher St.]

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Adler, Frederick Henry Herbert, Professor and Head of the Department of English and Comparative Literature, Cleveland College, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio [2633 Shaker Rd., Cleveland Heights]

Agar, Herbert Sebastian, Fellow in English, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. [c/o Brown Shipley & Co., 123 Pall Mall, London W. England.]

Ahrens, Frederick Christian, Graduate Student in Germanic Languages, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [500 Riverside Dr.]

Aiken, (Mrs.) Janet R., Research Assistant, Department of English and Comparative Literature, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. [Philosophy Hall]

Aiken, Wellington E., Associate Professor of English, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. [52 N. Prospect St.]

Ainsworth, Edward Gay, Jr., Instructor in English, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. [214 Bryant Ave.]

Alarcon, Abel, Professor of Spanish, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif. [219 Euclid Ave., Pacific Manor]

Albrecht, Otto Edwin, Instructor in Romanic Languages, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. [107 Nippon St., Mt. Airy]

Albright, Elnora Evelyn Kelly (Mrs. F. S. Albright), Assistant Professor of English, University of Western Ontario, London, Ont.

Albright, Evelyn May, Assistant Professor of English, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. [Faculty Exchange 13]

Alderman, William E., Dean of College and Professor of English, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. [704 Park Ave.]

Aldrich, Earl A., Professor and Head of the Department of English, Brothers College, Drew University, Madison, N. J. [355 Woodland Road]

Alexandre, Arsène, Graduate College, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

Alexis, Joseph E. A., Professor of Romance Languages, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. [1420 Garfield St.]

Allard, Louis, Professor of French, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. [1130 Massachusetts Ave.]

Allen, Beverly Sprague, Professor of English, New York University, New York, N. Y. [University Heights]

Allen, Catherine, Professor of French and Head of the Department, Meredith College, Raleigh, N. C.

Allen, Clifford Gilmore, Professor of Romanic Languages, Stanford University, Calif. [637 Alvarado Row]

Allen, Frederick Chase, Instructor in English, Northeastern University, Boston, Mass. [47 Mt. Vernon St., Arlington]

Allen, Herbert F., Associate Professor of English, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, Calif. [510 N. Virgil Ave.]

Allen, Hervey, Felicity Hall, Somerset, Bermuda.

Allen, Hope Emily, Kenwood, Oneida, N. Y.

Allen, Louis, Associate Professor of French, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada

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Zunder, Theodore Albert, Instructor in English, Hunter College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.

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OLIVER MORLEY AINSWORTH, Beloit College, Sept, 1928
HAMILTON FORD ALLEN, University of New Hampshire, Aug. 14, 1929
HARRIET MANNING BLAKE, The Baldwin School, Bryn Mawr, Pa., July 14, 1929
ADOLPHE COHN, Paris, February 13, 1930
WILFRED EDWARD DAVISON, Middlebury College, Sept. 22, 1929
EDWARD E. EULER, Harvard University, Feb. 27, 1929
HANS FROELICHER, Goucher College, Jan. 17, 1930
MALBONE WATSON GRAHAM, University of Michigan, Apr. 15, 1929
DIX HARWOOD, D. C. Heath & Co., N. Y., Oct. 20, 1929
JAMES HINTON, Emory University, Dec. 23, 1929
ANNETTE C. IVES, University of Southern California, Oct. 29, 1929
MARY STEWART KENNEDY, Hunter College, Jan. 29, 1929
RAYMOND W. KIRKBRIDE, University of Delware, Feb. 28, 1929
GEORGE LOUIS LAWRENCE, College of the Pacific
BRANDER MATTHEWS, Columbia University, March 31, 1929
MARIAN MEAD, Skyland, N. C., Sept., 1929
HARVEY DANIEL MILLER, Kalamazoo College, Sept. 18, 1929
GEORGE FALLEY NINDE, University of Pennsylvania, Jan. 23, 1929
CAROLINE HAVEN OBER, University of Washington, June 2, 1929
VERNON LOUIS PARRINGTON, University of Washington, June 17, 1929
MARLOW A. SHAW, University of Iowa, Dec. 1, 1929
ALBERT HARRIS TOLMAN, University of Chicago, Dec. 25, 1928
ARTURO TORRES, Garden City, N. Y. March 12, 1929
HENRI PIERRE DE VISME, New Jersey College for Women, June 22, 1927
MORTIMER WEAVER, Howard University, Apr. 14, 1929
ARTHUR SILAS WRIGHT, Case School of Applied Science, Dec. 2, 1928 [26]

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Joseph Bédier, Collège de France, Paris
Alois L. Brandl, University of Berlin
Ferdinand Brunot, University of Paris
Konrad Burdach, Akademie der Wissenchaften, Berlin
Sir Edmund Chambers, Eynsham, Oxfordshire, England
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Georges Cirot, University of Bordeaux
Sir William A. Craigie, University of Chicago
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Sir Israel Gollancz, King's College, London
Walter Wilson Greg, London
Charles Harold Herford, University of Manchester
Alfred Jeanroy, University of Paris
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Ferdinand Lot, The Sorbonne
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Fritz Neumann, University of Heidelberg
Kristoffer Nyrop, University of Copenhagen
Alfred W. Pollard, British Museum, London
Pio Rajna, University of Florence
Mario Roques, Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Paris
Vittorio Rossi, University of Rome
George Saintsbury, University of Edinburgh
Edward Schroeder, University of Göttingen
Eduard Sievers, University of Leipzig
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Farmville, Va.: State Teachers College Library
Fayette, Mo.: Library of Central College
Fayetteville, Ark.: Library of the University of Arkansas
Frankfurt a. M., Germany: Universitätsbibliothek
Frederick, Md.: Hood College Library
Freiburg, Germany: Universitätsbibliothek
Fresno, Calif.: English Department, Fresno State Teachers College

Gainesville, Fla.: Library of the University of Florida
Giessen, Germany: Hessische Universitätsbibliothek
Gilbert, Minn.: High School Library
Glasgow, Scotland: University of Glasgow Library
Göttingen, Germany: Universitätsbibliothek
Granville, Ohio: Denison University Library
Graz, Austria: Universitätsbibliothek
Greensboro, N. C.: North Carolina College for Women Library
Griefswald, Germany: Universitätsbibliothek
Grinnell, Iowa: Grinnell College Library
Guilford College, N. C.: Guilford College Library

Halifax, Nova Scotia: Dalhousie College Library
Halle, Germany: Universitätsbibliothek
Hamburg, Germany: Universitätsbibliothek
Hanover, N. H.: Dartmouth College Library
Hartford, Conn.: Watkinson Library
Heidelberg, Germany: Universitätsbibliothek
Hiram, Ohio: Hiram College Library
Hollins, Va.: Cocke Memorial Library, Hollins College
Houston, Tex.: The Wm. Rice Institute Library [P. O. Box 17]

Indianapolis, Ind.: Butler University Library
Innsbruck, Austria: Universitätsbibliothek
Iowa City, Iowa: Library of the State University of Iowa
Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Library

Jamestown, N. D.: Jamestown College Library
Jena, Germany: Universitätsbibliothek

Kalamazoo, Mich.: Western State Teachers College
Kiel, Germany: Universitätsbibliothek
Kingston, Ont.: Queen's University Library
Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Library
Königsberg, Germany: Universitätsbibliothek

Lafayette, Ind.: Library of Purdue University
Lancaster, Pa.: Franklin and Marshall College Library
Laramie, Wyo.: University of Wyoming Library
Lawrence, Kan.: University of Kansas Library
Leningrad, Russia: Public Library
Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Library

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Lexington, Ky.: Library of the University of Kentucky
Lexington, Va.: Washington and Lee University Library
Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Library
London, England: The English Association [4 Buckingham Gate]
London, England: London Library [St. James Square, S. W.]
London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario Library
Los Angeles, Calif.: Los Angeles Junior College Library
Los Angeles, Calif.: Los Angeles Public Library
Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California at Los Angeles
Los Angeles, Calif.: University of Southern California
Louisville, Ky.: Library of the University of Louisville
Louvain, Belgium, Bibliothèque de l'Université
Lynchburg, Va.: Library of the Randolph-Macon Woman's College

Macon, Ga.: Wesleyan College Library
Madison, N. J.: Brothers College Library, Drew University
Madison, Wis.: Library of the University of Wisconsin
Manchester, England: The John Rylands Memorial Library
Manchester, England: Library of Victoria University
Manila, P. I.: Library of the University of the Philippines
Memphis, Tenn.: Library, West Tennessee State Normal School
Memphis, Tenn.: Southwestern University Library
Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Library
Milan, Italy: Biblioteca Nazionale di Brera
Milton, Wis.: Milton College Library
Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Seminary Library
Minneapolis, Minn.: Minneapolis Athenaeum
Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Library
Missoula, Mont.: University of Montana Library
Mitchell, S. D.: Dakota Weslayan University Library
Montreal, Canada: Library of McGill University
Moorhead, Minn.: Concordia College Library
Morehead, Ky.: Morehead Normal School Library
Morgantown, W. Va.: West Virginia University Library
Morrilton, Ark.: Harding College Library
Moscow, Idaho: University of Idaho Library
Moscow, Russia: Gosudarstvaya Publichnaya Biblioteka
Moscow, U.S.S.R.: Wsesojusnaya Biblioteka, imeni Lenina, Mokhovaya, 3
Munich, Germany: Bayerische Staats-Bibliothek
Münster, Germany: Universitätsbibliothek

Nashville, Tenn.: Library of the Peabody College for Teachers
Nashville, Tenn. Vanderbilt University Library
Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England: University of Durham, The Library, Armstrong College
New Haven, Conn.: Germanic Seminary, Yale University
New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Library
New Orleans, La.: Sophie Newcomb Memorial Library
New Orleans, La.: Tulane University Library
New Ulm, Minn.: Dr. Martin Luther College

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New Wilmington, Pa.: Westminster College Library
New York, N. Y.: Columbia University Library
New York, N. Y.: Library of New York University [University Heights]
New York, N. Y.: New York Public Library [476 Fifth Ave.]
New York, N. Y.: Paterno Library, Casa Italiana, 117th St., and Amsterdam Ave.
New York, N. Y.: University Club Library [Fifth Ave. and Fifty-fourth St.]
Norman, Okla.: Library of the University of Oklahoma
Northfield, Minn.: St. Olaf College Library
Notre Dame, Ind.: Notre Dame University Library

Oberlin, Ohio: Oberlin College Library
Omaha, Neb.: Creighton University Library
Orono, Maine: University of Maine Library
Oxford, England: The Taylor Library
Oxford, Ohio: Library of Miami University

Paris, France: The American Library, Paris, 10 Rue de l'Elysée
Paris, France: Bibliothèque Nationale
Philadelphia, Pa.: Free Library [Logan Square]
Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Library
Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Library
Pittsburgh, Pa.: Carnegie Library, Periodical Division [Schenley Park]
Pittsburgh, Pa.: Carnegie Free Library of Allegheny
Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Library
Portland, Ore.: Reed College Library
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: Library of Vassar College
Prague, Czechoslovakia: Deutsches Seminar, Deutsche Universität
Prague, Czechoslovakia: Public and University Library
Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Library
Providence, R. I.: Library of Brown University
Providence, R. I.: Providence Public Library [Washington St.]
Pullman, Wash.: Library of the State College of Washington

Raleigh, N. C.: Meredith College Library
Rangoon, Burma: University College Library
Rennes, France: Bibliothèque de l'Université
Richmond, Va.: University of Richmond Library
Rochester, N. Y.: Library of the University of Rochester
Rome, Italy: Biblioteca Nazionale
Rostock, Germany: Universitätsbibliothek

Sacramento, Calif.: State Library of California
St. Andrew's Scotland: University Library
St. Joseph, Minn.: St. Benedict's College Library
St. Louis, Mo.: Library of Washington University
St. Louis, Mo.: St. Louis Public Library
St. Paul, Minn.: College of St. Catherine Library
St. Paul, Minn.: Hamline University Library
St. Paul, Minn.: Macalester College Library

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St. Paul, Minn: Public Library
St. Paul, Minn.: St. Thomas College
Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Library
San Marino, Calif.: The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery
San Mateo, Calif.: San Mateo Junior College Library
Santa Barbara, Calif.: State Teachers College Library
Saratoga Springs, N. Y.: Skidmore College Library
Saskatoon, Sask., Canada: University of Saskatchewan Library
Schenectady, N. Y.: Union College Library
Seattle, Wash.: Public Library, Periodical Department
Seattle, Wash.: Seattle Pacific College Library
Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Library
Shawnee, Okla.: Library of Baptist University
Shreveport, La.: Centenary College Library
Sioux City, Iowa: Library of Morningside College
Sofia, Bulgaria: Bibliothèque de l'Université
Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Library
Strasbourg, France: Bibliothèque Universitaire et Régionale de Strasbourg
Swarthmore, Pa.: Swarthmore College Reading Room
Sydney, New South Wales, Australia: University Library
Sydney, New South Wales, Australia: Public Library
Syracuse, N. Y.: Library of Syracuse University

Taihoku, Taiwan (Formosa), Japan: Taihoku Imperial University Library
Tallahassee, Fla.: Library of the Florida State College for Women
Terre Haute, Ind.: Indiana State Normal Library
Tokyo, Japan: Seminary of Philology, College of Literature, Imperial University
Toronto, Ont.: McMaster University Library
Toronto, Ont.: Victoria College Library
Troy, N. Y.: Russell Sage College Library
Tübingen, Germany: Universitätsbibliothek
Tucson, Ariz.: University of Arizona Library

University, Ala.: University of Alabama Library
University, Miss.: Library of the University of Mississippi
University, Va.: Library of the University of Virginia
Urbana, Ill.: Library of the University of Illinois [University Sta.]

Vancouver, B. C.: University of British Columbia Library [Point Grey]
Vermilion, S. Dak.: University of South Dakota Library
Vienna, Austria: Universitätsbibliothek

Waco, Texas: Baylor University Library
Walla Walla, Wash.: Library of Whitman College
Washington, D. C.: American University Library
Washington, D. C.: Library of the Catholic University of America
Washington, Pa.: Memorial Library, Washington and Jefferson College
Waterville, Maine: Colby College Library
Waukesha, Wis.: Carroll College Library

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Wayne, Neb.: State Teachers College Library
Wellesley, Mass.: Wellesley College Library
Whittier, Calif.: Whittier College Library
Wichita, Kan.: Friends University Library
Williamsburg, Va.: College of William and Mary
Williamstown, Mass.: Library of Williams College
Winfield, Kan.: Southwestern College Library
Winnipeg, Manitoba: University Library [Kennedy St.]
Woodmere, N. Y.: Woodmere Academy Library
Wooster, Ohio: Wooster College Library
Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Library
Würzburg, Germany: Universitätsbibliothek [...3]

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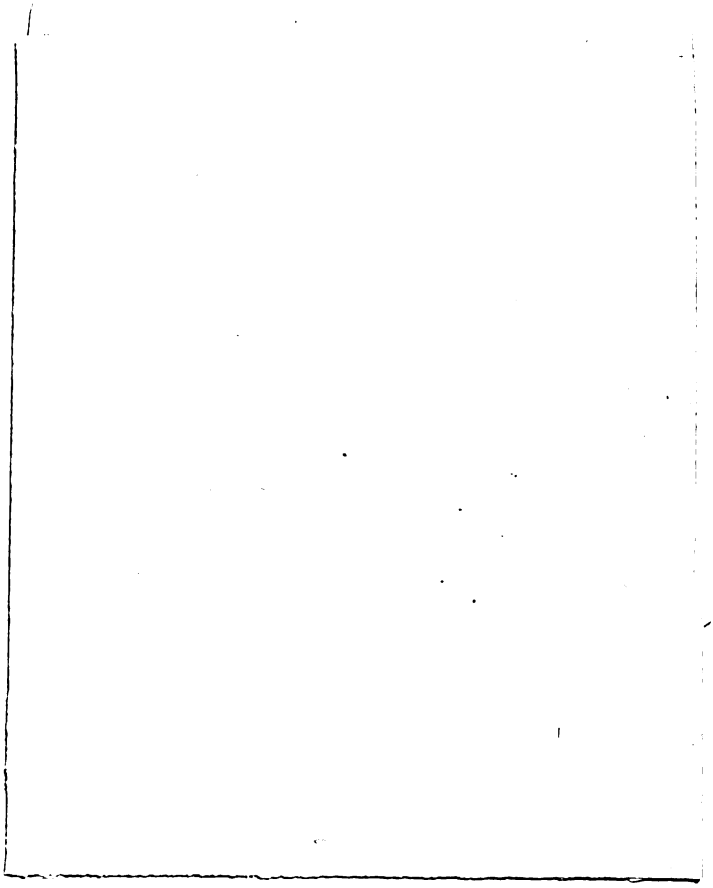

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